

The **Woman Citizen**

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL
FOUNDED 1870

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January 15, 1921



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National American Woman Suffrage Association

171 Madison Avenue, New York

January 15, 1921

Eight Hundred and Eighty-three

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

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in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

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Vol. V New Style

JANUARY 15, 1921

No. 33

THE WOMAN CITIZEN'S

CHILD WELFARE NUMBER

will appear on January 22, 1921, in conformity with the request of the National Child Labor Committee that January 22, 23 and 24 be generally observed by synagogues, churches, schools and the press in order to arouse the public to the interests of childhood.

The CITIZEN will offer its readers special articles by authoritative writers.

MR. EDWARD N. CLOPPER of the National Child Labor Committee will tell what are the essentials for effectiveness in child labor and school attendance laws.

MRS. IRENE OSGOOD ANDREWS of the Bureau of Labor Legislation will write on state maternity legislation.

MISS MATHEWS of the Children's Bureau will discuss the extent of child labor.

MR. CHARLES E. GIBBONS, special agent on rural life of the National Child Labor Committee, will write on the influence around the rural child.

MRS. LARUE BROWN of the Child Welfare Department of the League of Women Voters will tell the story of the spontaneous uprising of women for the baby-bill.

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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME V

JANUARY 15, 1921

NUMBER 33

THE WOMAN CITIZEN is published weekly by the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission, Inc., in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The members of the Commission are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president; Miss Mary Garrett Hay, first vice-president; Mrs. Raymond Robins, Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

The editorial offices are at 171 Madison Avenue, New York. Carrie Chapman Catt and Alice Stone Blackwell are special contributing editors.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief. Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd and Marjorie Shuler are associate editors.

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It is not to be understood that the WOMAN CITIZEN gives editorial endorsement to the opinions expressed in articles signed with name, initials, or pseudonym. Such articles may be at dagger's point with the editorial commitment, or in exact accord with it. They are printed because they seem worth printing and not because of an agreement in their expressed opinions. The editors speak for the magazine in the editorial pages.

WHEN our Government was established it was decided to departmentalize the administration, the heads of the departments to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. The Republic began with three such departments, the Department of State, the Department of the Treasury and the Department of War. Washington found it necessary to appoint an Attorney-General also and that post remained as a permanent Cabinet department. In 1798 Congress created the Department of the Navy. In 1829 the care of the post offices was promoted to Cabinet dignity and the Postmaster General was made a member of President Jackson's Cabinet. In 1849 the Department of the Interior was created to take charge of Indian affairs, which had been under the War Department and of the public lands, which had been under the Treasury Department. Other bureaus from time to time have been added. It was then believed that these seven departments covered all the needs of the government and that there never would be more. In 1862 a bureau of agriculture was created and a little later a bureau of education. These two bureaus were equal in official standing. Farmers, through the various political movements they have from time to time inaugurated, or supported, as the Greenback party, the Populist party, etc., contended that more attention should be paid to agriculture, and demanded a Secretary in the President's Cabinet. They won in 1889, when the Bureau of Agriculture was promoted to be the Department of Agriculture. Even then educators were urging a Department of Education. Their claims were certainly as logical and as well put as those of the farmers, but there was a difference. Farmers had a way of kicking over the political traces every now and then, starting a little party of their own and thus causing sleepless nights for the regular campaigners; educators never did this. So the rebellious farmers won and the quietly behaved educators didn't.

In 1903 bureaus of commerce and labor became the Department of Commerce and Labor, with a Secretary in the Presi-

dent's Cabinet, and again one may trace the effect of political rebellion which labor continually foments. In 1913 this Department was divided into two, the Department of Commerce and the Department of Labor, thus making a Cabinet of ten Departments.

Agriculture, Commerce and Labor, the three departments to be most recently added, have no more authority over the subject with which they deal than a Department of Education would have. The real direction of these departments must ever rest with the states unless the constitution should be amended to provide otherwise. However, the promotion of the consideration of these subjects to a post in the Cabinet has been a tremendous gain and would give a similar stimulation and encouragement to education throughout the land. It would help the work of making citizens in every public school. Educators are not politicians. We should not approve of them if they were. They have a meritorious cause, one which will advantage the entire nation and bring blessings to future generations. If you want to help them a bit, sign the following coupon, clip it out and mail to Mr. Harding. If you believe education to be as important to our national greatness as agriculture, commerce and labor, get your friends to copy the coupon and send it on.

C. C. C.

To Hon. Warren G. Harding,
President Elect,
Marion, Ohio.

I beg you to recognize the importance of education in a "government of the people" by naming the new department which you have so wisely proposed to create

The Department of Education and Public Welfare.

Name

Street and Number.....

City and State.....

IF the Naturalization Bill reported favorably by the House Immigration Committee last week does not put American women on the same footing with men with regard to rights of naturalization, it at least materially improves their position as American citizens. Under the bill they will no longer derive citizenship from the naturalization of husbands but will be required to make application on their own account. They will not lose their American citizenship by marrying aliens except when an alien husband cannot lawfully become an American citizen or when a woman leaves the United States and resides two years in her husband's country or five years in some other country. Once expatriated, a woman desiring to regain American citizenship will be required to follow the same procedure as any other alien desiring American citizenship. In the case of women aliens who marry American citizens, they will no longer automatically become citizens on marriage, but will be required to make application for citizenship after a five years' residence in this country. Under the new law, too, the children of natural-

ized parents will no longer derive citizenship automatically from the parents but can apply for citizenship between the ages of 18 and 21 and upon proof in open court of their qualification. The bill does not, of course, put women on an equal footing with men in the matter of American citizenship, a man's citizenship being in no way conditioned by that of his wife. But for this day and generation the bill is a forward step.

WOMEN won five out of the six medals awarded at the last examinations in the medical school of University College, London. A man took the junior anatomy prize, but women carried off those for senior anatomy, psychology, pharmacology and organic chemistry.

The same issue of the London *Daily News* which mentions this fact announces also that the men students, by an almost unanimous vote, have asked for the exclusion of women from the college.

"Girl students who are completing their course at the medical school have been having a very uncomfortable time. One of them told a *Daily News* representative how a woman friend was boycotted when she took her turn on duty in the out-patients' department.

"She was the only woman student among a number of men," said her friend, "and during the whole of the time she was in residence at the hospital not one of her fellow-students spoke to her. At meals no one but one colored student ever offered to pass her anything. And at night she used to go to the nurses' sitting-room, or else I went over to sit with her in the out-patients' department—a bare place with only forms to sit upon—because the men made it so unpleasant for her in the medical students' sitting-room."

SCANDINAVIAN women forge right ahead leading the world of women. What other nations yield reluctantly—if at all—the extreme north of Europe seems to hand out on a platter to its women citizens.

In addition to Mrs. Anna Wicksell, already noted in the *Woman Citizen* as one of Sweden's official delegates to the League of Nations' Parliament in Geneva, Denmark sent Miss Henri Forchhammer and Norway Miss Bonnevie.

On December 16, Miss Forchhammer made a speech which stirred the Assembly. Its purport was that "until the traffic in women and children is abolished our civilization will be a mere mockery and a sham. Women the world over insist that the League compel governments to prevent the deportation and sale of women as slaves, a business which has attained world-wide proportions."

The first woman to speak in the League of Nations Assembly, Miss Forchhammer, is a suffrage worker in that country of long and honorable standing. She mentioned that at least 20,000 Armenian women were still in captivity, and that the traffic in women and children was still a shameful blot upon our civilization. She proposed that the scope of all activities of the League to prevent the traffic should extend to "neighboring countries" as well as to members of the League. The *London Times* said that "she spoke in excellent, clear English and was astonishingly brief, although she made her point with great emphasis."

Deeply moved by Miss Forchhammer's speech the Assembly voted to demand that the great governments establish a commission with arbitrary powers to end the traffic.

MAKE way for the Speaker! Mrs. Mary Ellen Smith of Vancouver, British Columbia, who has been chosen to preside over the House in the British Columbia Legislature, is without doubt the first woman speaker of the world. Her selection as Speaker by the British Columbia Cabinet was due to the overwhelming vote cast for her in the recent elections, when she

was returned as one of Vancouver's representatives. In a December letter to the *WOMAN CITIZEN* she said that she had received 17,647 votes, 4,000 more than her nearest competitor. Returning officers in the recent election state that many ballots were taken from the ballot boxes with Mrs. Smith's name on alone. She is one of six House members who represent the city of Vancouver. She has lived in British Columbia for twenty-eight years and has represented Vancouver since 1917, in which year, upon the death of her husband, she succeeded him in the Provincial Legislature. In her legislative career she has distinguished herself by improving legislation for women. "Just and careful rulings and orders in the House" are to be Mrs. Smith's watchwords, according to her own pronouncement in accepting the greatest honor the Cabinet of British Columbia could confer upon her. Upon receipt of the news of Mrs. Smith's election the National American Woman Suffrage Association through its president sent her the following telegram:

"The National American Woman Suffrage Association sends heartfelt congratulations to you and to the great Canadian province that has elevated you to the position of the first woman speaker of the world. British Columbia was in the front rank of the Canadian provinces that enfranchised women and in your selection we see with joy that the liberal spirit of Canadian men has again triumphed. In honoring you they have honored all womanhood. Our gratitude to them is one with our confidence that you will merit the trust reposed in you."

MISS HELEN FRASER, who spent many months in this country during the war and addressed many thousands of people upon women's war work in Great Britain and related subjects, has just been appointed to a governmental position. Her title is Commissioner of the National Savings Movement. The post was created during the war and came into existence to meet the war need of saving. Several men have filled the post, but Miss Fraser is the first woman to hold it. The object of the movement is to persuade people to save from their earnings and to lend to the government. The investment of 15 shillings and 6 pence (a little more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of a pound) brings a certificate which is redeemable five years later at a pound. The receipts are applied equally to funding the national debt and to the relief of local needs, chiefly housing. Local authorities build houses on contract and let them to those who need them at reasonable rents. All the savings collected from April to September were used to pay the British share of the Anglo-French loan from the United States. Very large sums are built up of many small bits and the nation and the villages are each enabled to meet their most insistent problem with the total. Men and women on the other hand are learning how to save and how to invest and are promised good returns on their money. The movement has already so far popularized itself that it will probably be established as a permanent institution. Miss Fraser is unusually well endowed for the responsible post she holds. She is widely intelligent, sympathetic, understanding and withal a remarkably able speaker. She was predestined for success in whatever she might undertake and in her new government work she will add distinction to an already glorious record.

AN amusing story was told by Mrs. Mary I. Wood of New Hampshire at one of the recent Regional Conferences of the League of Women Voters. A man with a pained expression kept poking about in a tank of turtles. "What on earth are you doing there?" asked a friend. "I am trying to find out which is the right end of these creatures," he answered. "I want to know whether I am bitten or stung!" Unless women put vigorous pressure upon their Senators and Representatives in Congress to secure the passage of the bills they want, they may find that the change from one administration to another is only the difference between being bitten and stung.

The Week In Congress

Senators and Representatives Analyze and Discuss Bills Directly
for the Readers of the *Woman Citizen*

From the *Woman Citizen's Washington Bureau*

Washington, D. C., January 10, 1920.

THE casual visitor in Washington these days could not but be impressed by the general atmosphere of industry pervading the whole of Congress. There are a multitude of hearings going on. Senators and Representatives are dashing busily from committee meeting to committee meeting and the usual verbal tilts at arms are proceeding on the floor. Apparently members of Congress are becoming possessed of vast quantities of information on matters of vital moment to the nation and if that information is translated into terms of legislation the public welfare should be greatly benefited. Coincidentally it appears, too, that Congress is heeding the safety posters with which Washington is plastered, "Be careful. Methusaleh was careful and he lived to be 969 years old." In the meantime those who are appealing for aid can only hope that the diffusion of knowledge regarding these questions will of itself improve conditions.

Nowhere is this more evident than in the case of the farmers. It was clear from the very moment that Congress assembled that here was a vital emergency. Congress recognized it as such in voting to revive the War Finance Corporation as a means of extending credit. Secretary Houston's disapproval of the project and the veto of President Wilson led only to the repassage of the bill by Congress.

But now the farmers declare that that is not enough. No woman would feel that this is a question for financiers rather than housewives if she could hear the stories which are being told daily in the hearings of farmers who, faced by the necessity of selling their crops at less than they paid for production, are contemplating the reduction of production, which means less food and higher prices for the consumer.

The present emergency and the pending legislation to relieve it may be summarized as follows. First in order to help the farmer carry his present crops his representatives in Washington are stating that all possible credit should be extended to him.

The Farmer and the Banks

MANY persons believe that the farmer could have withstood the fallen prices and taken his loss this year with other industries if it were not for the effort of the Federal Reserve Board to deflate the financial system to normal. During the war the banks of many states extended credits way beyond the quota which the Federal Reserve Board permits them to owe the central bank. With the recent attempt to call in all loans above the quota, individual banks were given no choice but to refuse further credit or continuance of notes to the farmers. That in any event a small amount of the Federal Reserve funds is loaned to the farmer is indicated by this statement made by O. M. Kile of the American Farm Bureau Federation in discussing the situation for the *Woman Citizen*: "Reports of the Federal Reserve Board show that on September 9, 1920, when total rediscounts for the entire twelve Reserve districts were \$2,989,092,000, the amount of bills held by the reserve banks in the eight districts of the South and West, which may be spoken of as agricultural sections, was \$1,369,473,000. Of this total the amount loaned for agricultural purposes directly and indirectly is estimated by the Board as \$515,861,000 or 37.6 per cent. But of this amount approximately one-half was loaned to millers, butchers, elevator operators, dealers, and others who buy the farmers' products and into whose hands these products must pass before the farmer can gain access to the money. It is therefore clear that in the

eight districts predominantly agricultural the funds secured by the farmers directly from the Federal Reserve System for production and marketing purposes is at best only about 18 per cent. of the total credit available through this source, and in all probability is considerably less." To meet this particular need Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska has introduced a bill which has not yet been acted upon, providing that the profits of the Federal Reserve Banks be placed at the disposal of the farmers on credit.

The Farmer and the Tariff

THE second measure of relief asked by the farmers is that the foreign producers be discouraged in sending to this country the products which cheaper labor and reduced exchange are making even lower in price than usual. The Fordney Emergency Tariff bill passed by the House and now under consideration by the Senate Finance Committee undertakes this service until the general tariff bill can be passed by the new Congress. There has been some doubt as to the likelihood of the bill's passage. At first this was laid to the opposition of Senator Penrose of Pennsylvania, chairman of the committee, but he has now indicated that he is not opposed to the general purport of the bill. The uncertainty still persists, however, and a few days ago Senator A. A. Jones of New Mexico, cross-examining a witness for the California citrus growers, said, "It has been stated here that if the bill is amended, as a practical proposition, it will not be passed during this session of Congress." In the discussion which followed Senator Jones put the point-blank question to Senator McCumber, who was in the chair, as to the possibility of the bill passing if amended and Senator McCumber replied, "I think it ought to be made right and take the chances of passage."

The witness, who had just been saying that boxes of Italian lemons were retailing in New York for \$1.39, less than it cost the California grower to produce and put each box on trains for shipment, quickly stated that the growers he represented would rather give up the two cents a pound asked and take the one and three-quarters cent a pound duty imposed on foreign fruit by the Fordney bill than to go back to the present half cent a pound tax. The Italian fruit, by the way, comes, as does the domestic, three hundred to three hundred and sixty lemons to a box and during the last year one and a quarter million of these boxes have been sold in New York to wholesalers at an approximate price of \$2.11.

The third relief measure urged by the farmers is the opening up of foreign markets to United States producers through the extension of credits abroad. In this the War Finance Corporation is supposed to help. Also under the Edge Law passed last year authorizing combinations for capital for foreign trade, a \$100,000,000 group is now being organized in banking circles.

Other extension of credits abroad is urged in spite of the great financial risk involved in the ability of the foreign countries to pay their debts, and in this connection Representative Smith of New York has a bill before the House authorizing a billion dollar loan to Germany.

Cooperative Marketing

THESE measures of course are all for emergency relief, but the farmers are looking as well to legislation which will prevent the recurrence of present conditions. Cooperative marketing, by which the farmer may come closer to the consumer, is urged strongly as a means to this end. For this there was introduced the Capper-Volstead bill to legalize cooperative market-

ing. Farmers proceeding under the Clayton act, which sought to eliminate such groups from the provisions of the Sherman anti-trust act, are said to have been imprisoned in some states. The Capper-Volstead act passed by the House, amended by the Senate, and now before a conference committee, in its original form offered assurances of protection to such associations. The Senate added two amendments which in the opinion of supporters of the bill tend to its nullification. One amendment reads, "Nothing herein contained shall be deemed to authorize the creation of, or attempt to create, a monopoly or to exempt any association organized hereunder from any proceedings instituted under the Act entitled, 'An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes.'" The other amendment relates to the request of farmers that these marketing associations be placed under supervision. It was asked by the farmers that the Department of Agriculture be given this supervision because it has the machinery in each state for its accomplishment and because of its interest in fostering such cooperative schemes. The Senate designated the Federal Trade Commission for this service, which some of the supporters of the bill feel would put the scheme to the test of running until it became outside the law and subject to the prosecuting agencies of the commission, rather than being kept within proper bounds by the admonitions of the Department of Agriculture.

The conference committee consisting of Senators Nelson, Dillingham and Overman and Representatives Volstead, Graham and Summers have the fate of these amendments in their hands. A conference committee report is not subject to amendment in either House of Congress so that persons interested in the bill are urging that these Senators be asked to discard the so-called objectionable amendments.

PERMANENT aid is also sought through a revision of the banking system to meet the farmers' needs of longtime loans as well as those of the city manufacturer, retailer or speculator who needs shorter accommodation and who can afford to pay higher rates of interest for it. Senator Pat Harrison of Mississippi has introduced a bill in the Senate and Representative McKeown of Oklahoma has introduced one in the House to provide for such commodity financing and still another bill is in process of preparation. Concerning this plan Mr. Kile says: "Closely tied up with the newer ideas along cooperative marketing lines is the question of commodity financing. It has always been easier to secure credit for the production of a crop than it has been to secure credit for the orderly marketing of that crop. In many sections it is the common practice for bankers or merchants to advance credit for the purchase of seed, fertilizer, tools, and labor to produce a crop. But as soon as the crop is produced and ready to the market, the banker has said, 'Pay me.' Some one must of course carry the crops from the time of harvest to the time of final consumption. The entire credit system has been based upon the idea that credit for this purpose should be furnished the dealer, the middleman, and the speculator. It is the contention of the farmers' representatives that it costs certainly no more, probably less, to provide this credit to the farmer instead of to the speculator."

"The plan proposed to meet this need, and it would probably be an essential feature of any extensive cooperative marketing plan, is to extend the privileges now made possible under licensed warehouse system. Licensed warehouses should be available everywhere. Then when the farmer prefers to await a more favorable market for a portion of his crop he can merely deposit the crop in the licensed warehouse and take a receipt for it. Ordinarily this receipt would be acceptable at the local bank as good collateral security for a loan. But to guard against the occasional periods of stringency and also in order to avoid excessive charges some means of providing more direct access to the central sources of money should be provided."

"The American Farm Bureau Federation is working out the details of a plan to pool farmers' warehouse receipts through some such government agency as the Federal Farm Loan Banks, possibly an extension of the functions of the Farm Loan Banks, which would then issue against these receipts its own short time

notes or debentures and either sell them in the open market or rediscount them through the Federal Reserve System. These debentures would soon come to be recognized as a reliable, standard security and should be much in demand by investors."

The Farmers' Lobby

IT has been said that the farmers have never had so large a group of men representing their interests before Congress before. In addition to the American Farm Bureau Federation there is the National Grange, the National Board of Farm Organizations and the National Farmers' Council. Mr. Ben Marsh, secretary and legislative representative for the latter group, appeared before the House committee on banking and currency last week in a hearing which Mr. Marsh himself designated as having "some upheavals" and which in spite of its importance was attended by just three correspondents beside the representative of the *Woman Citizen*.

The proposition which he outlined asked that "Congress create a Commission of five to seven members including at least two farmers to serve as a sales and collection agency to finance the export of our surplus wheat and wheat flour, potatoes, cotton, wool, meat and meat products, milk and dairy products, and tobacco to European and other countries. These products should be purchased at bulk line cost of production plus a fair profit and our government should assume the risks of collection, leaving to the Commission to determine the length of time credit for such exports shall be extended. At least \$800,000,000 should be made available for the export of such surplus crops and the appropriations requested for the army and navy aggregating nearly \$1,633,991,334 should be reduced to about one-half, leaving over \$800,000,000 available for the export of such surplus products."

Mr. Marsh enlivened the proceedings by stating that "in America we are whistling in a graveyard" and "we are dancing in a fool's paradise." He charged that the present decrease in the price of farm products was occasioned by a "criminal conspiracy of the investment banks which control the Federal Reserve System," that a "small group of millionaires are attempting to crush millions of farmers," that "the unearned increment of one-quarter of one per cent of the people should be taken away from them to help the rest of the people." He caused a small tumult when he declared his belief in government ownership, admitted that up to two years ago the Farmers' National Council had received contributions from the Fels Fund and stated that the program of the Council was practically identical with the national one of the Non-Partisan League.

One of the questions which is putting difficulties in the way of giving what representatives of farm organizations are asking was brought to the surface by Representative McFadden of Pennsylvania, chairman of the committee, who asked Mr. Marsh to enlighten the committee as to just whom he represented. Mr. Marsh replied that the answer could be found in the report of the hearings before the Agriculture Committee on the packers. Representative King of Illinois pressed for an answer. Mr. Marsh responded, "I want it put in the Record that I ask you to ask how the American Farm Bureau Federation is organized." Representative McFadden and Representative Strong of Kansas insisted upon an answer, the questions and replies going something like this.

Q. What is your membership?

A. We do not go by numbers. We are made up several organizations.

Q. Who finances you?

A. We receive voluntary contributions and sums from some but not all of the organizations composing our membership.

Q. In how many states have you members?

A. About eighteen.

Q. Do you advocate the single tax?

A. We are not single taxers but taxers of privilege.

It was stated by members of the committee that similar questions will be put to the representatives of the other farm organizations as the hearing continues.

MARJORIE SHULER.

A German Woman Who Is Counsellor to Her Government

ANNA LINDAMAN of Stuttgart is one of the world's ablest women. She has been a member of the Board of Officers of the International Women Suffrage Alliance for ten years. During the war there could be no exchange of communication and although rumors of the great things women were doing in Germany seeped through the blockade now and then, there was an absence of detail and doubt as to the reliability of reports was the consequent result. At the recent Board meeting held in December in London, Mrs. Lindaman was persuaded to talk freely concerning her own work during the war.

In the kingdom of Wurtemberg she was the best known feminist, being chairman of the woman suffrage association. Although her husband was a member of the King's cabinet as Commissioner of Labor, the government had never given a sign that it knew anything whatever of Mrs. Lindaman's work. When the war came, however, the Minister of War chose to send for her and asked her to serve as Director of a Woman's Department dealing with all questions arising from the needs of women working in places made vacant by the absence of men.

THE Minister of War addressed all the Mayors of towns to call women to meet the state representative, Mrs. Lindaman. She met these appointments and found everywhere great audiences of women to whom she explained the work to be done. The Mayor presided and the women were organized in committees to support and manage the *Hilfsstellen* (help stations).

Through the kingdom, in cities, towns and county districts, these centers were organized where women (and men) could bring all possible human problems arising between birth and death. If a baby was coming they provided for mother and child; if death came they saw to the funeral.

At each *Hilfsstellen* there was an employment bureau, which examined each applicant as to fitness and adaptability to special occupations. Training classes were established to teach candidates the work to be done and the range of occupations included practically every calling, from barbers to workers in foundries where women sat in cages suspended from the ground and surrounded by levers which when touched started molten metal on its way to the mold.

Catholics, Protestants and Jews were organized together for the first time and worked together throughout the war.

A woman doctor was assigned to each munition factory to discover how best to conserve the health of the women. She worked as one of them in order that they might not know they were under observation.

Gymnastic teachers were also assigned to such factories and trained the muscles of the women in order that they might perform the unusual work without breaking down. The *Hilfsstellen* made careful study of the conditions surrounding the women war workers and knew where they lived, ate, cooked and slept.

They got the food cards for such workers, served them warm



Frau Lindaman and Her Staff

meals, and provided entertainment for them.

Much work was also organized to protect the virtue of girls and women, as was done in all countries, Catholic and Protestant clergymen joining these enterprises and working together.

HOMES were started to house women workers. Some were especially adapted for married women with children. Nurses took charge of the children in order that the mother might be free. These central committees found

rooms, supervised food, milk, clothing and fuel. They organized propaganda to save gas and coal and food. They organized vacation homes where tired workers might find rest. They met the problem of how to get suburban workers to their place of occupation without loss to themselves or their employers. They looked up and adjusted questions arising from assignment to families of the soldiers' pay. In fact the organization covered every conceivable development.

THE secretaries in the largest cities were paid salaries, but the staff even there was largely volunteer, as it was altogether in the smaller towns.

When the national supply of cloth gave out women were invited to plan garments of paper for workers. Later, women manufactured this paper and also the costumes made from it in factories. The workers were practically all wearing paper costumes when the war closed.

WHEN the war ended, the King of Wurtemberg was invited to retire. Mr. Lindaman was with him at the time. The King promptly issued a proclamation of abdication, and a coalition government with a president, who is also prime minister, is now in charge of the former Kingdom.

The demobilization of women to make places for men was even more difficult than the reverse which had called the organizations into being, so they were continued.

The post held by Mrs. Lindaman has been recognized by the new government and established for so long as the need for it continues.

Her title is *Regierungsrat* or Counsellor to the Government in the Ministry of Labor in the state of Wurtemberg.

MRS. LINDAMAN says that all positions are now theoretically opened to women and that the economic position of women is much higher than before the war.

Men and women have accepted woman suffrage as a matter of course and there is no danger of a reaction on that score.

Women did wonderful things in the war in all the countries involved and there was a similarity in the work to be done. When the story of what German women did is known, it will prove another volume in evidence of the unexpected capacities of women.

C. C. C.

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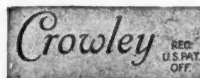
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Find This Hold-Up Man

“WHAT happens to a mutton chop to make it cost 75 cents on the plate when it cost an infinitesimal fraction of that on the sheep?” is a question Dr. Esther Lovejoy propounded to the *Woman Citizen* upon her return from her congressional campaign in Portland, Oregon.

Dr. Lovejoy gave some idea of the conditions as she had just seen them of stock farmers in the Northwest. “If farmers refused to provide food under present circumstances they would be justified,” she concluded, after giving instances of their deplorable plight.

Here is one instance, taken from life in central Idaho. It is the story of a sheep farmer who was obliged during the excessive cold of early 1920 to feed his flocks with hay, since they could not feed on the ranges. Hay cost him from \$40 to \$80 a ton, and his expenses were so heavy that to maintain his animals he borrowed money. The banks would only loan on his ranch and at a cost to him of 12 per cent. This year when he came to sell his sheep, sustained at such heavy expenditure, they brought \$4 each.

“It is facts like these that are creating Bolsheviki,” said Dr. Lovejoy, “not the soap box orator on the corner; for every farmer knows that somewhere between the sale price of his stock and the ultimate consumer, there are some people who are taking toll and giving nothing in exchange. They are literally bandits, hold-up men even more dangerous to society than those who menace public safety at the point of a pistol.”

Dr. Lovejoy, who is the head of the American Women's Hospitals and is also president of the Medical Women's International Association, has just escaped going to Congress from the Portland, Oregon, district. She polled 10,000 more votes than did the successful candidate from that section at the previous congressional election.

This she did as a Democratic candidate in a locality strongly Republican and in face of the tremendous Republican landslide of 1920.

An Early Woman in Politics

IT is not generally realized that Anna Hutchinson was one of the earliest women in this country to exert political influence. This was because among the Pilgrims politics and religion were so closely bound up together.

In 1628, in her home in Boston, Mrs. Hutchinson began to hold meetings of women, with whom she discussed and criticized the sermons of the preceding Sunday. Later she held two meetings a week, one for women only, the other a “community meeting,” to which men also came.

The great bone of contention in theology at that time was between “the covenant of works” and “the covenant of grace.” Mrs. Hutchinson and her brother-in-law, the Rev. Mr. Cotton, believed in the latter, Governor Winthrop in the former. Mrs. Hutchinson upheld her point of view with much ability and eloquence. Sir Harry Vane sided with her.

Public interest and public feeling over the matter ran high, and when election day came, the opinions of the candidates upon this question were the pivot upon which the political contest turned. The three Deputies elected (one of them Sir Harry Vane) were all believers in “the covenant of grace.” The Governor was so disgusted that he refused to confirm them and called another election. The same three Deputies were re-elected.

This was probably the first election held by white men on this side of the water where a woman's influence turned the scale. No doubt the irritation thus engendered was one factor in Mrs. Hutchinson's expulsion from the Colony a few years later.

A. S. B.

THUMB-
NAIL
SKETCHESOF
WOMEN
LAWMAKERS

MISS JESSIE DOE

From Farm to Forum

CINCINNATUS has nothing on Cincinnatus. Just as he was snatched by fame and public duty from his plow to serve the state, so was Miss Jessie Doe of Rollinsford, New Hampshire.

Miss Doe was the "stay-at-home" member of a large family, the youngest of nine brothers and sisters. She has devoted herself to home duties, was nurse and companion to an invalid mother, and has helped run the family farm. A newspaper interviewer found her right after election, fresh from the fields of the 50-acre Doe farm.

She is the daughter of the late Chief Justice Charles Doe of the New Hampshire Supreme Court and of Edith Haven Doe, formerly of Portsmouth.

In addition to home making, farm management and a few trifling duties like that, Miss Doe was chairman of the women's committee for the Council of National Defense for her town during the war. She has also helped the Red Cross, worked for a district nurse for the locality in which she lives and is now secretary of the District Nursing Association. She has been president of the local woman's club, and when Maine was busy with a referendum vote on suffrage, she crossed the river to South Berwick and put her shoulder to that wheel for a time as chairman of the South Berwick Equal Suffrage Association. One of her recent activities has been helping to direct the New Hampshire Woman's League for Better Voters.

Miss Doe climbs mountains with the Appalachian Club. She is interested in conserving the wonderful forests of New Hampshire and will make forestry one of her special tasks. She is also personally interested in child labor legislation and in improving the educational conditions of country towns.

Here is a woman called directly from keeping the home fires burning to the making of laws. She was equipped for the new task, as her record shows, by a steady widening of the radius of her activities from the particular to the general. She has been sufficiently alive to progress to journey out towards broader horizons.

What will women so equipped do in their new offices?

The WOMAN CITIZEN in presenting its series of Assemblywomen will call attention to the many and varied types of women who are elected to serve their states.

Electing the President

THE wife of the new Governor of New York, Mrs. Nathan L. Miller, as delegate-at-large cast the first vote for Harding and Coolidge in the Electoral College in Albany on January 10th. This serves as a double reminder, first that that inconspicuous assemblage, the Electoral College, in every state in the Union, was theoretically deciding the next President of the United States, and, second, that this year's Electoral College was distinguished from all others in the number of its women participants.

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The Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course Information Women Want

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THERE is a vast amount of valuable information which should be in the hands of the women voters of this country which is now emerging from the federal departments under the interest-robbing title of Annual Reports.

Who wants to read an annual report?

But who would not be interested in the causes which have led to the Shipping Board having a deficit of \$513,366,139.19, above all its revenues? Certainly the women whose taxes are involved would like a little further light on why vessels reported as costing \$339,083,676.32, sold for only \$296,515,344.48, the deficit of upward of \$42,000,000 showing that sales were made considerably under cost.

Then there is the annual report of the post office showing another deficit for the year of \$17,270,482.72, which Mr. Burleson says is the fault of Congress for its "ill-advised action in joint resolution 151."

"The Postmaster-General feels constrained to point out that if a prompt halt is not called and such a policy is persisted in, there will be a deficiency for the next fiscal year of approximately \$36,000,000, and the postal establishment will cease to be self-supporting, as it should be, and will become a constantly increasing burden upon the general treasury."

The audited expenditures for the year were \$454,322,609.21, an increase over the preceding year of \$91,824,973.52 or 25.33 per cent. The audited expenditures for the fiscal year were therefore in excess of the revenues in the sum of \$17,172,396.88. After deducting losses of postal funds by fire, burglary, and other causes amounting to \$98,085.84, the total audited deficiency in postal revenues for the fiscal year is \$17,270,482.72.

The Postmaster-General in the report renews the recommendations heretofore made that organizations of postal employees be prohibited by law from affiliation with outside organizations, and again calls the attention of Congress to the impropriety of government employees owing allegiance to any organization which might stand between them and the government.

The Treasury Department is out with the pleasing holiday reminder that the government is in debt \$24,175,000,000. That during the last fiscal year closing June 30th, there was paid out for government expenses \$8,694,000,000, and that this year the expense will be nearly \$6,000,000,000.

From the Woman Citizen's Washington Bureau

The Citizenship Course interrupts its stories of the Federal Departments to insert this timely picture of the immediate situation in national affairs as shown by the federal reports.

Millions for the Railroads

NOT only are we facing serious deficits but the Interstate Commerce Commission in its report asks permission to pay the railroad companies certain amounts due them toward the total for the period during which the roads were operated under the federal guarantee provision. Supplementing the report it is well for the women readers to have in mind the fact that already more than \$312,000,000 has been turned over to the railroads by the government in advances on the guaranty provisions and loans and that estimates place the amount necessary to make good the guaranty provision at approximately \$600,000,000. In its report the Commission urges the punishment of bribery of railroad employees for special favors to shippers, saying, "As a result of the inadequacy of the car supply and of railroad transportation facilities generally during the past year, a practice has grown up among shippers of bribing operating employees of railroad companies in order to obtain transportation services. The demoralizing effects of this practice are far-reaching. Bribery of this character in many instances cannot be directly and effectively reached under existing laws. It is, therefore, recommended that the Interstate Commerce Act be amended to provide for the punishment of any person offering or giving to an employee of a carrier subject to the act any money or thing of value with intent to influence his action with respect to car service as defined in the act, or because of such action or decision; and to provide also for the punishment of the guilty employee."

Deportation of Aliens

IN view of the threat of unemployment there is special interest in that part of the report of the Department of Labor dealing with the development of the employment service, the providing of transportation for workers to a place where they will be needed, and the adjustment of seasonal work of various sorts so that workers may go from one kind of occu-

pation to another. It is also interesting to note that concerning the much-attacked position of Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor, on the expulsion of aliens, the report has to say that the law does not grant the commissioner-general of immigration any jurisdiction.

In the matter of the immigration department's making recommendations in deportation cases there are dangers of "a tendency toward decisions by official routine, to the prejudice of the just rights of aliens, and a presumption on the part of people having immigration business with the department that there was an intermediate tribunal in the Bureau of Immigration between aliens and the secretary." Acceptance of this idea by the House Committee on Rules, before which Mr. Post was called last summer, "created an embarrassing situation for the department and made its decisions a subject of widespread adverse and unjust as well as unintelligent criticism. As a result, an advisory committee has been formed to advise the secretary in warrant and appeal cases; but the secretary is the sole judge of facts, except as authority may have been designated to the assistant secretary of the acting secretary."

Some 6,000 warrants were issued during the year in deportation cases, on the basis of probable-cause affidavits submitted mainly by agents of the Department of Justice. Most of these charged the aliens with being members of specific organizations, held by the secretary to be within the proscription of the immigration laws.

"Extraordinary demands were made by irresponsible persons that upon no other proof against an alien than that he was a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, the secretary should deport him. These demands were refused by the secretary, because, upon examination of the constitution of the I. W. W. he found it did not fall within the inhibitions of the immigration laws. A very large proportion, therefore, of all the warrants of arrests in these cases have been cancelled."

National Parks and Education

NOT only are there reports from the federal departments themselves, but the various bureaus within the departments have made reports to the department chiefs. Thus the Department of the Interior reviews in its report the activities of its bureaus, starting out with the need for the preservation of our na-

tional parks and monuments, while the bureau of National Parks also makes a report, declaring that more than one million tourists visited the parks this year.

The needs of the Department of Education are set forth in a report which is especially interesting in view of the present discussed legislation for revision of the departments and which the representatives of the League of Women Voters have declared will not give the department the scope which they desire it to have.

Department of Justice

THE Attorney General states in mentioning the close of the internment camps that there were 250,000 investigations; 8,500 arrests under presidential warrant, 2,200 officers and seamen of the German merchant marine and 2,300 civilians interned; 480,000 Germans registered. There has been established as a part of the general intelligence division a card-index system, numbering over 200,000 cards, giving detailed data not only upon individual agitators connected with the ultraradical movement, but also upon organizations, associations, societies, publications, and special conditions existing in certain localities. This card index makes it possible to determine and ascertain in a few moments the numerous ramifications of individuals connected with the ultraradical movement and their activities in the United States. It is so classified that a card for a particular city will show the various organizations existing in that city, together with their membership rolls and the names of the officers.

The Attorney-General says the spread of radical doctrines has been "aided" in 26 foreign language newspapers in the United States.

There have been 1,049 prosecutions instituted under the profiteering section alone, and in all 2,016 cases under all sections of the Lever Food Control Act. In five of the ten principal bituminous coal-producing states, Indiana, Colorado, western Kentucky, Pennsylvania, and Missouri, prosecutions under the Lever Act were prevented by decisions of the United States district courts holding the act unconstitutional. A special assistant to the Attorney-General was designated to deal with the subject in the anthracite-producing regions.

Investigations have been made in the sugar industry, in leather, in hotels and restaurants, and in the meat-packing business, which resulted in the indictment of the following packers: Morris & Co., Wilson & Co., Armour &

Co., Swift & Co., and the Cudahy Packing Company.

Twenty-eight anti-trust cases are pending in the courts.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, 611 civil and 7,297 criminal cases were commenced under the National Prohibition Act, in addition to the many brought under the internal revenue laws, and 92 civil and 5,095 criminal cases terminated in the various districts. Of these cases 4,315 resulted in convictions and but 125 in acquittals; 655 were discontinued or dismissed on demurrer, etc.; \$507,482.70 was realized from fines and forfeitures in these criminal cases and \$2,163.40 on judgments in civil cases.

Injurious Trade Practices

IN stating the investigations made by its economic division in living necessities, the Federal Trade Commission mentions the monthly reports from coal operators on coal costs and sales realizations which it has published throughout the year. Were those reports in your home, aiding you in making out your case as the consumer?

Here are samples of the hundreds of complaints dealt with by the legal division of the Commission, which are of interest as indicating alleged injurious trade practices, which if true, cause the public to suffer:

Complaint No. 461. Federal Trade Commission v. E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. Charge: Using unfair methods of competition by giving gratuities of different kinds to employees of competitors' customers to influence them to refuse to use the product of competitors of respondent, to inaugurate strikes in case such competitors' products were used, and the actually inauguration of a strike for a period of 16 days when their employer used the product of a competitor, and by reason of such strike succeeded in intimidating others to discontinue the use of any product which competed with that of respondent, in alleged violation of section 5 of the commission act, and by entering into an agreement with various producers of coal whereby respondent was to furnish blasting powder at a fixed price on the condition that said producers would not use the product of any competitor, and that the effect of such agreement has been to substantially lessen competition, in alleged violation of section 3 of the Clayton Act. Status: This proceeding is now at issue on the complaint of the Commission and the answer of the respondent.

Complaint No. 505. Federal Trade Commission v. The C. D. Kenny Co. Charge: Using unfair methods of competition in the sale of sugar by adopting the policy of refusing to sell sugar unless a customer will at the same time purchase from respondent the same number of pounds of coffee, thereby coercing a customer into purchasing a quantity of coffee in excess of his needs or demands, and coercing during the recent shortage in sugar, customers into purchasing an inferior grade of coffee, at prices above the fair market value of same, in order that such customers might purchase sugar from respondent to satisfy their needs and requirements, in alleged violation of section 5 of the Federal Trade Commission Act. Status: This proceeding is now before the Commission for final disposition.

Complaint No. 401. Federal Trade Commission v. Commonwealth Co. Charge: Using unfair methods of competition in the sale of groceries, by advertising to sell groceries in combination orders at a fixed aggregate price, well-known and staple articles being sold at less than cost, while less familiar articles are sold at increased prices sufficient to give respondent a satisfactory profit on the aggregate sales, with the effect of deceiving and misleading the public, in alleged violation of section 5 of the Federal Trade Commission Act. Status: This proceeding is now at issue upon the complaint of the Commission and answer of the respondent, and is in course of trial.

Complaint No. 585. Federal Trade Commission v. Larabee Flour Mills Corporation. Charge: Using unfair methods of competition by offering to give and giving to any grocer, dealer, or merchant who purchased 25 barrels of respondent's flour known as Larabee's Best Flour a 10-year guaranteed gold-filled watch; and offering to give and giving for each 25 barrels of flour thereafter ordered or sold to such grocer, dealer, or merchant a similar watch to any one of his clerks or the cashier, to be designated by him, until everyone in the store of such grocer, dealer, or merchant had received one of such watches, which practice operates to the detriment and disadvantage of competitors selling and dealing in flour and not engaged in such practice, in alleged violation of section 5 of the Federal Trade Commission Act. Status: This proceeding is now before the commission for final disposition.

Complaint No. 588. Federal Trade Commission v. Esco-Hosiery Co. (Inc). Charge: Using unfair methods of competition by labeling, advertising, stamping, and branding on

(Continued on page 898)

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171 Madison Avenue, New York

Write for Particulars

With Our Contributing Editors

Mr. Bartelt Again Defends the Espionage Act

To the Editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN:

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL in her reply to my letter stated:

"Mr. Bartelt objects to my statement that, under the Espionage act, many Americans have been sent to prison for expressing disapproval of the war."

I made no such objection. I merely put two questions to her which I believed to be clear, simple and easily understood. She stated in her first article the following:

"The rule was definitely established that it was a legal offense to express disapproval of the war."

I asked her the following question:

"Will Alice Stone Blackwell give the name of the case and the language of the court that lays down any such rule of law?"

There was no answer to that question in her reply. Either the courts did or did not put such interpretation upon the Espionage act. I found no such rule of law enunciated by the courts in any of the reported cases nor in the Department of Justice pamphlets. On the contrary, the courts adhered to the law as explained to the jury in the Debs case (Department of Justice pamphlet No. 155) that:

"Disapproval of war is of course, not a crime, nor is the advocacy of peace a crime under this law," etc. This instruction was later approved by the Supreme Court.

IN the Espionage cases as in all criminal prosecutions the intent is the gravamen of the offense. Therefore, days, weeks were spent by the courts in receiving testimony other than the words charged in the indictment for the purpose of ascertaining the intent back of the spoken words. Such testimony usually consisted of other speeches, writings, letters, conversations and acts of those on trial.

Merely to flash before the readers of the WOMAN CITIZEN a few words spoken by the defendant and to denounce in bitter and uncompromising terms the courts and juries without giving some idea of the character of that part of the evidence which throws light upon the all important element of the crime—the intent—is viciously unfair.

The second question which I asked was this:

"Will Alice Stone Blackwell give her readers the name of the case or cases in which the court instructed the jury, or the court interpreted the Espionage act to mean that under it one could be convicted for merely expressing his opinion about the war?"

She cites no cases in her answer in which the court said that a mere expression of an opinion constituted a violation of the law. I find that the courts held to the contrary and that juries were carefully instructed that:

"They could not find the defendant guilty for

advocacy of any of his opinions." (Debs case 249, U. S., 211, 39 Sup. Ct. Rep. 252, 63 L. Ed. 566; U. S. vs. Listman 263 Fed. 798; Herman vs. U. S. 257 Fed. 601.)

In other words the bare spoken words were insufficient to convict. There must be present other elements before there could be a violation of the Espionage act. The Supreme Court said in the Debs case that the spoken words must have:

"As their natural tendency and reasonably probable effect to obstruct the recruiting service," etc.

EVEN with all that present there could be no conviction without the presence of a third element, namely, intent. Or as the Supreme Court puts it in the same case,

"And unless the defendant had the specific intent to do so (to obstruct) in his mind."

Therefore those who profess to inform the public as to the justice or injustice of any particular or all the convictions should be familiar with all the testimony offered in each case.

Most assuredly courts and juries, being human, will occasionally make mistakes. Alice Stone Blackwell glibly and with finality says,

"Under it (Espionage Act) hundreds of American citizens were sentenced to prison for long terms, most of them merely for expression of opinion and half of them for opinions expressed in private conversation."

Of course all the courts and all the juries who tried these hundreds of cases and heard ALL the testimony and had the opportunity to witness the demeanor of the defendants on the stand are ALL clearly mistaken. None of these defendants ever intended to persuade men not to enlist or to obstruct the prosecution of the war in the slightest degree. They were just merely talking, but never expected or never intended to convince any of the boys who were enlisting or those who were subscribing for the war loans, etc., to think just as they were thinking. Not a single one of these hundreds of defendants was properly and honestly convicted. A serious charge indeed to make against our criminal courts and the American jury system!

Alice Stone Blackwell, in her reply article, makes the following statement:

"Even expression of opinion in criticism of the government has been held criminal. Mrs. Rose Pastor Stokes wrote a letter to the Kansas City Star, in which she said: 'I am for the people, while the government is for the profiteers.' In consequence she was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for obstructing recruiting and attempting to cause insubordination and mutiny in the military and naval forces."

The above are the words that Alice Stone

Blackwell says Rose Pastor Stokes used. But the following are the words of her letter taken from the records of the case (Stokes vs. U. S. 18.):

"To the *Star*: I see that it is, after all, necessary to send a statement for publication over my signature, and I trust that you will give it space in your columns.

"A headline in this evening's issue of the *Star* reads: 'Mrs. Stokes for Government and Against War at the Same Time.' I am not for the government. In the interview that followed I am quoted as having said: 'I believe that the Government of the United States should have the unqualified support of every citizen in its war aims.'

"I made no such statement, and I believe no such thing. No Government which is for the profiteers can also be for the people, and I am for the people while the government is for the profiteers."

ON the question of her intent there were a number of witnesses that testified that in her speeches, her letters and conversations she made many statements of a revolutionary character. Among the many things she said were the following:

"That there would be a revolution in the United States after the war, and if the war was prolonged, it would occur earlier; that the Bolshevik movement in Russia was ideal; that the land there was now being divided and people could go on this land as long as they desired without expense, and that the banks and vaults were being broken into, and the money was being divided among the people, to whom it rightfully belonged; that the United States would have a revolution in the future, and that the Bolshevik movement was the ideal movement, that after the war, if not before, all these things would be known and a great revolution in the United States would result." (Department of Justice pamphlet No. 106.)

Furthermore, Alice Stone Blackwell omitted to tell another important fact. On March 6th, 1920, Rose Pastor Stokes' conviction was reversed by the Circuit Court of Appeals because of error made by the trial court in its instructions. Why did Alice Stone Blackwell, who accuses American courts of being cruelly unfair, garble the words of the Rose Pastor Stokes' letter? Why was this case, which was reversed, selected and why was the fact of the reversal kept from the readers of the *WOMAN CITIZEN*?

The William Powell case was referred to but I was unable to find it in any of the Federal Reporter volumes or in the Department of Justice pamphlets. Either he did not take an appeal or else it is still pending. I wrote to the Department of Justice at Washington for particulars, but received no reply, therefore the delay in this answer.

In her reply Alice Stone Blackwell accuses the courts of circumventing their own ruling,

namely, it was not illegal to express a disapproval of the war, by holding that it was impossible to express a disapproval of the war without obstructing the enlistment or recruiting service or without causing mutiny or insubordination in the army and the navy. To prove her point she tells us how centuries ago it was contrary to the chartered rights of the people of Great Britain to be imprisoned for a debt, but that this was easily circumvented by a legal fiction in this manner:

"The creditor could secure a letter written in the king's name, ordering the debtor to pay up. If he failed to do so he was sent to prison, not for the debt, but for rebellion and disobedience to the king."

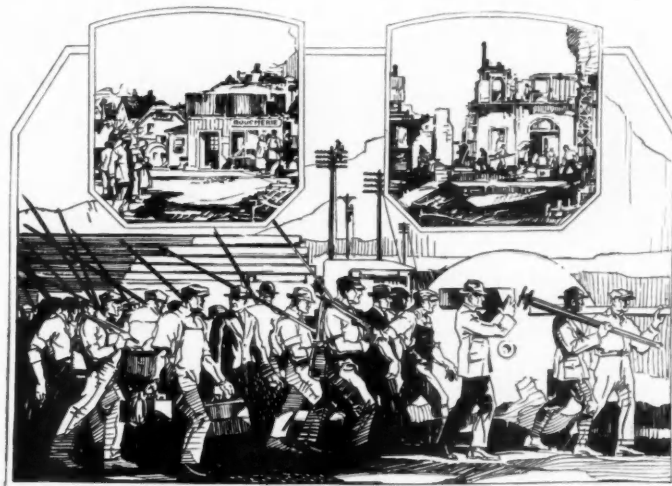
This clearly is an attempt to convict our

courts and juries of a miscarriage of justice upon the crimes committed by their great grandfathers. Whatever mistakes our criminal courts may have made, we can say with assurance they have never permitted a jury to be prejudiced against the defendant by admitting proof of the crimes committed by the defendant's grandfather.

ARTHUR H. BARTELT.

Milwaukee, Wis.

The Contributing Editors' space in the Woman Citizen is an open forum wherein correspondents are given an opportunity to state their own cases.



Winning the Battles of Peace

France has almost won her great fight against war's destruction. Eighty per cent of her wrecked and crippled factories again hum with activity. All of the 4,006 villages and towns in the devastated regions have again resumed municipal life; and of the 6,445 schools in this vast area, 5,345 have been rebuilt and opened. Farms, factories and homes again cover most of the scarred land.

In her reconstruction, France has shown the same unconquerable spirit that stopped her invaders at the Marne.

And here, at home, another great peaceful victory is being

won against the greatest odds. This has been the fight of the Bell telephone employees to rebuild a national service.

Despite all of the difficulties of the post-war period, the organized forces of the Bell system have established new records in maintenance and construction.

Facing, after the armistice, a public demand such as was never before known, they have yet responded to the nation's need with hundreds of new buildings, thousands of miles of new wires and cables, and with the installation in the last year, alone, of over half a million new telephones.



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On Guard for the Working Woman

THE National Trade Union League, numbering over 600,000 members, is the organization which is on guard for the industrial rights of women. It was begun as a national organization in 1903 and in 1904 began developing state branches, Illinois being the first. Its president is Mrs. Raymond Robins.

EQUAL pay for equal work irrespective of sex will become the law so far as the United States Civil Service is concerned, if Congress passes the bill for reclassification of the Civil Service just introduced by Representative Lehlbach of New Jersey, Chairman of the House Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

The Lehlbach bill will thus amend Section 165 of the present civil service law, which states: "Women may, at the discretion of the head of any department, be appointed upon the same requisites and conditions, and with the same compensation as prescribed for men." Under this permissive language of the old civil service law, it is declared that appointing officers have excluded women from appointment purely on grounds of sex, have paid them less than men for exactly similar work, after they have passed exactly the same examination, and have discriminated against them in promotion until the injustice has been for several years the subject of vigorous protest from the National Women's Trade Union League and the organized suffragists.

The Lehlbach Reclassification bill provides that "in determining rates of compensation an employee shall receive, the principle of equal compensation for equal work, irrespective of sex, shall be followed." Taken in connection with the other provisions of the bill governing appointment and promotion according to efficiency, this clause in the new bill furnishes the legal protection of women's equal rights in the civil service which have been deemed so vital.

A FURTHER great principle of vital importance to women, namely standardization of pay for many of the underpaid professions and callings traditionally occupied by women, will also be accomplished by the Lehlbach bill.

The League, in cooperation with the National Federation of Federal Employees, is urging the enactment of this measure as one of the triple reforms immediately necessary for efficient administration of the government service, namely, reclassification, reorganization, and a budget.

In the professional field, the League points out, women predominate among librarians, for which the Lehlbach bill provides a salary range

THE WOMAN CITIZEN will from time to time select from among the programs and activities of women's national organizations, state branches and local clubs, and from the resolutions passed by them, that which, in the opinion of the editors, stands out as the most significant effort of the hour on the part of organized women, considered from such viewpoints as these:

*Democratic ideals throughout the world,
Methods of making government by people get what the people want,*

*World peace,
National economy and efficiency,
Securing men of the right calibre for the United States Congress,*

*Supporting constructive and progressive legislation and in opposing reactionaryism,
State and local government,
Freeing politics, national, state and local from bossism,*

*The promotion of education and securing a national department of education,
The promoting of education in citizenship for both men and women among both native and foreign-born populations,
Cultural values,*

The securing of recognition of women's right to derive citizenship on their own account instead of deriving it, as now, through their husbands,

*Just and intelligent standards of morality,
The most advanced steps in the handling of the problems of the household,*

*The most helpful action looking toward the protection of women in industry,
The development of business initiative in women.*

Below we present a statement of some of the inadequacies of women's pay and recent remedies advocated by the National Women's Trade Union League.

of \$1,800 to \$5,040 a year, with library assistants rated at \$1,080 to \$1,800. In this service at present the government pays as little as \$840 a year. Nurses are rated in the new bill at \$1,320 to \$2,940 a year. Translators from \$1,800 to \$2,880 a year. Social economists, including many women employed in the Departments of Labor and Agriculture for example, are also rated at \$1,800 to \$5,040 a year.

Women predominate also in the clerical service, where the government at present pays as little as \$70 a month, and fills the positions from \$1,800 and up chiefly with men, so that the women clerks are concentrated in the lower paid groups. The Lehlbach reclassification proposes to change the present low rates with a provision opening up to women the opportunity for advancement on equal terms with men.

For the institutional workers, including house managers, matrons, culinary workers, seamstresses, laundry workers, etc., nearly all of whom in the rank and file are women, the

proposed new rates range, with maintenance, are from \$780 to \$3,600 (Manager government hotels). At present some of these women are paid as little as \$13 a week. For cleaners, without maintenance, the new rate will be \$3 a day or \$1,080 a year. The women mail bag sewers and repairers (canvas and leather work) are scheduled under the new bill at 50 to 60 cents an hour.

The women in the printing trades are one group for which the Lehlbach bill does not raise the standard, but the Women's Union of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing and the Women's Bindery Union hope to secure adjustment of their schedule at the hearing on the bill before the House Committee. Their new ratings are from 45 to 55 cents an hour.

The salary schedules of the bill as introduced apply only to the government employees in the District of Columbia, but the bill contains a provision whereby the Secretary of the Treasury is required to extend these rates so far as they are applicable to the field service, and to establish any new rates and classifications that may be called for in the field service.

THE threatened cuts in federal appropriations, if applied to the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, will be vigorously resisted by the National Women's Trade Union League and other women's organizations, it was stated at the League's Washington headquarters. The League will point out that with only fifty-six thousandths of one per cent of last year's appropriations allotted by Congress to the interests of women and children, the Women's Bureau estimates are no place to use the pruning knife.

The estimate of the Secretary of Labor for the Woman's Bureau for the coming year is \$150,000, which is twice the present allowance. The new work which the Bureau has already been called upon to do in the next year includes several state surveys requested by the State Labor departments, beginning with Georgia, where the work has already begun; a study of the wages and hours of work in the candy trades in Chicago and St. Louis; working conditions of women employees of the hotels and restaurants of New York State, and a thorough study of posture at work.

Miss Mary Anderson, director of the Woman's Bureau, urges especially the need for a study of the effect of the piece-work system upon the women's health and the health of the future generations. With its present fund of \$75,000 the Woman's Bureau is unable to command the requisite staff and equipment for all

(Continued on page 898)

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Missouri Women's Conference

REPRESENTATIVES of nine women's state organizations were present at a meeting of the Missouri Woman's Legislative Committee, at the headquarters of the Missouri League of Women Voters in the Century Building, Thursday, December 16th to frame the legislative program which the women's organizations will present to the Legislature. The committee decided to sponsor the following bills:

Minimum Wage Commission with women represented;

A bill to make women eligible as representatives to the new constitutional state conventions;

Revision of the factory inspection law to put it on a salary basis;

Elimination of the word "male" from the state constitution;

Revision of the registration, primary and election laws;

Adequate appropriation for the State Board of Health;

The unpassed bills of the Children's Code.

A permanent organization was effected at the meeting, and Mrs. George Still of Kirksville, president of the Missouri Federation of Women's Club, was named president of the organization. In her absence, Mrs. Nelle Burger, Springfield, president of the Missouri W. C. T. U., was elected temporary chairman and presided at the meeting.

IN her heartening appeal to the Women's League of Missouri, to meet for this conference, Mrs. George Gellhorn, vice chairman of the National League of Women Voters and chairman of the Missouri League, said:

"Is the League of Women Voters a real force? Is there a league active and ready to meet the possibilities and problems of 1921? There is, I say, and I tell it to you with pride and rejoicing. There is a League of Women Voters organized in every State in the United States. The league is flourishing. It is growing in size. It is growing in power, and this in spite of many difficulties which it has to overcome.

"There is no longer any doubt about the interest the women are going to take in the vote. The greatest opportunity of our country is at hand—that this enormous mass of influence be turned in the right direction; that it be neither dissipated nor wasted.

"In the State of Missouri the League of Women Voters is organized in ninety-two out of one hundred and fourteen counties and in

these counties, outside of the citizenship schools held in Kansas City, Joplin, and St. Louis, there have been one hundred and sixteen citizenship schools directed by the League of Women Voters.

"What Next?" is our slogan and membership is our first campaign. Our goal is every woman voter a member of the League of Women Voters, and tremendous strides have been taken. The comparatively small state of Alabama has already passed the one hundred thousand goal; the city of St. Louis is out for a similar number. Missouri wants to have two hundred thousand enrolled members by March first. Make yourself a committee of one to see that your community enrolls every forward looking woman as a league member.

"Furthermore the Missouri League of Women Voters, following the policy of the National League of Women Voters, called together representatives of women's organizations in Missouri to decide upon a legislative program back of which all women of Missouri will stand."

The Missouri League of Women Voters is especially interested in the changes in the primary, registration and election laws. It has employed as its council Mr. Joseph W. Jamison to draft the bills and direct the work. The changes tentatively decided upon are said to mean the enactment of practically an entire new election code, which, in addition to curing some of the evils which have grown up under present laws, will eliminate defects which have crept into the present code through frequent and sometimes ill-advised amendments.

Among the changes tentatively listed for attention by Mr. Jamison are the following:

To change the form of ballot from the present ribbon ballot to a form of blanket ballot.

To enable candidates regarded as defeated on the face of the returns to obtain a recount of primary ballots through court action and providing for punishment in the criminal courts of frauds revealed by such recount.

To authorize the selection of women for Election Commissioners, election judges and clerks, as members of political central committees and for all posts connected with the administration of election laws, so far as is possible under the Constitution.

To provide for a new method of counting primary and election ballots by capable men, so as to safeguard the canvass of the primary and election returns.

To revise the registration system now in use in the larger cities of the state to minimize the possibility of fraud.

(Continued on page 898)

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Seventy-first year begins September 29, 1920

Entrance requirements: two years of college work, including certain credits in science and language. Full laboratory and clinical advantages; dispensaries, clinics, bedside instruction, out-patient obstetrical service. Special eight months' course for laboratory technicians. Four months' preliminary didactic and laboratory course for nurses. The Anna Howard Shaw Memorial Department of Preventive Medicine is now being organized. It is hoped to announce a curriculum of work beginning Oct. 1921.

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and will be both pleasant and profitable.

Subscription Department

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

171 Madison Ave.

New York City

Missouri Conference

(Continued from page 897)

To improve and expand the corrupt practices
act.

"Facts as I have given them to you," said
Mrs. Gellhorn, "prove the Missouri League of
Women Voters is very much alive.

"We are here for two purposes—Education
and Legislation. We believe we have done as
well as could be expected for the year 1920.

"We have hoped that a new order and a
better order will prevail because of the earnest-
ness with which women are taking their responsi-
bility as citizens. We believe it is up to you
personally to bestir yourself, to keep yourself
informed, to make your community feel that
you are where you are for service to your state,
that you have back of you an organization
whose whole effort is directed toward educat-
ing an informed, flexible electorate. Democracy
is being put to its final test. Let us have faith
with Abraham Lincoln that 'right makes might,'
and in that faith let us dare to do our duty as
we understand it."

MISS MARIE AMES will represent the
committee in Jefferson City while the
Legislature is in session, and each organization
will send representatives at intervals during
the session.

The organization represented at the meeting
Thursday were:

Missouri Parent-Teacher Ass'n; Missouri
W. C. T. U.; Missouri Consumers' League;
Y. W. C. A.; Council of Jewish Women;
Missouri League of Women Voters; Women's
Trade Union League; Missouri Federation of
Women's Clubs, and Missouri Tuberculosis
Association.

Information Women Want

(Continued from page 893)

packages containing hosiery bought and sold
by its representations that the hose contained
in said packages are silk, when in truth and in
fact the material in said hose is not all silk,
but only a portion of such material in such
hose is silk, the remaining portion being com-
posed of material of inferior quality and of
less value than silk, with the effect of mislead-
ing and deceiving the trade and general pub-
lic, in alleged violation of section 5 of the
Federal Trade Commission Act. Status:
This proceeding is at issue upon the complaint
of the Commission and answer of the re-
spondent.

Complaint No. 604. Federal Trade Com-
mission v. David Kahn and Benjamin Shat-
kum, doing business under the firm name and
style of Shatkum and Kahn. Charge: Using
unfair methods of competition by manufactur-
ing and selling fountain pens in which are in-
serted gold-plated pen points upon which are
stamped "14.K. gold plate," the words of this

stamp being so arranged that the word "plate"
occurs near the heel of the pen point and is
obscured by the barrel or holder of the pen
into which it is inserted, while the words
"14.K. gold" remain visible; and manufactur-
ing and selling fountain pens in which are in-
serted gold-plated pen points upon which are
stamped "Tribunal 14 Special" the words of
this stamp being arranged that the figure "14"
occurs in a prominent place in the center of
the pen point with the word "Special" below
it, and the word "Tribunal" above it, the ef-
fect of which is to lead the public into the
belief that the pen points are of 14 karat gold,
in alleged violation of section 5 of the Federal
Trade Commission Act. Status: Answer to
the Commission's complaint in this proceeding
is not yet due.

These are only a few of the many reports
which have just made their appearance and
are available now to those who write and ask
the various federal agencies for them.

On Guard for the Working Woman

(Continued from page 896)

these undertakings and therefore asks for an
increase.

The work done last year includes the charting
of the state laws affecting women workers; the
field work upon an investigation to determine
the proportion of women wage-earners who
have dependents; investigations dealing with
the wages, hours and working conditions of
women in industrial establishments in Kansas,
Minnesota, Rhode Island, Iowa, Massachusetts,
and New Jersey. The Bureau is now engaged
in a study of the conditions surrounding the
employment of negro women in industry and
has recently completed studies of the oppor-
tunities for industrial training of women and
girls. It has just published a comprehensive
report entitled, "The New Position of Women
in American Industry," comparing conditions
before and since the war.

WILL the author of the eloquent tribute
to Inez Milholland which appeared in
last week's WOMAN CITIZEN please come for-
ward and claim the credit which is due her!
Owing to an inadvertency the letter which ac-
companied the copy of the poem became sepa-
rated from the copy and as there was no name
on the copy itself we shall be unable to give
due credit until the poem is claimed by its
writer.

NEXT WEEK'S ISSUE WILL CONTAIN
WHAT YOU WANT TO KNOW ABOUT
CHILD WELFARE. DON'T MISS IT.

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Opening of Forum for the Discussion
of Alimony for Women

CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN
and others

The WOMAN CITIZEN will, from time to time, select from among the programs and activities of women's national organizations, state branches and local clubs, and from the resolutions passed by them, that which in the opinion of the editors stands out as the most significant effort of the hour on the part of organized women.

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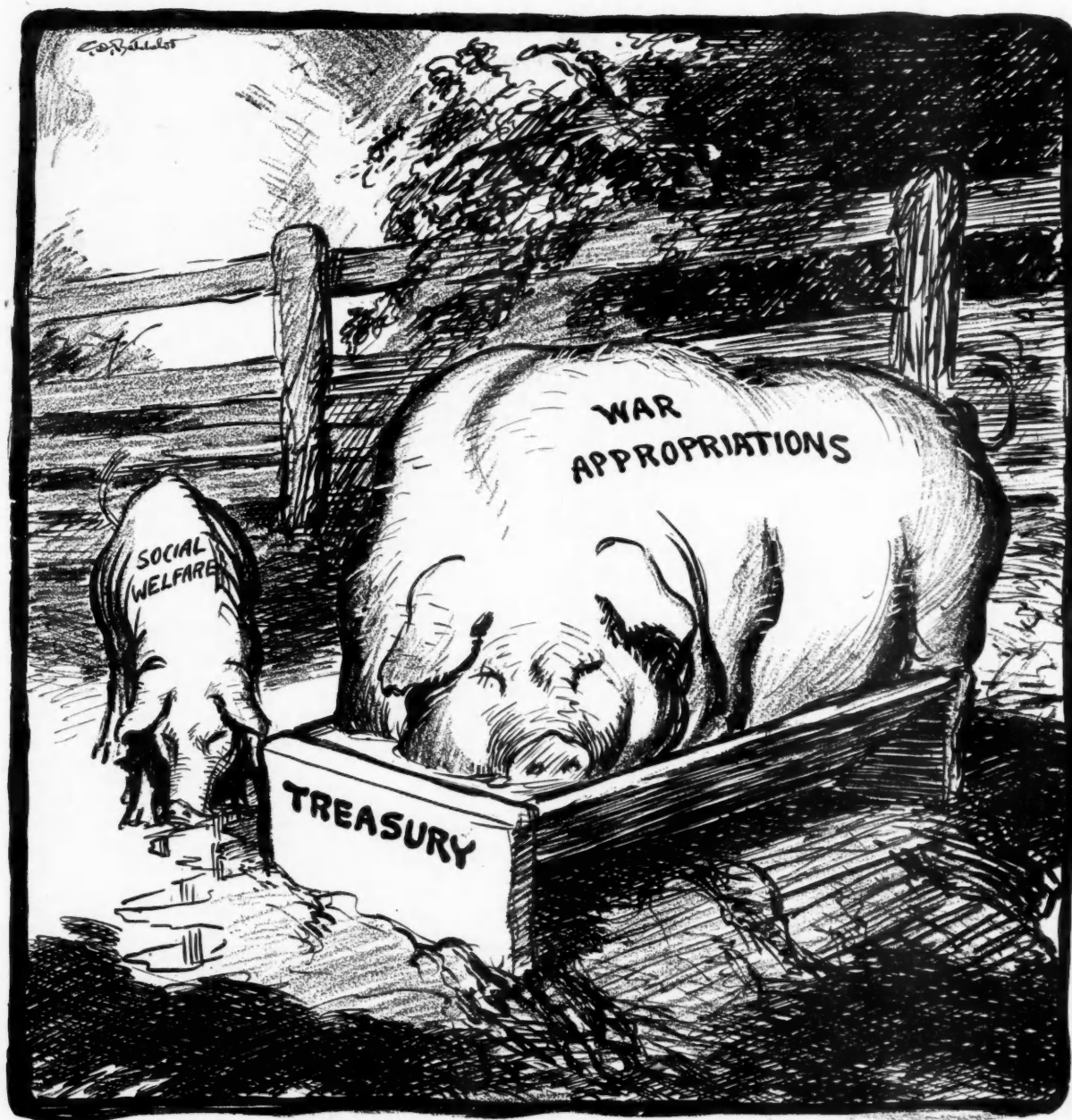
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THE Woman Citizen

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and published from 1870 to 1917).

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in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the
cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

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New York City

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Vol. LI Old Style
Vol. V New Style

JANUARY 22, 1921

No. 34

See the WOMAN CITIZEN for *February 5th*

For the beginning of what promises to be
A spirited discussion of the question:

Ought Women to Have Alimony?

Never has the Woman Citizen thrown open its pages to the discussion of any subject with such instantaneous and animated reaction. Already it is evident that the division of opinion will not be along sex lines. Men and women are for alimony. Men and women are against it. A learned man judge analyzes it as a square deal. A famous woman publicist deplors it as degrading to the ideal marriage institution.

See the Woman Citizen for February 5th

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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME V

JANUARY 22, 1921

NUMBER 34

THE WOMAN CITIZEN was founded by the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission, Inc., in the hope that it might prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The editorial offices are at 171 Madison Avenue, New York. Carrie Chapman Catt and Alice Stone Blackwell are special contributing editors.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief. Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd and Marjorie Shuler are associate editors.

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Entered at the New York Post Office as Second Class matter, under the act of March 3, 1879.

It is not to be understood that the WOMAN CITIZEN gives editorial endorsement to the opinions expressed in articles signed with name, initials, or pseudonym. Such articles may be at dagger's point with the editorial commitment, or in exact accord with it. They are printed because they seem worth printing and not because of an agreement in their expressed opinions. The editors speak for the magazine in the editorial pages.

GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING on January 12, 1921, said this: "As we review the effects of the war, every thinking man and woman must realize the reasons why steps should be taken to prevent another such calamity. One step in that direction is to reduce the expense of armament. All the nations should realize the dangers of the renewal of this competition in building up large armies and navies. The safety of humanity in the future depends upon an early consideration of the question of limiting armament."

LONG months has the WOMAN CITIZEN had its eye on the index finger of the National Child Labor Committee, pointing to January 22 as one of the three days in which it asks the public to remember the children. Not that this magazine remembers the children once a year only and then lets them go. Quite the contrary, it is on duty fifty-two weeks in every year in the interests of the coming generation. But the Labor Committee happened to strike one of the very days of publication of the CITIZEN—and thus gave it a chance to schedule almost its entire space for child welfare articles. This was an especially appropriate occasion also for such a number because of the nationwide arousement of mothers for the Sheppard-Towner bill. The bill still hangs in the Lower House of Congress, although it has passed the Senate. Even when it becomes law it is but the beginning of a stupendous effort towards a better human race.

IF there is any one thing woman has learned in her self-imposed progress towards citizenship it is that every step forward brings added obligations and that no gain is static. Each success in the movement for the welfare of children spells greater demands upon women everywhere. So long as very little children are picking cotton in the fields of California, or making artificial flowers in tenements of New York City, so long must a voting womanhood be on guard. While children are under-nourished in the schools or are deprived of playgrounds, or are condemned to unsafe or vulgarizing picture theatres, just so long must women use their political privileges for the sake of "Everyman's Child."

This is the kind of national defense in which mothers everywhere are deeply concerned and for which they will spend and be spent.

IN justice to the facts, it must be noted that there are a few educators who do not want a Secretary of Education in the Cabinet. Their main reason makes converts to the opposing contention, however. They hold that the appointment of such a Secretary from the party in power tends to make the control of education partisan. At first blush the point seems well taken, but the facts are that the Secretary of the Interior is appointed by the President, as are other members of his Cabinet, and is always a partisan. He supervises all bureaus under his Department, one of which is education. The chief of the Bureau itself is also chosen from the party in power. Mr. Claxton, the present Chief, is a Democrat from Tennessee. Mr. Harding will not depart from the customary method and will appoint a Republican as Chief of the Bureau, and a Republican as Secretary of whatever department takes charge of the Bureau of Education. A Secretary of Education could and would make the administration of Education no more partisan than it is.

MORE, the real supervision of education is done by the States and the head of the State Department, a Superintendent or Commissioner of Education, is elected on his party ticket. This may be lamentable from some points of view but if the people cannot trust now a Democrat, now a Republican to lift their service for education above their service to their party, the whole scheme of self-government is a failure. Faith in our traditions and our ideals will lead us to respect the administration of our Federal and our State governments whether they are directed by one party or the other. Our belief in government by the people compels us to accept the corollary of that doctrine that most men who take public office mean to administer it in the best interest of the whole people, not merely of those who elected them. A Secretary of Education cannot make the administration of education more partisan than it is; but a Cabinet post for education would give any party in power an opportunity to compete with a party not in power for the best record in stimulating education.

FOUR HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FIVE MEMBERS of the House of Representatives, ninety-eight Senators and innumerable bureau chiefs, the long list of the foreign embassies, to say nothing of the swarm of office seekers, always buzzing about Washington, want to see and talk to the President. He cannot and does not see them. When and if the Chief of Education wants to bring something to the attention of the President, he is only one of many unimportant Federal appointees who seeks an interview. He probably doesn't get it, or sends his request through his chief, the Secretary of the Interior, who may not quite understand the message he attempts to convey. A secretary of a main department of government, however, may always have access to the President and through the President will receive the consideration of Congress and the country. Surely

the time has come to promote education to the position it merits in the affairs of a great nation dependent for its safety, its welfare and its progress upon the intelligence of its people. If you think so, sign the following coupon and send it to Mr. Harding.

To Hon. Warren G. Harding,
President Elect,
Marion, Ohio.

I beg you to recognize the importance of education in a "government of the people" by naming the new department which you have so wisely proposed to create
The Department of Education and Public Welfare.

Name

Street and Number

City and State

IN many states the Legislatures are now in session. In all of them women are asking for improved legislation; and in almost all of them, some of the men are trying to persuade the women to be content with much less, or to accept some substitute warranted "just as good." The women should not be too ready to believe that what they want is impossible or undesirable. Without being pig-headed, or refusing to consider any suggestion that may be offered, they will do well to recall one of the wise sayings of Robert Louis Stevenson:

"To know what you prefer, instead of humbly saying Amen to what the world tells you you ought to prefer, is to have kept your soul alive."

It is also sometimes, to keep alive a bill vital to the welfare of the community.

PROFESSOR DAVID VAUGHN, of Boston University, in a recent address on "American Ideals," gave some striking figures. While 67,800 American soldiers died in the great war, 200,000 persons in the United States died during the same period of tuberculosis, a preventable trouble. "There were 1,000 persons who lost their lives in the Titanic disaster," he said, "and the world was dismayed, but 1,700 persons die every day in the country from unnecessary diseases."

Women should take up the fight against these domestic enemies with the same zeal and spirit that they showed during the war. When they do there is a great change coming.

MISS BELLE KEARNEY, of Flora, Mississippi, has announced her candidacy for the United States Senate to succeed Hon. John Sharpe Williams, whose term expires in 1923. Miss Kearney's campaign will be a personal one and she is planning to canvass Mississippi thoroughly in behalf of her platform. Up to date her one opponent in the field is Former Senator James K. Vardaman. Miss Kearney is a well-known temperance worker, and has long been one of the favorite speakers on W. C. T. U. platforms. She was at one time president of the Mississippi branch of the W. C. T. U.

"THE most dangerous man in the community is the one who would pollute the stream of a child's life," says Luther Burbank. It may yet come to be realized that the cutting out of the appropriation for the Interdepartmental social hygiene work was the poorest kind of economy. Congressmen shall pray for the power to see the large things large and the small things small

A FAMILY of small means but large hearts have taken a way of their own to help the starving women and children of Europe. Each day they reckon up the price of the materials for that day's dinner, and estimate what the cost would be if one extra person shared their meal. This amount they put aside in a child's toy bank for one of the relief funds. It is as if they had one of the hungry as a guest at each day's dinner. Incidentally it impresses upon the children the brotherhood of humanity, and educates them out of narrow and selfish views of life.

HAVE you given all you can afford to feed the starving in Europe and Asia? Remember, as Henry Ward Beecher said, "Money is like gunpowder: no use unless you fire it off!" Are you also doing all you can for the hungry within our own gates? In dealing with them, remember the words of John Bright: "One just law is worth a million soup-kitchens!"

IN "Law and the Family," Judge Robert Grant says that in offences against chastity "the woman continues to be haled into court, while the man slips through the net in which they both were taken. How is the family to be preserved? Not surely by perpetuating the already challenged code of secrecy, which conceals from wives the ailments of their husbands in the name of professional honor, instead of segregating or ear-marking all afflicted with the virulent poison that makes the glory of maternity a curse."

In Memoriam

THE death of Mary MacArthur, Secretary of the British Women's Trade Union League and Vice-president of the International Women's Congress was a sad introduction to the New Year. After the death of her husband, William C. Anderson, M. P., in 1919, Miss MacArthur resumed her own name by which she had always been known in labor circles.

In 1918 she, herself, was nominated for Parliament, the first woman endorsed by the National Executive of the Labor Party, but was defeated at the polls.

Mary MacArthur was well known to American audiences, a large-brained, large-hearted woman of glowing personality, impassioned for the protection of childhood and the working mother.

She was the founder of the National Federation of Women Workers and was a member of the British delegation which attended the Washington Labor Conference in November 1919. The war bore heavily upon her spirit and doubtless did much to crush out a soul so tender, sympathetic and responsive as was Mary MacArthur's.

THOSE who attended the National American Woman Suffrage Association convention in Chicago a year ago, will recall the figure of Helen Ekin Starrett, who, then eighty years of age, addressed the convention several times.

Mrs. Starrett, who died in Portland, Oregon, in December, was a pioneer suffragist, actively associated with Susan B. Anthony. She was a member of the board of 100 electors of candidates for the Hall of Fame, author, educator and an organizer of women's movements. She founded the Starrett School for Girls in Chicago and organized the Chicago Woman's Club.

Mrs. Starrett was one of the best known women leaders of Chicago, where she lived for a long time. She made her home for the last five years in Oregon. She is survived by two daughters and three sons.

The Sheppard-Towner Bill Lobby

By Dorothy Kirchwey Brown

Chairman Child Welfare Committee, National League of Women Voters

WASHINGTON papers on January 12th gave an account of a speech made by Senator Kenyon on the 11th, in the Senate, in which he complains that the city is full of lobbyists,—lobbyists for the oil interests, the lumber interests, other large financial interests; that a Senator can hardly get from his office to the Capitol without being buttonholed by a worker for some bill in which he or his clients are interested; that in Kansas there is a law requiring that lobbyists be registered, and that he believes such a federal law is necessary so that the members of the Congress may know with whom they have to deal and bring the forces behind the men out into the open.

But the forces back of the Sheppard-Towner bill lobby are out in the open already! Never was a lobby conducted with more "pitiless publicity." Far from being ashamed of the work they were doing the women gladly let the country know through the newspapers of the "Woman's Lobby" which had come to Washington solely to work for this wise and beneficent measure.

And there is the difference between this lobby and other lobbies. Here were a group of women who were willing and glad to give their time and strength, and to work—and how they did work!—to persuade the Congress of the United States that the public welfare demanded the passage of this bill,—and not a woman there had anything to gain, individually, by its passage. No more disinterested campaign was ever carried on.

The Women's Joint Congressional Committee had already been formed of representatives of many organizations which have programs of congressional welfare legislation. It had had its first meeting before Congress convened. A subcommittee on the Sheppard-Towner bill was organized with members from all of the organizations represented on the main committee which had endorsed the bill,—and that included almost all of them. It was decided that owing to the shortness of the short session, and the fact that there would be an undoubted tendency to pass absolutely nothing but the appropriations bills, it was necessary to interview practically all of the members of the Senate and many members of the House, to explain to them the need for immediate action on the bill, the urgency of the matter because of the human lives involved, the fact that 45 legislatures are to meet this year and that most of these will not be in session next year, so that if the bill is not passed at this session, its operation in these states is practically postponed for another two years. For this individual interviewing it was necessary to assemble a group of women who could for a limited time devote themselves single-mindedly to this work,—and this was done.

Mrs. Park herself gave up most of her engagements outside of Washington for some weeks, and took charge, for the League, of the campaign.

FROM the Ohio League of Women Voters came Miss Amy Maher, Chairman of the Ohio League, who left her busy office and her many activities for the welfare of children and of women in industry, and the organization of the League in her state, to work day and night for almost three weeks for this bill; from Indiana, Mrs. A. M. Beardsley, chairman of the Indiana League, whose flourishing state organization was able and willing to spare her for a week of intelligent and devoted work; from Connecticut, Mrs. James Rourke, of Bridgeport, whose enthusiasm and interest enabled her to stay away for almost a fortnight from a family which was scarcely less interested in her work than she was herself; from Indiana too, Miss Betsy Edwards, whose skill in organization had been used in the Republican campaign in Maine and elsewhere, and who is well known

not only for her political but for her suffrage activities, and Miss Adah Bush, now secretary to Governor McCray of Indiana, also well known as Executive Secretary of the women's activities in the Republican headquarters in Chicago, and an experienced publicity worker in the past for the League and for various suffrage campaigns. Most of these women paid their own travelling expenses; none received more than expense money for their services. The National League was also represented by Mrs. LaRue Brown, the chairman of the Child Welfare Committee, who devoted all her time to this work, and by Miss Julia Hinaman, its new publicity director.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs was represented by Miss Hafford, its Executive Secretary, who worked at night on the tasks of her own office to be able to help on the Sheppard-Towner bill during the day, and by Mrs. Kate Trenholm Abrams, of Washington, formerly of South Carolina, who helped at intervals by interviewing members from the South, many of whom she knew. The National Congress of Mothers and Parent Teacher Associations gave a few days of most effective work by their national president, Mrs. Milton P. Higgins, of Worcester, Massachusetts, assisted by the executive secretary of the Association, Mrs. Arthur C. Watkins. The National Consumers League furnished the help for a few days of Mrs. Florence Kelley herself, and for several weeks that of Miss Jeannette Rankin, whose knowledge of Congress and of Congressmen was of the greatest possible assistance, and who worked with particular enthusiasm for a bill which she herself had first introduced into the House of Representatives.

Last, but by not means least, was Mrs. Ellis Yost, legislative representative of the W. C. T. U., whose steady, clear vision of the problem and the wisest way to meet it, combined with her excellent judgment as to Congressional procedure and personalities, made her one of the most valued members of the group.

These were the women who formed the lobby, and who did the actual interviewing of the members of the Senate which preceded the taking of the vote and the passage of the bill in that body. These were the women who upheld Senator France in his efforts to bring the bill to a vote, who consulted with Senator Smoot over possible amendments, who tried day in and day out to persuade the senators that the women of the country were back of the bill and that it was the right, the high minded, and public spirited, and likewise the expedient thing to do to pass it at the short session.

BACK at home the women in all the organizations were helping us nobly. Mrs. Ira Couch Wood of Chicago, Child Welfare Chairman of the General Federation, ordered more than ten thousand copies of the little leaflet on the bill, and one was sent to every one of the ten thousand-odd clubs in the General Federation. News letters were sent out by the other organizations to their local officers. The response showed how deeply and truly their members believed that the cause was one worth working for. Letters and resolutions by the thousand were poured in upon the Congress, "I think every woman in my state has written to the Senator," said one secretary. Senator France, as chairman of the Public Health Committee which had the bill in charge, was particularly deluged, and his stenographer, an able-bodied young man who had to acknowledge all these letters, became fervent in his expressions of hope that the bill would pass soon. "There are letters from places I never heard of," he said, "and from clubs!—Tuesday Clubs and Music Clubs and Literary Clubs, clubs in Maine and Ohio and Florida, clubs

everywhere! Finally he summed it up in a gleam of humor which lightened for us some dark and weary days. "The women have risen," he said, "and the babies are in arms!"

Daily the lobby met, late in the afternoon of a hard day of work, and compared notes on the day and planned for the morrow. Daily they consulted as to how soon it would be safe to press for a vote, as to the best way of meeting the opposition that came from a belief that the states should not be helped in this work by the federal government, from men who were definitely opposed to welfare legislation and who wished to condemn it once and for all by calling it socialistic, from men who did not dare to fight the bill in the open, but when the time came for a vote proposed one amendment after another, urged about irrelevant and insignificant matters, appealed to prejudice and ignorance. Finally, through the perseverance of Senator France, the cooperation of Senator Smoot, Senator Curtis, and others on the Republican side, and the interests of Senator Sheppard and other Democrats, the bill was brought up, and on December 18th it was passed. It was somewhat damaged in the process, but the time for debate was limited, and it was thought better by its supporters to accept such amendments as the cut in the appropriation rather than to risk its being talked to death.

Then came Christmas and most of the lobby went home,—and so did most of Congress! Hearings before the House Committee on Interstate Commerce were completed on December 29th,—and as this is being written, there the bill still remains. We are hopeful that it will be reported out during the week of January 16th.

AS always happens, the nearer a measure comes to final success, the more violent and obvious becomes the opposition to it. This fact is being keenly felt by those of the lobby who are now in Washington,—Mrs. Park, Mrs. Yost, Miss Rankin, Miss Hafford, Mrs. Watkins, Mrs. Brown, Miss Hinaman, and Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham of Texas, who has recently joined the staff of the National League. As usual, all the opponents of the bill play into each other's hands, and the members of the Public Health Service, who are insisting that at least part of the administration of the work to be done under the bill be taken from the Children's Bureau and given to them, are consciously or unconsciously joining hands with such organizations as the American Medical Liberty League, the Massachusetts Civic Alliance (which upon investigation by Massachusetts people proves to be chiefly desk-room in another organization office), and such perpetual foes of progress as the anti-suffrage leaders who again have arisen to fight against the cause of women. Opposition to welfare legislation, like politics, makes strange bedfellows.

A characteristic anti performance is a letter sent by Mary G. Kilbreth, president of the national Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, to each Representative denouncing the bill as socialistic, attacking Miss Lathrop and others of the country's most prominent and public-spirited women, and completely misinterpreting both the language and the purpose of the bill. Just who is responsible for the report that the "Woman's Lobby" is in the employ of some over-stocked serum manufacturers, the lobby itself, we ourselves, would like to know! This insinuation, like those in Miss Kilbreth's letter, is not worth dignifying by an answer. It is however interesting to notice that the enemies of progress still follow dark and devious ways, and that the "anti-mind," wherever it is located, is never over-scrupulous as to its methods. There is also cause for a slightly cynical smile in the fact that the first bill the organized women voters of the country are working for is one for the benefit of the homes suffrage was supposedly to disrupt, and that the most virulent opposition to the bill is from the most virulent of anti-suffragists.

But we are by no means discouraged. Not all Congressmen

are great statesmen, but very few of them are so blind as not to see and feel the character of the forces arrayed against this measure. It is rumored that some Republicans say the bill should be held up for the next Congress, so that Harding, not Wilson, may sign it, and so bring greater glory to their party. There again we are confident of their better judgment.

Does any Republican Congressman really think it will redound to his credit, or give him favor in the eyes of his constituents, to postpone for two years the operation of this bill and let the needless "slaughter of the innocents" continue? Surely not! After all, our Congressmen are human beings as well as politicians, and on that common ground we can meet to work for human life and happiness.

Maternity Protection for Working Mothers

IN 1911 Massachusetts enacted the first law in this country which prohibited the gainful employment of expectant mothers for two weeks before and four weeks after childbirth. Four states, New York, Connecticut, Vermont and Missouri, have since followed this lead with varying provisions as to the required rest-period.

Observers have naturally found that this legislation is difficult to enforce. The Children's Bureau also states that "no prohibitory laws are of avail unless it is clear that an adequate income is assured from some other source." The expectant mother does not willingly remain away from work since this critical period is the very time when she is most in need of money for medical and nursing care and for general home expenses. If we are really to make it possible for working mothers to remain at home to nurse and care for their babies, we must assist them in securing medical and nursing service, or provide them with some financial compensation for loss of wages during the enforced rest-period.

In her eagerness for extra funds for the coming baby a mother frequently remains at work and neglects physical signs of danger. This neglect often leads to very serious if not fatal conditions both for herself and for the baby. The payment of cash benefits would greatly relieve this situation. In the twenty-odd foreign countries requiring this rest-period, a large proportion make provision for some medical and nursing service and over half provide in addition a cash benefit.

The First International Labor Conference which met in Washington in 1919, recommended both medical and nursing care and cash benefits "sufficient for the full and healthy maintenance of herself and her child." In most countries the amount of the cash benefit ranges from 50% to 75% of wages during the required rest-period.

If the provision for both cash benefits and physical care is considered too big a first step, the latter is undoubtedly the more important and a reasonably small appropriation would enable state boards of health to perform an excellent service by providing medical and nursing care for expectant working mothers.

IRENE OSGOOD ANDREWS,

Assistant Secretary American Association for Labor Legislation.

Mrs. Andrews will continue this article with one on the state bill to supplement the federal bill for maternity care for all mothers.

ACCORDING to Dr. Richard Bolt, General Director of the American Child Hygiene Association, 23,000 mothers lost their lives last year from conditions connected with childbirth. What would the Government do, Dr. Bolt wonders, if 20,000 or more persons died in this country in one year from small pox or bubonic plague.

Common Law Handicaps on Women's Citizenship

THE other day a broad minded court ruled in effect that the meaning of legal terms should be determined by the changing spirit of the age. This was the Supreme Court of Michigan which decided, contrary to all precedent and at variance with Blackstone's specific interpretation of the term in that connection, that the word *homo* (men, in the constitution of that state) in the jury law meant *person*, and "male and female created he" persons. It is seldom that the common law supported by the weight of Blackstone's *ipse dixit* is so lightly dealt with when it comes to a question of yielding equal rights to women. The weight of opinion is the other way on this question of jury service. In nine of the sixteen older suffrage states the state legal authority had ruled with Blackstone that in respect to the jury law "under the word *homo*, though a word common to both sexes, the female is excluded *propter defectum sexus*;" in two, California and Washington, women were so disqualified by legal authorities until they lifted their disqualification by special legislation. In Idaho, Kansas, Michigan, Nevada and Utah alone of the older suffrage states did legal opinion suffer them to serve without a special law.

Opinions collected from attorneys general in states where women have been enfranchised recently by the 19th Amendment, show five (Indiana, Nebraska, Ohio, Wisconsin and New Jersey) in which they are either permitted to serve, are serving without official opinion or "are probably eligible." The New Jersey attorney general calls attention to the fact that women are serving and believes that "possibly our opinion that the 19th Amendment supersedes any inconsistencies in state constitution or statute law is taken as authority."

Quite otherwise is the interpretation of the attorney general of New Hampshire who refuses women the right to serve and states that "the 19th Amendment applies solely to voting." In Alabama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Maine, Minnesota, Missouri, New Mexico, South Carolina and Texas, likewise women may not serve, as well as in North Carolina and Mississippi whose attorneys general tell us that contrary to the general belief there is even in the case of men "no specific relation between the qualifications for electors and those for jury duty." The opinion from North Carolina bears quoting in full both for this reason and because it so well expresses the accepted opinion from which the Michigan court dissents. It reads:

"Our statute does not require that a juror shall be a voter—Taxpayers of good moral character and intelligence are the source from which jurors are drawn—. On the face of the Act it would appear as if women were as eligible (as men). This construction is not admissible, however, because the term jury at the time of the enactment—had a known and definite signification—as follows: a jury is a body of *men*. The only way that women could be liable to such service—is by act of legislature."

THIS opinion allows not only what was written by the framers of archaic laws to circumscribe posterity, but what was even thought by them.

This point of view comes out strikingly also in a new and unexpected ramification of the common law which came to notice, after the 19th Amendment was ratified, through the adverse opinion of the attorney general of Arkansas in regard to women in office.

It is true, says this authority, that electors are qualified to hold office. But, he adds, in substance, there is no provision in the common law, the state constitution or statutes delegating to women the right to hold office and it was evidently in the minds of the framers of the constitution that offices of state should not be held by women. He rules, therefore, that women can only be made

eligible for public office by constitutional or statutory amendment. This opinion is not an isolated one for the same ruling has been made in Massachusetts, New Mexico, South Carolina and Missouri, (the latter in respect to state officials only).

In New Hampshire the legal authority says "it is generally conceded that under common law women cannot hold office." This latter is an unofficial opinion, however, and the attorney general was not apparently called upon officially at the last election, for two women were elected to the state legislature. In Connecticut, Indiana, Mississippi, New Jersey, Ohio, Virginia, Wisconsin, Vermont and Minnesota women were either actually elected to office in November or the attorney general has declared them eligible. The attorney general of Minnesota is broad enough to rule in favor of women in this respect though the state constitution says that elective officials shall be "male persons." He holds that the 19th Amendment expunges this word *male*, since in another place the constitution says that "every person" entitled to vote shall be eligible. In other words he rules that "times change" and that far from taking account of what our forefathers were thinking about, a word actually written by them in a law may lose its meaning with the changing times.

In more than a dozen states the attorney general has as yet made no ruling on these two rights supplementary to voting citizenship. The question will, however, at some time come up and before that time women should have made themselves secure by law in their right to serve on jury and, by constitutional amendment, in their right to hold office.

M. S. B.

More Home in the State



MRS. IDA M. WALKER

THUMB-NAIL
SKETCHES OF
WOMEN
LEGISLATORS

THIS woman legislator's life story begins like Abraham Lincoln's, only it was in a house of sod, not one of logs that Ida M. Walker was born. She is now Assemblywoman from Norton to the Kansas Legislature, and is associate editor of her husband's newspaper, the *Real Westerner*.

Mrs. Walker came to life in a homesteader's family in Jewell County, Kansas. She is a product of the public schools, grammar, high and normal—the last in Lincoln, Nebraska. She has also spent some years teaching in high schools and rural schools.

Here is a rapid fire list of some of the things Mrs. Walker has done for the communities where she has lived: She has helped start a public library for her town, of which she was the first president. She is still a member of its board, although it has been taken over by the city. She is also superintendent of one of the largest Sunday schools in her county. She was district president and is state recording secretary of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. She has been district president and secretary for the sixth district of the Federation of Women's Clubs. She helped secure equal suffrage for Kansas and worked in one of the Nebraska campaigns.

"In sending women to the Legislature," says Mrs. Walker, "the direct influence of the home is being placed in the law-making body of the state."

For the Peace of the World

- *The National Council of Women, whose president is Mrs. Philip North Moore, of St. Louis, is made up of 28 national organizations, with a membership variously estimated from seven to ten million. It includes the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the Y. W. C. A., the National Congress of Mothers, and the National American Woman Suffrage Association.*

AT its December meeting, the Executive Board of the National Council of Women passed the two following resolutions, which were presented by Lucia Ames Mead:

Whereas, in Resolution Fourteen the International Council of Women at Christiania has expressed its high satisfaction at the creation of a League of Nations and urges the inclusion in it as rapidly as possible of all the fully self-governing states.

Resolved, that the Executive Board of the National Council of Women herewith urges its constituent bodies to express to the President-elect and to the newly elected Senate their desires as to the speedy entrance of the United States into the League of Nations with such reservations to the Covenant as may be necessary.

Resolved, that the Executive Board of the Council of Women rejoices that our sister republic, Mexico, is emerging from a troubled period, and that it urges our incoming government to establish friendly and just relations with our neighbor country to the end that good will and peace may be maintained between us and that the world may realize that government will sacredly maintain the President's latest declaration of our national policy that "the United States will never again take a foot of land by conquest."

Mrs. Mead, who is the Council's Chairman of Permanent Peace, urges all women's organizations to protest against "the dangerous, reactionary tendencies which are making our country block the halt in armaments which was urged at the Geneva meeting of the Assembly. Our danger from aggression was never less but, paradoxically, Congress is being asked for an increase of appropriations from \$855,000,000 to \$1,500,000,000 for war preparations. This is at a time when millions are dying of starvation and the business of the world is half-paralyzed."

WHAT, asks Mrs. Mead—will women's organizations "do to help create a better spirit and a better understanding of the fact that to save ourselves we must save our European customers; only our country can set Europe to producing and thus enable her to pay her debts to us. Our economic problem is closely bound up with that of permanent peace which is the most fundamental interest with which our Council is concerned.

"May I call attention to the growing hostility to various people which merits stern rebuke. The Jews are being persecuted. England is being reviled and insulted in a way which may be dangerous to our peace. Can not your organization do something to prevent this, as well as to promote opposition to drastic bills which are coming before Congress to prevent Japanese being naturalized and treated like other aliens. This has nothing to do with further immigration from Japan which Japan does not demand. Great irritation in Japan can be prevented by reasonable and courteous treatment on our part. The proposed repeal of

THE WOMAN CITIZEN will from time to time select from among the programs and activities of women's national organizations, state branches and local clubs, and from the resolutions passed by them, that which, in the opinion of the editors, stands out as the most significant effort of the hour on the part of organized women, considered from such viewpoints as these:

*Democratic ideals throughout the world,
Methods of making government by people get what the people want,
World peace,
National economy and efficiency,
Securing men of the right calibre for the United States Congress,
Supporting constructive and progressive legislation and in opposing reactionaryism,
State and local government,
Freeing politics, national, state and local from bossism,
The promotion of education and securing a national department of education,
The promoting of education in citizenship for both men and women among both native and foreign-born populations,
Cultural values,*

*The securing of recognition of women's right to derive citizenship on their own account instead of deriving it, as now, through their husbands,
Just and intelligent standards of morality,
The most advanced steps in the handling of the problems of the household,
The most helpful action looking toward the protection of women in industry,
The development of business initiative in women.*

Below we present a resolution passed recently by the National Council of Women and used as the basis of an appeal to women's organizations by the Council's Chairman of Permanent Peace.

the Canal Tolls treaty is bound to create trouble and if passed would bring but very slight economic advantage compared with the cutting down of our excessive armaments. Can not you prepare your members for sharp protest to Congress if the oil interests propose military intervention which may be expected after the fourth of March?

"MAY I suggest that you try to get your members to persuade clergy to establish interdenominational church forums to discuss regularly the vital issues before Congress and to arouse the laity to action and to bring pressure to bear on the government? The world's future depends so much on the psychology of the public and the temper of mind which women largely create, that it seems time for far more vigorous efforts from Council members to help turn the tide of thought at this very critical period. Though large in numbers, hitherto, as a body, we have not made ourselves strongly felt, but now with the ballot our words can have

more weight in making Congress heed the human interests we represent."

Mary Shepherdess

By Marjori L. C. Pickthall

WHEN the heron's in the high wood and the last long furrow's sown,

With the herded cloud before her and her sea-sweet raiment blown,

Comes Mary, Mary Shepherdess, a-seeking for her own.

Saint James he calls the righteous folk, Saint John he calls the kind,

Saint Peter calls the valiant men all to loose or bind,
But Mary seeks the little souls that are so hard to find.

All the little sighing souls born of dust's despair,
They who fed on bitter bread when the world was bare,—
Frighted of the glory gates and the starry stair.

Crying in the ivy bloom, fingering at the pane,
Grieving in the hollow dark, lone along the rain,—
Mary, Mary Shepherdess, gathers them again.

And O, the wandering women know, in workhouse and in shed,
They dream on Mary Shepherdess with doves about her head,
And pleasant posies in her hand, and sorrow comforted.

Sighing: There's my little lass, faring fine and free,
There's the little lad I laid by the holly tree.
Dreaming: There's my nameless bairn laughing at her knee.

If I had a little maid to turn my tears away,
If I had a little lad to lead me when I'm gray,
All to Mary Shepherdess they'd fold their hands and pray.

Rural Child Labor and Farm Tenancy

By Charles E. Gibbons

Special Agent on Agriculture, National Child Labor Committee

THREE-QUARTERS of all the working children in the United States from the age of 10 to 15, inclusive, work either for their parents on the home farm, or as "farm laborers working out," according to the last Census. Yet there are to date no state or national laws which give either protection or supervision to agricultural child laborers. Instead farm work either does not come within the purview of the law, or is a legal excuse for non-attendance at school.

To understand why this is so, we must consider, briefly, farm psychology. The farmer is an individualist. He works alone and, as compared to city dwellers, lives far from his neighbors. He therefore does not always appreciate cooperation and teamwork. He decides whether his children shall work or not, and if they work, lays down the conditions and hours, retaining most of the independence in these matters which he enjoyed in pioneer times. And because he has known nothing but work himself, he feels that work is necessary for his children. In fact, it seems wrong to him for them not to work. He does not see that work may affect their physical or mental development, and play appears to him a waste of time. Hence he has never asked for any protective legislation for his children, and, on the other hand, has instituted real opposition to any attempt to regulate the hours and conditions of agricultural child labor, so that legislators have become impressed with this apparent right of farm parents to their children's labor and will not consider even a simple regulatory measure.

IN pioneer days, doubtless, there was justification for the demand of both tenant and owner farmers that every member of every family contribute toward his "keep." But with the increase in farm-prosperity, conditions have changed. In a study in Tennessee by the National Child Labor Committee in 1920, 186 owner families were shown to have an average net income of \$1293.00 and 177 tenant families an average income of \$466 per year. Apparently, the owner families, then, have no excuse for demanding that their children stay out of school to work on the farm for a living. As to tenant families, without knowledge of the necessary money-return for families living on farms, it is hard to say whether they actually need their children's labor. But if they do—and the evidence points strongly in that direction it is a sad commentary on the industry in which the parents engage, if the labor of children is necessary to help them to make a living.

In the diversified crop sections of the South, however, the tenant-farmer is little more than a day-laborer. He is given a very small piece of land for his own use and most of the time works out as a laborer for the owner. His wages of 75 cents to \$1.50 a day are too small for him to live on. Consequently many tenants are leaving the diversified crop areas for cash-crop districts or industrial centers. The average net income of a tenant in a one-crop country is \$489.00 as against \$345.00 in a diversified crop district. And as there are not so many things a child can do in diversified farming as in one-crop, it is probable that the greater use of child labor has something to do with the greater income in the one-crop community.

In the one-crop sections there are not only the greatest number of child workers but the worst forms of farm child labor are found. Here the farmers work on the cropper basis, that is the tenant furnishes labor and usually half the fertilizer, money for which is advanced by the owner, while the owner furnishes land,

stock, implements, seed and the other half of the fertilizer. Each then receives one-half the crop. But since the number of hands a tenant has usually determines the number of acres he can put into cotton or tobacco, and since his labor supply is derived from his own family, his children are at a premium.

Cotton is planted, hoed, weeded, and picked by hand. Tobacco is planted, hoed, weeded, suckered, wormed, topped, gathered and prepared for curing and market by hand. And children from the age of six up can be used and are used in every one of these operations. The mere fact that there is so much work the children can do is often proof enough to the parents that their children ought to work, without regard for schooling or recreation.

Unfortunately the kind of work the children do in these one-crop sections is not training them to be better farmers: it is mere drudgery. Nor does it teach them thrift, for their parents get all the returns from their labor. Nor is there anything in their work to create an interest in the farm. Of 112 tenants in Tennessee, only 18 reported that their children had any such thing as a pig, calf, acre of corn or cotton, from which they might receive profits and which would be an incentive to interest in farm work. Long hours of monotonous drudgery in a cotton field or a tobacco patch, are, therefore, driving many children away from the country, into industry.

SINCE the growing season for both tobacco and cotton is long—it is said that it takes 13 months to make a tobacco crop, and often the last of the cotton is not picked until after the holiday season—the schooling of these farm children is seriously interfered with. In the study in Tennessee referred to above, it was found that 27.7 per cent of the owner families and 66.6 per cent of the tenant families in one-crop communities did not send their children to school regularly. In diversified crop communities 9.4 per cent of the owner families and 52.0 per cent of the tenant families did not send their children regularly to school. Of the reasons given for this non-attendance, work was numerically the greatest cause of absence in both tenant and owner families, it being assigned as the cause in 70 per cent of the cases in the tenant families in one-crop communities.

Another characteristic of tenancy, however, which has its effect on school attendance is the fact that tenants move from place to place. In the Tennessee study it was found that the owners had been on their land an average of 164 months while the tenants had lived in the same place only an average of 28.8 months. In one community in the one-crop area the average for the tenants was as low as 6 months. Moving time is usually the first of the year and when the tenants are late in getting their crops cut in the Fall, they will keep their children out of school, and then, knowing that they will move about Christmas time, think there is no use in sending them to school while after they have moved it seems only a short time and school closes and Spring work begins, so that it is hardly worth while to start the children in school at all. Moreover, shifting tenantry create an air of indifference toward the schools on the part of both owners and tenants. In many cases the owners who can afford to do so, send their children to town schools, thereby educating them away from land, and the parents, naturally, lose interest in the local schools and oppose raising tax levies for their maintenance. But in order that tenants and owners may have a community of interests, there

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The Enforcement of Child Labor Laws

By Edward N. Clopper, Ph.D.

Assistant Secretary, National Child Labor Committee

ANYONE entering upon a study of this matter must be prepared to wander into many fields and to follow paths that cross one another in a most bewildering way. The thing sounds simple but in reality it is exceedingly complex. Child labor laws themselves are complex and their enforcement is even more so. One would think that a state should prohibit the employment of children under a certain age and instruct its department of labor to see that no such children were employed and that this would be all there was to the matter. But to begin with, there are many kinds of employment—some are not deemed undesirable for children, it would seem, for they are not included among those prohibited, as, for instance, farm work and domestic service; others are considered proper, apparently, for young children beyond a certain period and a low age limit is prescribed for them as in the case of newspaper-selling; still others are looked upon as generally unfit for children of elementary school age and correspondingly higher limit is fixed for them. Then there are many dangerous occupations from which children are excluded for a longer period, and in some states another and still higher age limit is fixed for extra-hazardous work. So here we have in the single matter of the age limits below which children are not permitted to engage in occupations, a variety of standards ranging from infancy to majority. And in this single matter the variety of agencies enforcing these standards is even greater than the variety of standards.

In respect to the common street trades of peddling, newspaper-selling, and bootblacking alone, New York, for instance, calls into action the departments of police, licenses, schools, labor and health in order to see that the law is obeyed by children, and necessarily the courts must be added to the list in this case as in all others, for they are, in the last analysis, the agency at the bottom of all systems of enforcement.

BUT requiring children and their employers to observe the several age limits is only a part of the job. It stands to reason that if children under a certain age are held to be unfit for certain occupations, it would not be proper to permit them to enter these occupations upon equal terms with adults the moment they have reached that age, and so more or less elaborate regulations have been devised to govern their employment during a definite period following their arrival at that dividing line. This is for the purpose of protecting the child from the consequences of too abrupt an entry into a full industrial life. In the first place he must show that he is qualified for work in more ways than in years—he must be strong and healthy enough, and this physical qualification must be certified to by a physician; he must have had a certain minimum of education and this must be certified to by the school authorities; and in many states he must have legal employment in view and this must be certified to by his prospective employer.

Having qualified in all these respects he receives a work permit which is filed in the office of his employer, or if he is a street trader the permit takes the form of a badge which he wears upon his clothing. This work permit is the basis of all child labor law enforcement—if a child is found at work without one he is at once considered to be unqualified for employment and must immediately either get one and thus prove that he is qualified, or else quit the job. The careful issuance of these permits is therefore of the greatest importance and every citizen who is interested in child labor should see that this task is properly performed.

IN most places it is in the hands of the local school authorities, but in New York it is done by boards of health except in the matter of newspaper-selling permits which are issued by school attendance officers, and in a few other states it is done by the labor officials. As the work which children do is part of their education and has distinct educational value if suited to their powers and needs, the issuance of permits is an educational function and should be performed by the school department. Furthermore, the school authorities are devoted to the interests of children only, while health and labor departments are concerned with adults and general sanitary and labor problems as well.

USUALLY this duty of determining the fitness of children for industry is entrusted to local officials, but in some instances it is performed by the state agency, as in Connecticut where the state board of education has direct charge of the matter and sends its agents from place to place to do this work. In any community, inquiry made of the local school authorities will elicit information about the system in vogue there.

After the child has obtained his permit and has gone to work, he must conform to certain regulations made for his benefit: he must not work more than eight hours a day in most states, nor begin work before a certain hour in the morning, nor continue after a certain hour of the evening, and in many places he must attend a continuation school—not at night but in the day time—for a stated number of hours each week, being excused from work for that time by his employer. Here again we have the enforcement of law jointly in the hands of the school and labor departments, for just as in the matter of enforcing age limits the school authorities nearly everywhere determine the child's age and the labor authorities inspect the child at work, so in the matter of dealing with him during this period of transition from the status of a non-worker to that of a full-time worker, the school authorities require his attendance upon instruction during a part of the work-day and the labor authorities see that he observes the restrictions as to hours.

The health authorities also, or the health service of either the labor department or of the public school, should be equally active in the interests of the working child during this important period, but unfortunately the physical wellbeing of the child laborer is almost wholly neglected throughout the country. It is impossible to excuse this neglect in the face of the growth of medical school inspection and the attention paid to the health of infants and children of pre-school and school ages; the working child seems to be without the pale. While at school a boy or girl has the advantage of medical inspection and when he applies for a work permit he again undergoes a physical examination, to find out whether he is fit to enter industry. But once in industry he is forgotten so far as his health is concerned—the conditions under which he works may weaken and wreck him but no one pays any heed. To bring up children under a wise system of medical care, to admit to industry only those who are physically equipped, and then to let industry do with them whatever it will in the matter of affecting their health, is so absurd, so short-sighted, and so unjustified in every way, it seems incredible that a people so enlightened in other respects can be so negligent in a matter as vital as this. If the child instead of going to work should stay in school he would continue to enjoy the benefit of health-protective measures and this fact emphasizes our cruel neglect of the worker. The development of medical labor inspection is the great outstanding

need and especially is this need acute in the case of working children—the most helpless of all the possible victims of accident and occupational disease.

THE employment of children or young persons at dangerous or extra-hazardous tasks, being subject to higher age limits without conditions or regulations of any kind beyond this flat requirement, is guarded against by the labor authorities alone. In mining of all kinds, the prohibition of child labor is commonly enforced by state mine inspectors who in some cases are attached to a state labor department or industrial commission and in other cases to an independent department of mines, but in other classes of dangerous occupation the prohibitory legislation is enforced by the general labor inspectors. The determining of which kinds of work are dangerous and which are not so, is sometimes entrusted to a state board which is authorized to add to the list of specified occupations in the law such others as, in its judgment formed after inquiry and hearing, are sufficiently dangerous to warrant the exclusion from them of persons under a given age. One of the most difficult features of enforcement in this field is the doubt about the legality of the employment of young persons who represent themselves as above the age limit but who appear to be below it. There is no work permit on file in the office as in case of younger children in the non-dangerous occupations and no other immediately available proof of the worker's age, and when he has a reasonable doubt the inspector can only order that proof of age be submitted to him—which may require a good deal of time, to the disadvantage of both employee and employer. Provision in the law for age certificates for all young persons is now recommended, the certificates to be issued by the officer who issues work permits, upon receipt of the required proof of age as in the case of younger children, and upon demand of either the worker or his employer, for such a provision serves the interests of both. When employers generally realize the desirability of age certificates for all young persons on their pay-rolls, as well as of work permits for children, the law will protect both the employer and the worker—the employer from annoyance and prosecution, and the worker from danger and exploitation.

In addition to the state laws we have been considering, there is the national child labor law and the medium for its enforcement which is unlike those of any of the states. The national law does not prohibit—on the contrary, it authorizes the employment of children upon a certain condition, but the condition is so drastic that it amounts practically to prohibition. The federal government says to mine and quarry operators, in effect, "You may employ children under 16 years of age in your mines and quarries if you pay me the tenth part of your net annual profits," and to those in charge of factories, mills, workshops, and canneries, it says, "You may employ children under 14 years of age at any time and you may employ children under 16 years of age more than eight hours a day and also at night, if you pay me the tenth part of your net annual profits." The law is a tax law and was passed by Congress in the exercise of its taxing power. The United States Supreme Court is now considering its validity. Inasmuch as this is a tax provision and not directly a labor regulation, it is enforced by the Collector of Internal Revenue, who maintains a special staff for this work. If work permits issued in compliance with state laws are not up to the standard specified by the Collector for the purposes of the national law, his own deputies issue age certificates to the children affected, but in most of the states the local permit is accepted as sufficient proof of age.

And so we have all this welter of administrative effort—on the part of labor, mining, school, health, revenue, police, probation, parole, and charity officers—all for the sake of the child laborer as well as for others, and still the job is not complete nor the

children well protected. After all, no matter what the law may be, or what the machinery for administration, enforcement and administration depend entirely upon the personnel of the enforcing agencies. If the enforcing officials are conscientious and the law fair, conditions will be comparatively good; but if the law is the best on the statute-books and the enforcing officials are lax or corrupted, conditions will be even worse than where the law is only mediocre.

Rural Child Labor

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should be every opportunity for them to know and appreciate each other, which is not the case in one-crop sections, at least. On the contrary a feeling of distrust exists. The tenant is usually looking for a farm and the landlord for a tenant. The tenant's greatest sin is ignorance, and the landlord's indifference. And while one is not wholly to blame for the other, there is strong evidence pointing to a belief that tenancy is being maintained as it is, simply because it is a paying proposition to the landlord. In any case, whether rural child labor, which does interfere with school attendance, is the result of ignorance, indifference, poverty, or greedy commercialism, children should be given their education regardless of whom the cost may affect.

THERE is, obviously, one important difference between agricultural and industrial child labor: on the farm, the child usually works at home under the supervision of his parents, while in industry he works away from home under the supervision of strangers. To regulate agricultural child labor, then, would be to ask the farmers to give up the independence which they now enjoy with reference to the employment and supervision of their own children. And, considering the individualism of farm parents, it is doubtful whether much would be gained by an attempt at direct legislation. By indirect methods—real compulsory education—however, more can be done, and for the present our emphasis must be on school attendance and not on the regulation of work conditions. The law should require that no child under 14 may stay away from school on account of work, that children between 14 and 16 may stay out of school to work a certain number of days a year, provided that they secure a work permit from the county superintendent of schools, and that children under 16 shall not work for anyone except their parents.

But it is recognized that such regulations would not wholly eliminate the evils of child labor, especially in one-crop sections. Tenancy is primarily an economic condition and its wrongs will have to be righted by economic measures. Yet the most effective method of attacking the evils which have grown out of it is to give every tenant child an education.

A Fifty Per Cent Democracy

IN Bombay, India, recently, at a meeting of the Bombay Municipal Corporation a resolution was passed requesting the Government to remove from the Municipal Act the sex bar placed against women, which disqualified them from becoming Municipal Councillors. Almost fifty women, Parsees, Hindus and European, were present to listen to the debate, but the debating was of course done by men and the passing of the resolution was the act of men, and Indian men at that. The opening up of opportunity to Indian women may be nearer than occidentals have guessed. An argument of one of the speakers was: "What is the use of saying the country was out for democratic institutions if they themselves wanted to exclude women, who formed half the population, from participating in public affairs."

The Week in Congress

Senators and Representatives Analyze and Discuss Bills Directly
for the Readers of the *Woman Citizen*

From the *Woman Citizen's Washington Bureau*

Washington, D. C., January 17, 1920.

THE retailer has been neglected in the opinion of members of Congress. Wholesale dealers in food produce have been appearing during the last few weeks in hearings before various congressional committees and, while urging their own interests, have stated their selling prices. Comparing these figures with their own market bills, members of Congress declare that the profit of the retailer has been of far greater percentage than that of the producer or manufacturer. A bill has already been introduced in the Senate to tax the middleman every time he sells coal as a broker to another middleman. It is stated that the coal bill is the forerunner of other legislation which will be drawn to regulate the activities of middlemen and retailers in various necessities.

The coal bill is one of the many interesting measures which are before Congress without any real belief that they will be passed in this session, since the impression still prevails that appropriations bills will be almost the only legislation to be enacted into law before March 4.

Those with knowledge of congressional procedure have watched an interesting series of incidents which would indicate that the Fordney emergency tariff bill will meet a filibuster instead of being passed by the Senate, as it has already been by the House. Senator Thomas of Colorado, a member of the Finance Committee before which the bill now is, has offered as an amendment to the tariff bill the entire immigration bill. Senator Harrison of Mississippi has offered as amendments, first the soldiers' bonus bill, and second the codification of laws which contains no fewer than 10,747 chapters. The finance committee is not likely to accept these amendments but if they should be insisted upon when, and if, the bill is reported to the Senate it would take days to read the bill, let alone act upon it.

MEMBERS of the House have been smiling the last few days over admonitions they say have been received concerning their "undue activity" in getting so many bills on their own calendar and passing so many over to the Senate. They agree that during the remainder of the session "there will be less of this activity."

Meanwhile the Senate has spent days discussing the Mussel Shoals bill. Evidently the members have found the bill no more interesting than the galleries for on several mornings it has taken from ten to fifteen minutes of scampering about by pages and clerks to collect enough senators in the chamber to make a quorum.

Senator Pomerene of Ohio summed up the situation with regard to the nitrate plant at Mussel Shoals, Alabama, in these words: "I do not know whether in going ahead with this we are giving the farmer fertilizer or a gold brick. The proposition has so far had an expenditure of nearly \$100,000,000. The present bill asks for \$12,500,000 to complete the steam plant now in use and which is in itself only an emergency provision until the water power dam is completed, which it is estimated will cost an additional \$43,000,000."

Tempers have become slightly strained during the days that the discussion has waged back and forth on the Senate floor. For instance on January 12th, Senator Wadsworth of New York interrupted Senator Ellison D. Smith of South Carolina, who was speaking in favor of the proposition, to ask if the production of fertilizer at the plant could provide for the entire need of this

country in a time of war. Senator Smith concluded his answer with these words: "It is time that those charged with governmental responsibility protect public interests and stop protecting private interests."

"That last remark was discourteous and uncalled for," exclaimed Senator Wadsworth and Senator Smith accordingly withdrew it.

The House has already refused an appropriation of \$10,000,000 asked for to continue work on the dam itself, which would indicate considerable opposition to an appropriation of a large amount for emergency purposes.

IN an effort to focus public attention upon the attacks being made upon the direct primaries, especially those in New York, Indiana, California and Iowa, Senator Johnson of California has given advance notice that he intends to bring in a bill providing for a direct presidential preference primary for the people of the United States. "I am encountering the old bogey of constitutionality," he said to the *Woman Citizen* representative, "but if I find that I cannot introduce a statute for Congress to give the people this right which should be theirs, I intend to introduce an amendment to the federal constitution providing for the primary. I have read much lately of the passing of progressivism. Progressivism has not passed. Certain progressives have. The lime light progressives who were more interested in office than in policies have wanted their horrible past forgotten, and have endeavored to atone by outregulating regularity. But progressivism, though forgotten by many so-called leaders is still cherished by the great inarticulate mass, is yet enshrined in the hearts of millions."

"Reaction is on today. Reaction against the human advance of the past quarter of a century and reaction against the political rights with such difficulty won by the people. Reaction always shows itself first in attack upon the right of the electorate to choose for itself its candidates for office; and today we witness the assault all along the line upon the direct primary. If this succeeds, there's little that exploiting privilege has to fear from public officials. With the primary destroyed, officials generally will answer as in former days, not to all of the people, but to the powerful few. The bitter, concerted movement against labor, by which the splendid gains of humanity are imperiled and jeopardized, is the accompaniment of the endeavor to take from all the voters the right of nomination of their public servants. To prevent the elimination of the direct primary, of the right of selection of public officials by all the men and women voters, and the destruction or modification of that which has added to the common welfare and enabled common humanity to have a just measure of life's opportunities and enjoyment, is the work ahead for progressivism, and this work will be done by the rank and file without, and if necessary, in spite of progressivism's former leaders."

LAST June there was advanced to the calendar a bill introduced by Senator Poindexter of Washington which imposes severe penalties upon anyone interfering with commerce and is to all intent and purpose an anti-strike bill. That bill was reached on the calendar on the last calendar Monday at a time when the closest investigation has discovered only seven senators who were present. As is usual when no objection is

made the bill was put to a vote. Men who were on the Senate floor have since admitted that they did not even know what they were voting upon. As soon as the news reached Senators foregathering in the cloakrooms and elsewhere there was a rush for the Senate floor and protests were registered. One of the loudest complaints came from Senator LaFollette of Wisconsin, who immediately moved for reconsideration. Although in one instance at least it is known that such a motion to reconsider held up a bill for two years and a half, Senators have become impatient over every day that Senator LaFollette has delayed to ask for a vote on the reconsideration and he has therefore advised them that he will call up the bill which will probably be done before this article is read. It is not known what the ultimate fate of the bill will be, but Senators known to favor it have given assurances that they will vote for a reconsideration due to the manner in which the bill was first passed.

ALMOST immediately following the passage of the Poindexter bill there was passed in the Senate a bill suspending for six months the application to the railroads of section ten of the Clayton act. Now the Clayton act was passed in 1914, but by such temporary delays section ten has been suspended during all the intervening years. The section provides in general terms that no public service company in letting a contract may let it to another company in which it is financially interested or which has inter-locking directorates unless it has been demonstrated in an open competition that such a bid is the lowest one. The bill was immediately sent over to the House, where Representative Esch of Wisconsin brought in a favorable report from the Interstate Commerce Committee, other members of which claim not to have been clear as to the purport of the bill. The bill was then sent to President Wilson and was vetoed by him. It was then returned to the Senate. Custom has sanctioned the sending back of a bill under the circumstances for further consideration by the committee in charge but in this case Vice-President Marshall indicated that he believed the Constitution required Congress to proceed immediately to act. Senator LaFollette secured unanimous consent for the bill to lie over and it is now on the table subject to call at any time. Meanwhile the Senate Interstate Commerce committee has appointed a subcommittee to have a hearing on a further amendment introduced by Senator Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, which it is said would protect the railroads from the application of this section of the Clayton act.

OTHER hearings which are serving a useful purpose, even though legislation has not been reached, are those of the reconstruction committee, Senator Calder of New York chairman. Following the disclosures of the difference in prices between coal as mined and coal sold to the government and consumers, there is said to have been a steady reduction in the price of bituminous coal. Of this soft coal 500,000,000 tons are used in this country every year, chiefly in the west, while the consumption of anthracite or hard coal reaches an annual figure of 70,000,000 tons, chiefly in use in the east. Careful following of these hearings encourages sharing in the belief of Senator Calder that reductions in the price of hard coal are likely to come soon. Senator Calder has also given indications of an intention to introduce within the next few weeks a bill requiring frequent filing by coal operators of reports of the amount of coal mined, the cost of its production, the selling price, and to whom sold, in order that the government may follow the entire process from the coal pit to the family bin.

There are now before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee two bills tending toward disarmament. The legislative situation, in the words of Senator Walsh of Montana, who introduced the first of these resolutions, as he sums it up for the WOM-

AN CITIZEN, is this: "Article Eight of the Covenant charge the Council of the League of Nations with the preparation of a plan for the general reduction of armaments to be submitted to the various governments for their consideration and action. In May a military, naval and aerial conference was summoned for this purpose and the conference stated that it worked under difficulties with no representative of the United States present. The Council immediately asked President Wilson to appoint such a representative, although the United States itself was not a member of the League. In spite of the Conference mentioning this fact, President Wilson gave it as his reason for refusing to send a representative. I introduced a bill in the Senate requesting the President to send such a representative, my bill being limited to the Senate as a participant in the treaty making power. Senator Borah of Idaho later introduced a joint resolution, to be acted upon by the House as well as the Senate, providing for a conference between representatives of the United States, Great Britain and Japan looking to a fifty per cent decrease in the war building programme of those three countries. I believe that the committee is likely to report out an amended bill, rather than either the bill introduced by Senator Borah or myself. The world is now expending for the purposes of war about eight billion dollars with about two million men under arms. If half this useless expenditure were saved, Europe would have an abundance of capital with which to restore her industries ruined by the war and if she released a million men from her armies her productive capacity, with abundance of capital, would be so increased that the economic troubles which now perplex the world would pass away like mist before the morning sun."

IN the House there is pending a proposal introduced by Representative Brooks of Illinois providing "That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and empowered at his discretion, to invite the governments of all nations to send accredited delegates to an International Convention to be held in the United States, to consider ways and means of bringing about joint disarmament."

Norman H. Davis, under secretary of state, speaking before the naval affairs committee of the House a few days ago said that the United States has not been approached by any nation asking for such a conference to be called and that in his opinion President Wilson under the circumstances would not undertake to call one.

In hearings before the House military affairs committee and the foreign relations committee the following statistics were presented by advocates of disarmament.

"The current appropriations for the Army amount to \$392,000,000; for fortifications \$18,000,000; for the Navy \$433,000,000; the Military Academy \$2,000,000, or a total of upwards of \$845,000,000 for these services. This is a little less than four times the amount of our 1916 appropriation, which was the highest pre-war appropriation for all these services."

"Of the appropriations for the current year, outside of the postal service which has been practically self-sustaining, over 68 per cent. are for past wars, over 20 per cent. for future wars, leaving less than 12 per cent. for all other functions of government. The country has been led to believe that a national budget system will save us large sums and reduce taxation. But if all functions of government, except those performed by the War, the Navy and Post Office Departments, were eliminated by a Budget Bureau, it could save only 12 per cent. of our appropriations for the current year.

"\$50 out of a total of \$54 per capita was the federal tax upon the men, women and children of the United States for military expenses in 1920, a year after the war had ceased."

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The Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course

Inside Stories About the Federal Departments

THE establishment of the Children's Bureau was the result of a ten years' effort to secure in the Federal Government a Bureau which should concern itself with inquiries into the welfare of children in this country. In urging its creation societies and individuals from every part of the country engaged in all branches of work for the protection of children, joined forces. Among those most active in this effort were persons engaged in work for the protection of children in industry, who felt the need for Federal stimulus in order to extend to all children the more advanced standards adopted in some of the states.

To investigate and report on all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life among all classes of our people is the duty given to the Children's Bureau. Especially is it directed to study the questions of infant mortality, the birth rate, orphanages, juvenile courts, desertion, dangerous occupations, accidents and diseases of children, employment and legislation affecting children in the various states and territories.

The theory upon which the Bureau was founded was that if the Federal Government furnished the information, states, local communities and individuals would be enabled to deal more intelligently and sympathetically with the subject and that they would take whatever action might be required. The Bureau was, therefore, given no power to do administrative work, to make regulations concerning children or create institutions for them, but was given a broad field for investigation and the authority to report in whatever form might be approved by the Secretary of Labor, the results of its studies.

CHALLENGED by the opinion of experts that the lives of at least one-half of the 300,000 babies under one year of age who died yearly could have been saved, infant mortality was chosen for the Bureau's first original investigation. Field studies were made in one community after another as the funds available might permit.

All the infant mortality studies bring out the hazards to the lives of their offspring which individual parents cannot avoid or control because they are remediable only by community action. A high infant mortality rate appears to be everywhere coincident with underpaid fathers and ignorant and overworked mothers. Scien-

The Work of the Children's Bureau

"Unless this country is made a good place for all of us to live in, it won't be a good place for any of us to live in."—Theodore Roosevelt.

tifically, we may not say that poverty and ignorance are the causes of infant mortality, but in fact these two conditions, combined with a lack of public responsibility, are found wherever the infant death rate is high.

EARLY in its work the Bureau was forced to recognize the close connection between the welfare of the child and that of the mother. Not only was it found that motherless babies were much more likely to die in infancy than babies who are cared for by their own mothers, but also that motherhood brought with it in our own country greater probability of death than in any except two of fifteen foreign countries. Although these deaths are largely preventable, the maternal mortality rate has not been decreased as have the death rates from other preventable causes such as tuberculosis and typhoid fever.

These studies of infant mortality added much to the testimony already accumulated that sanitation and decent housing are essential to the well-being of every family and that an adequate income, self-respectingly earned by the father, is a vitally important weapon against a high infant mortality rate. They also revealed that adequate teaching of maternal and infant hygiene should be made available to all women and that medical and nursing care at childbirth should be at the service of every mother in the country. A study was made of the methods used in all foreign countries to assist mothers at the trying period of childbearing and as a result of the accumulated experience and information available in the Bureau a plan was prepared for the public protection of maternity and infancy with federal aid. This is the background of the Sheppard-Towner bill to aid in the passage of which the women citizens of this country have united in so remarkable a way.

In its research work the Bureau has three general divisions—Industrial, Social Service, and Hygiene.

The Industrial Division has made compilations and analyses of child labor laws and has investigated the actual operation of the employ-

ment certificate systems of several states. It has recently been studying the conditions under which children work and live in coal mining areas; extent and conditions of industrial home work among children in a manufacturing locality; occupations open to young persons in certain of the metal trades, with special reference to preparation and opportunities for advancement; work of mothers and children in canneries along the Gulf Coast; economic, social, physical and working conditions affecting the rural child laborer in cotton-growing areas; economic, social, physical and working conditions affecting children who work in the beet fields.

The division also has under way studies on the regulation of street trading among children, the laws of the United States and foreign countries relating to physical examinations of working children, and child labor and school attendance laws of the various states.

IN the field of social service the Bureau is engaged in making studies relating to various types of children in need of special care, legal research pertaining to the state care of dependent children, the prevalence of feeble-mindedness and the care of the mentally defective, the care of children born out of wedlock, and the actual working methods of representative juvenile courts.

The Hygiene Division has as its field the many problems of child health. Besides technical research, it is confronted with the necessity of translating its findings into terms readily understood by those most in need of information and instruction. To carry its message it has stimulated and conducted child health conferences, "baby weeks," weighing and measuring tests, and other easily understood methods of interesting the great mass of mothers in the requirements of their children. In some of the remote districts the Child Welfare Special—a motor truck equipped as a compact child health center—has been used to carry the message of health, of sanitation, of proper dietary, to rural mothers.

The work of Children's Year brought the Bureau into close relations with thousands of women's organizations throughout the country, and the interest and activity of vast numbers of women was directed along certain definite lines to the betterment of the condition of children. The cooperative work of the Bureau with the states and with organizations and individuals

Work of the Children's Bureau Committee on Physical Standards

has been greatly curtailed by the limited appropriations made to the Bureau, but so far as possible the spirit behind this effort has been maintained.

THE Bureau is constantly being called upon by women's clubs and organizations for suggestions to aid them in their study of child welfare. To meet this need a bulletin giving suggestive outlines of topics and bibliographies has been prepared (Child Welfare Programs), copies of which are available for distribution to any one applying to the Children's Bureau.

The importance of unifying and improving legislation for the protection of children has been continuously emphasized by the Children's Bureau. It has made extensive legal research into the laws of the various states affecting children, and by compiling and analyzing this material has been able to assist persons and organizations working in this field, and has stimulated the states to a more active interest in the movement. Seventeen states have now gone so far as to appoint commissions to undertake this work.

The task of the Children's Code Commissions consists of a thorough study of the condition and needs of children before the specific task of revising the statutes is commenced. A well conducted educational campaign is of the utmost importance in order that the needs of children may be fully known by the commissions and for the still more potent reason that people in general may have a clear understanding of the problems so that new legislation may be put into effect in an intelligent spirit of cooperation.

The foregoing is a brief statement of the organization of the Children's Bureau, with suggestions as to some of the ways in which the Bureau is cooperating with the women of the nation to promote a clearer understanding of the problems of children and the methods whereby those problems may be intelligently met.

With the other scientific services of the Government and with those of private organizations whose fields affect the welfare of children—chiefly education, medicine and nursing—the Bureau has at all times aimed to maintain close working relations. It has done so for the purpose of securing the benefit of their knowledge and cooperation and also to keep them aware of the practical needs of the mothers and children of the country.

THE Minimum Standards adopted by the United States Children's Bureau Conference on Standards of Child Welfare held in Washington in May, 1919, included a "physical minimum" for children entering employment. This "minimum" stated that "A child shall not be allowed to work until he has had a physical examination by a public-school physi-

cian or other medical official especially appointed for that purpose by the agency charged with the enforcement of the law, and has been found to be of normal development for a child of his age and physically fit for the work at which he is to be employed," and also that "There shall be an annual physical examination of all working children who are under 18 years.

There are eighteen states in which an examination by a physician is required by law before a child may obtain an employment certificate, and nine additional ones in which an examination by a physician before a child goes to work is optional with the officer who issues the certificate. There is, however, no uniform method in use to determine what constitutes "normal development" for boys and girls of different ages, and what indicates that a child is "physically fit" for the employment which he is about to enter.

IN order that definite and uniform standards might be formulated, a motion was made at the Children's Bureau Conference that a standing committee be appointed to determine physical standards for working children. The motion was unanimously carried and the committee was appointed by the Children's Bureau. It consisted of the following persons:

Dr. George P. Barth, Director of Hygiene, City Health Department, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Dr. Emma M. Appel, Employment Certificate Department, Chicago Board of Education.

Dr. S. Josephine Baker, Chief, Bureau of Child Hygiene, Department of Health, New York City.

Dr. Taliaferro Clark, representing the U. S. Public Health Service.

Dr. C. Ward Crampton, Dean, Normal School of Physical Education, Battle Creek, Michigan.

Dr. D. L. Edsall, Dean, Harvard Medical School.

Dr. George W. Goler, Health Officer, Rochester, N. Y.

Dr. Harry Linenthal, Director of Industrial Clinic, Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston.

Dr. H. H. Mitchell, representing the National Child Labor Committee.

Dr. Anna E. Rude, Director of Hygiene Division, U. S. Children's Bureau.

Dr. Thomas D. Wood, Chairman on Health Problems and Education, Columbia University.

Miss E. Nathalie Matthews, Director of Industrial Division, U. S. Children's Bureau, Secretary.

The first meeting of the committee was held in January, 1920. A tentative report and a record blank for the use of examining physicians were drawn up, and sent out for criticism and suggestion to experts in industrial hygiene, State Labor departments, local certificate issuing officers, and other interested persons throughout the country. The sample record forms were also tried out in a number of cities.

On January third and fourth of this year the committee met again for the purpose of revising the report and the record form in the light of the criticisms and the practical suggestions received. The report as revised advocates a minimum age of sixteen years for entrance into industry on the ground that the period of adolescence is a time of special strain for the child. No child, according to the committee's recommendations should be allowed to go to work until he has had a complete physical examination, and has been declared physically fit for the particular occupation which he is about to take up. A reexamination for children when changing occupations and periodical examinations for all working children are deemed necessary.

THE need of special study by local administrative and medical officers of occupations in which children are likely to be employed is pointed out, and further scientific study of the effect of different kinds of work on the physique of young boys and girls is declared essential.

While the committee emphasizes the necessity for further study before finally authoritative standards have been determined, it has been found possible, on the basis of scientific studies already made and the experience acquired in administering child-labor laws in states which prescribe physical requirements, to formulate certain tentative standards. The suggested standards cover normal development, indicate what constitutes sound health and physical fitness for specific occupations, and emphasize points to be observed and methods to be employed in physical examinations. Defects for which children should be permanently refused certificates of employment and those for which temporary refusals should be made are listed.

The record blank for the use of examining physicians has also been revised in some particulars, and it, together with the report, will soon be published.

Time Not Wasted

DUNLAP, Iowa, has proclaimed as high a proportion of voting women as is recorded. In Harrison township, Dunlap being the voting place, 60 per cent of the votes cast on November 2 were cast by women.

"We beat the men to it by 20 per cent," reports Mrs. Laura Hurd Bailey, "and showed that the thirty-four years of continuous suffrage work in our township was not wasted."



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How State Leagues Worked for Child Welfare

These retrospective surveys are given to show that the concerted activities of organized women voters have been standing like a wall behind the efforts to gain proper care for childhood and maternity.

AMONG the demonstrations for the Sheppard-Towner bill which convinced the Congressmen of the short session of the nationwide pressure among women for the bill's prompt passage, was the activity of Maryland women.

Maryland women had a special interest and pride in the bill because it was their own Senator France, chairman of the Committee on Health and Hygiene, who reported the bill favorably.

They had also the added good fortune of propinquity which made it possible for twenty-five women, speaking for the women voters of the state, to go in person to Washington and interview the Maryland senators on the bill.

Senator Smith had not definitely committed himself to this bill but assured the committee of women, who waited on him before election, that he would stand by the Democratic Platform which includes a plank calling for a federal program of maternity protection.

Hon. Frederick Zihlman, 6th District, pledged his support to work as well as vote for the measure.

A hearing on the bill was granted the Maryland League of Women Voters by Senator Smith, who called together a delegation in Congress. The hearing was held in Senator Smith's office and was received by him. Senator France, Representatives Coady, Zihlman and Benson were present.

Thirteen organizations of women were represented in person by the delegation of women and twelve other organizations sent resolutions endorsing the bill and urging its passage.

The Maryland League of Women Voters led the effort for the bill.

The Congressional Chairman introduced Mrs. Ellicott, Chairman of the Maryland League of Women Voters, who made a brief statement explaining that the request for a hearing was the result of the demand of women's organizations.

DR. MARY SHERWOOD, head of the Bureau of Child Hygiene, emphasized the need of better maternity and infancy care in Maryland.

That there is not a single free bed in any hospital in Baltimore for cases of confinement, was a statement of Dr. Sherwood. She said that in 40 years, the number of cases of typhoid fever, diphtheria and tuberculosis had been materially reduced, but that puerperal fever claimed as many women today as it did almost half a century ago. While other preventable diseases had been studied carefully and steps taken to bring about the reduction which a chart of the progress of these diseases now shows, women died daily in childbirth from an infection due

to lack of proper care, and nothing was ever done about it.

Dr. Sherwood reviewed the infant mortality in Baltimore and showed that 15 per cent of the children who die are under one year of age. Congenital and prenatal cases, which represented a large proportion of this 15 per cent, she said, were preventable, if mothers had proper instruction and care during the prenatal period.

Women who spoke in behalf of their organizations were: Miss Mary Haslup, W. C. T. U.; Mrs. Robert Moss, Congress of Mothers; Miss Lavinia Engle, Federation of Women Clubs; Dr. Claribel Cone, Baltimore Civic League; Mrs. Ernest N. Cory, Prince George Federation; Mrs. Simpson, Christ Child Society.

Other organizations personally represented were: Mrs. Levy, Federation of Jewish Women; Mrs. Henry Franke, Council of Jewish Women; Mrs. Simons, F. G. L. of W. V.; Mrs. George Wright, Home Interest Club; Dr. Katherine Wright, Current Comment; Mrs. George Weston, Mrs. Sweeney, Book Clubs; Mrs. Eva Chase, Riverdale League of Women Voters.

Resolutions were presented from the following organizations endorsing the Sheppard-Towner bill and urging its passage in the short session of Congress: Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, Maryland W. C. T. U., Maryland Congress of Mothers, Maryland Service Star Legion, Maryland Trade Union League, Maryland Consumer's League, Baltimore Civic League, Eastern High School Alumnae Association, Western High School Alumnae Association, Children's Playground Association, Baltimore College Club, Babies Milk Fund Association.

Montclair League Issued Leaflet

THE Montclair, New Jersey, League of Women Voters issued such an excellent leaflet in behalf of the Sheppard-Towner bill that the WOMAN CITIZEN has thought it worth reprinting even at this late hour. It was as follows:

MATERNITY AND INFANCY

Ask your representatives in Congress to support the Sheppard-Towner Bill

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The bill provides for

- (1) Instructions to the expectant mother
- (2) Information with regard to infant hygiene
- (3) Guidance in the care of the infant
- (4) Consultation for pre-natal and other advice—

THE ADMINISTRATION

The work will be carried on through cooperation between the Federal Government and the

States. The amount to be apportioned by the Government for the first year is a very modest one (\$2,000,000). (Not passed.)

THE NEED

More than three-quarters of the mothers in America receive no advice or trained care during pregnancy.

THE RESULT

Many will be saved of the 25,000 mothers who would otherwise die next year but for the proposed help. Of the quarter million infants who died last year tens of thousands could have been saved.

Issued by the Montclair League of Women Voters

MRS. VIOLA WARREN, President

11 Duryea Road.

MRS. JAMES SIMISTER, Recording Secretary,
179 Cooper Avenue.

A Non-partisan Association

- (1) to educate women
- (2) to secure improved legislation

Wanted to Be Shown

IN Missouri and in Newark, New Jersey, the Leagues of Women Voters demanded and collected information from their candidates before election as to their standing on certain questions of interest to women. In both states the women went to work in a very thorough manner to get their questions answered and then published the results for the benefit of voters. "Are you for or against an adequate appropriation for the Children's Bureau, for prohibition of child labor throughout the United States, for protection of infancy and maternity, for regulation of marketing and distribution of food?"—were among the questions asked in New Jersey.

While the Missouri women demanded information on a teacher's retirement fund; a new state constitution, on taking the eleemosynary and penal institutions out of politics; on a state budget eliminating waste. Their questionnaire contained seventeen questions.

The value of the movement in all the states where women's leagues attempted such an assemblage of information seems to have been that it marks a step forward in the popular demand as to a candidate's principles before giving him a vote.

What Great Britain Has Done

FOR the protection of maternity and infancy last year the British Ministry of Health made grants totaling over two and one-half million dollars, according to information

received by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor.

Six years ago the necessity was recognized of providing medical and nursing care for mothers and babies in order to reduce the high death rates. The first year a small appropriation was granted but the results obtained were so encouraging that the appropriations have been greatly increased each year.

The funds are administered by the Ministry of Health in cooperation with local authorities. The local authorities appropriate a sum equal to the amount granted by the government. The service available includes instruction in the hygiene of maternity and infancy, midwifery and maternity nursing, and hospital and maternity home care.

In commenting upon the results of the work done in England for the public protection of maternity and infancy, Dr. Christopher Addison, Minister of Health, says: "The development of the services throughout the country in nursing, midwifery and other facilities, and the combination of the whole big effort, has been able to reduce the infant mortality rate in twenty years from 151 to 78. If we had had that figure of 78 during the last ten years, it would have meant the saving of 250,000 lives in that period."

HOW OUR NATION SPENDS ITS INCOME

Analysis by E. B. Rosa, Chief Physicist, U. S. Bureau of Standards

Total Appropriations for Year ending June 30, 1920, \$5,686,005,706.

1% PUBLIC WELFARE

This 1% is divided approximately as follows:

Agriculture and development of natural resources	3/4
Education	1/4
Public Health	1/14
Labor	1/100

3% PUBLIC WORKS

Harbors, rivers, roads, parks, etc.

3.2% ADMINISTRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT

Expenses of the Congress, President, Departments, etc.

92.8%

PRESENT ARMAMENTS (25%) AND PAST WARS (67.8%)

Including care of soldiers, pensions, railroad deficit, shipping board, interest on the public debt, European food relief, etc.

Taxation for the Federal Government for this year averaged 50 dollars per person; of this only 50 cents per person was spent for research, education, and development.

The Women's and Children's Bureaus together received 5 1/2 thousandths of one per cent of the total income.

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The Book Stall

Everyman's Child

THREE main tenets of Sophie Irene Loeb's *Everyman's Child* (The Century Company), are given at the head of this page.

Miss Loeb is the president of the Child Welfare Board of New York City. She was largely instrumental in the passage of the New York State Widowed Mother's Pension bill, and her whole book is a plea for home care as opposed to institutional care.

Some of the facts recorded are impressive, as for example the statement from the records of the Children's Court that out of 13,994 children arraigned, only 11 came from among the children whose mothers had pensions, as against 908 children of other widows, who were placed under probation. The inference of course is that where the mother received help to care for her children under proper home surroundings, she was able to regulate their daily lives.

That this proportion of juvenile delinquency is related to the establishment of the widow's pension plan, is the opinion of Franklin Chase Hoyt of the Children's Court.

"The recent legislation providing for widows' pensions and the resulting activities of the Board of Child Welfare have also had, 'in all probability, an indirect effect,' he says, "in reducing the number of commitments made by the Court."

Another outstanding fact which is convincing as an economic feature in the home care of children, is this, that whereas "the city of New York spent in the first six months of

"EVERYMAN'S child has the right to be born right.

Everyman's child has the right to play.

Everyman's child has the right to loving care."

1919, \$959,393 for the care of 16,526 children together with their mothers, more than 2,000 widows, for the same period the city spent for 20,868 children in private institutions, \$1,790,688."

Another branch of the Child Welfare work of Miss Loeb's committee was the providing of school lunches. In 1916, she reports, over a hundred schools served lunches. One central kitchen at Public School No. 98, Delancey street, is serving 25,000 children.

Before the war Miss Loeb made an investigation of child welfare in foreign countries. She found that Scotland gave the "best care in the world" to its boarded-out orphan children.

Under the Scottish poor laws, children who have been given allowances, in their parents' homes or who have been boarded out in private homes, have been taught trades or have been otherwise fitted to earn and have become absorbed into the population.

A comprehensive record is kept of each child and its guardian. Every precaution is taken to keep the child from feeling that it is a poor relief subject. Its clothes are never a uniform marking it as a charity object.

The law is so flexible that each case is treated according to its needs.

Miss Loeb's book has one of the "defects of its qualities." The writer is so warm and enthusiastic in her advocacies that she sometimes gives an impression of complete achievement. As a matter of fact there is much to be done in all states to make widows' pensions adequate. The surface has scarcely been scratched in public care of the underfed child, and the boarded-out, as well as the institutionally cared for child is still shockingly at the mercy of chance.

A TEXT BOOK for the care of infancy, written by Susan Harding Rummel, Ph. B., is *Natural Food and Care for Child and Mother* (Rand, McNally and Company, Chicago).

This is a highly specialized book for young mothers, beginning with prenatal care. The food and clothes of the expectant mother are largely dealt with in the first chapter. What sort of nursery should be provided, advice about everything from nurse-maids to safety pins follows. Dr. Rummel is herself the mother of four children, is a Ph.B. of the University of Chicago, a post-graduate in neurology, psychology and philosophy.

THE National Child Labor Committee's pamphlet, *The American Child*, contains much interesting material for child welfare committees everywhere. Its summary of legislation state by state, conducted by Dr. Owen Lovejoy, furnishes the most recent child welfare laws enacted before publication in November, 1920.

Lucile Eaves has an article in it on "One thousand industrial accidents suffered by Massachusetts children." Emma Duke's "California the Golden," gives a rather disheartening picture of conditions of children in the Imperial Valley. This is cotton picking land, where children of five and even three years pick steadily all day.

"Tenement Homework in New York City," by Mary G. Schonberg, is a scarcely more cheerful picture. It shows that a long-fought evil does not stay fought out, but returns as soon as public watchfulness abates.

POLITICAL ECONOMY

Political economy is the science that treats of the production and distribution of wealth.

Frank Vanderlip is quoted as saying we are a nation of economic illiterates.

The Woman Citizen says, "No government 'of the people' can be safely administered by an ignorant electorate."

Now, then, here are some questions in political economy:

Is land wealth?

Can a tax on the rent of land be added to the price of any labor Product?

What is produced in its entirety by all of the people besides the rent of land?

Would it be necessary to levy any taxes if the rent of land was used for public expenses?

Every Wednesday Evening, at 8 P. M., the above and many other questions are answered by Mr. Oscar Geiger, Conductor of the Henry George School of Economics, 32 East 13th Street. Telephone Number: Stuyvesant 6844.

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The Week in Congress

(Continued from page 915)

DO you think they really want to vote, how do you know they would vote if they had the right, a referendum should be held to prove that they want to vote, they should start with some simple form of self government and progress to the point of federal suffrage—are these remarks culled from ancient hearings on woman suffrage? They are not. They are the latest up-to-the-minute statements advanced by the House judiciary committee to a distinguished group of District of Columbia men and women who are appealing for the right to govern themselves. It is as though the principle of self government had never been established. It is the same old struggle of those who have against giving to those who have not. The present hearings are on a bill introduced by Representative Burroughs of New Hampshire providing for a federal amendment, which must be passed by a two-thirds vote by both Houses of Congress and ratified by three-fourths of the legislatures, then Congress would not be compelled but would merely have the power to enfranchise the residents of the District. The bill provides that "When the Congress shall exercise this power the residents of such District shall be entitled to elect one or two Senators as determined by the Congress, Representatives in the House according to their numbers as determined by the decennial enumeration, and presidential electors equal in number to their aggregate representation in the House and Senate.

"The Congress shall provide by law the qualifications of voters and the time and manner of choosing the Senator or Senators, the Representative or Representatives, and the electors herein authorized.

"The Congress shall have power to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing power."

In the usual committee room, with an atmosphere apparently hermetically sealed and filled with smoke, many of the District of Columbia women who have been prominently identified

with the federal suffrage campaign have been sitting for days to advance their cause. They have listened to the men speakers urge that they are educated and moral, will vote well if they have the opportunity, are 326,854 white out of a total population of 437,000, and that they have never been segregated as convicts, lepers or slaves, or as in any respect permanently defective or delinquent. They have heard Representative Burroughs argue for them that the District is the "only example on the western hemisphere of complete despotism," and that "seven states now represented in Congress have a smaller population than the District." On their own behalf they have spoken with equal eloquence and from Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt an urgent message was read by a representative of the National American Woman Suffrage Association:

Another District suffrage bill is being pushed for House hearings, introduced in the House by Representative Zihlman of Maryland and in the Senate by Senator Capper of Kansas. This bill comes under the classification of a statute and is urged by Representative Zihlman as providing a shorter and easier route to federal suffrage than the Burroughs bill. It would give the District two delegates to the House with no representation in the Senate, such as is provided for Alaska and Hawaii. In addition the bill provides "that there shall be elected four Commissioners of the District of Columbia, who with an officer of the Corps of Engineers of the United States Army (whose lineal rank shall be above that of captain and who shall be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate) shall constitute the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia; a public utilities commission of five persons and a board of education of nine persons." The bill sets up the election machinery and provides penalties for infringement and fraud.

MARJORIE SHULER.

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THE WOMAN CITIZEN

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New York City

The "Minimum Standards" and the State Child Labor Laws

SOME 42 States have an unprecedented op-
portunity this year to enact legislation for
the welfare of children which will embody the
best experience of progressive States and the
careful judgment of many experts both in this
country and Europe. For the first time since
minimum standards for child welfare were
drawn up at the U. S. Children's Bureau Confer-
ence of May, 1919, and endorsed by numerous
national organizations, including the League of
Women Voters, legislatures are meeting in all
except 5 or 6 States. "Certain of the stan-
dards," as Miss Lathrop has said, "have been
already attained in various communities; others
are attainable by the expression of public
opinion; others will require legal enactment."

Among the standards which most readily lend
themselves to legislative action are those deal-
ing with children entering employment. A com-
parison of these standards as to minimum age,
maximum hours, educational and physical re-
quirements, with child labor laws actually on the
statute books in the various States reveals the
need for better legislation in this field.

The standards set an age minimum of 16 for
employment in any occupation, except that chil-
dren between 14 and 16 may be employed in
agriculture and domestic service during vaca-
tion periods. No State has as yet attained this
standard. Ohio fixes 16 as the minimum age for
girls, but permits boys to enter employment at
15 years of age; Montana has an age minimum
of 16, but permits certain exemptions. Only 5
States—Maine, Michigan, South Dakota, Cali-
fornia and Texas, have set the minimum age as
high as 15, and all permit exemptions, the two
last named states allowing exemptions not lim-
ited to vacation and after school. Only 12 states
(Connecticut, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana,
Maryland, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New
Hampshire, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Rhode
Island and Tennessee) have a minimum of 14
years without any exemption, and only 14 addi-
tional states (Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Col-
orado, Idaho, Indiana, Kansas, Minnesota,
Nevada, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, West
Virginia and Wisconsin) with a 14 year old
minimum permit their exemptions to after school
hours and vacation periods.

HOURS standards are hardly less in need of
leveling upward. Thirty-two states and the
District of Columbia have embodied in their
laws the maximum 8 hour working day for
children under 16 but 12 of these permit ex-
emptions. The standards likewise prohibit
night work for minors. Only 24 states and the
District of Columbia now prohibit night work,
with no exemptions for children under 16.

Many states need to raise the educational re-
quirements of their child-labor law if they are
to be brought into line with acceptable stan-

dards. The standards regard completion of the
grammar school before the child may go to
work and attendance at continuation schools up
to the age of 18 for employed children as the
slightest equipment with which we can afford
to send children out into the wage-earning
world. Seven states, Colorado, Kansas, Min-
nesota, Montana, Oregon, Vermont and Wis-
consin, now make graduation from the gram-
mar school course a prerequisite to employment.
Nebraska allows the alternative of literacy in
English and attendance at evening school; New
York requires the completion of the 8th grade
unless the child is 15 years of age or older. But
12 states and the District of Columbia specify
no grade. They require merely a proficiency
in certain subjects, usually the ability to read
and write English and perform simple operations
in arithmetic. Two more states require only a
specified number of days' attendance at school
during the preceding or current year. Nine
states make no educational requirement what-
ever. As for the education of the child after
he has gone to work, only 23 states up to the
present time have provided for the establish-
ment of continuation schools, in spite of the
encouragement and aid extended by the Smith-
Hughes Act for vocational education.

WITH respect to the child's physical wel-
fare, the laws are quite as much in need of
revision as on the educational score. The stan-
dards recommended by the experts and physicians
at the Children's Bureau Conference prescribe
examination by a physician before a child goes to
work, and periodical medical examination of all
working children under 18 years of age. Only
18 states now require a physical examination
before children may secure working papers. No
state provides for physical examinations for the
young worker.

Even in states where the laws regulating chil-
dren's employment may in many respects be
regarded as up to standard, there are in some
cases administrative flaws which destroy the
good effects of the law. If a study of the local
situation indicates that a good child-labor law
is being poorly enforced action by the state
legislature may be necessary to strengthen the
administrative provisions of the law.

It is to be hoped that many of the state leg-
islatures will take steps toward bringing their
child-labor and school-attendance laws more
nearly up to these "Minimum Standards" dur-
ing this legislative year, and every State League
of Women Voters should help to bring this
about.

D. K. B.

THE above article is by Mrs. LaRue Brown,
chairman of the Child Welfare Commit-
tee of the National League of Women Voters.
Are you working with your state league to raise
the standards for the children?

Acquaint Your Friends and Neighbors with the

Woman Citizen

We have an attractive little folder explaining the aims and purpose of the *Woman Citizen*, and we are anxious to get it into the hands of as many non-readers of the magazine as possible in order to increase our subscription list.

MAY WE NOT ASK YOU TO

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YOUR FRIENDS and

NEIGHBORS

Drop a line to our Subscription Department saying how many you can use and they will come forward to you by return mail.

Now that suffrage is won, we must make the *Woman Citizen* known to the remotest reading public so that its message of better citizenship may have the widest possible dissemination.

If you can and will help, write to

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Subscription Department

171 MADISON AVENUE

New York

A Few of the Many Features to Appear in Various 1921 Numbers of

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

A Series of Special Articles on
European Questions and Persons

By CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

Opening of Forum for the

Discussion of Alimony

for Women

IN THE ISSUE OF FEBRUARY 5

Should Women Have Alimony?

THE AFFIRMATIVE:

Judge Charles L. Guy
of the New York Supreme Court

THE NEGATIVE:

■ Charlotte Perkins Gilman

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The Feet of Mercury

See how they bend and point and dive! How straight the toes, how raised the arch, how the whole foot flexes and curves with the spirit of joyous motion.

Well may the modern woman envy this ancient god the beauty of his feet. Such perfection has disappeared almost completely, due to the mischievous effects of the stiff-soled shoe. Fallen arches, cramped and misshapen toes—these are the common deformities of 85% of the women of to-day.

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RECEIVED

The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL
FOUNDED 1870

10 Cents a Copy

January 29, 1921



Wanted: A Department
of Education and Social
Welfare

Do You Want to Build
a House?

By Carrie Chapman Catt

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The Fruit Growers'
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New Fabrics for the Spring and Summer Wardrobe

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According to the census report, as many women as that are listed as "without occupation."

They are the women who are getting the world's breakfasts, washing its dishes, sweeping its floors, darning its socks, rocking its cradles.

Shall they be paid wages?

An immediate issue of the *Woman Citizen* will be devoted to a discussion of this subject.

WOULDN'T YOU LIKE TO JOIN THE DISCUSSION?

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

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in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the
cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

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New York City

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Vol. LI Old Style
Vol. V New Style

JANUARY 29, 1921

No. 35

See the WOMAN CITIZEN for *February 5th*

For the beginning of what promises to be
A spirited discussion of the question:

Ought Women to Have Alimony?

In the issue of February 12, the theme of greatest interest will be:

THE CHILD AND THE THEATRE

when Articles will be contributed on several phases of the question:

WHAT DO YOU WANT YOUR CHILD TO SEE
AND HEAR ON THE STAGE AND SCREEN

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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME V

JANUARY 29, 1921

NUMBER 35

THE WOMAN CITIZEN was founded by the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission, Inc., in the hope that it might prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The editorial offices are at 171 Madison Avenue, New York. Carrie Chapman Catt and Alice Stone Blackwell are special contributing editors.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief. Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd and Marjorie Shuler are associate editors.

The office of publication is at 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

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It is not to be understood that the WOMAN CITIZEN gives editorial endorsement to the opinions expressed in articles signed with name, initials, or pseudonym. Such articles may be at dagger's point with the editorial commitment, or in exact accord with it. They are printed because they seem worth printing and not because of an agreement in their expressed opinions. The editors speak for the magazine in the editorial pages.

THERE are always opponents to every possible proposal; so there are some people who do not approve the dignifying of education by giving it a place in the President's Cabinet. Their contentions seem feeble. They declare upon the one hand that the constitution forbids the Federal government from a direct jurisdiction over Education, hence it is not consistent to create a Cabinet Department; but on the other hand they contend that such a department will be tempted to interfere in state affairs. Well, they are more or less right in both claims and the contention favors instead of opposes the proposal. Article X of the constitution declares that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states are reserved to the states," etc. Thus education is defined as one of the subjects delegated to the states; so is agriculture and labor. Cabinet posts have lent a new dignity and protection to agriculture, commerce and labor and their Secretaries have found innumerable ways to help states in their more direct supervision. This, some might call interference.

IT is to be hoped that a Federal Department would find ways of appealing to state pride and ginger and thus secure the speeding up of the processes for eliminating illiteracy. Some might call that interference; others might regard it as putting on democracy's safety brakes.

In one county in Delaware, the draft disclosed that of the young men between 21 and 31, thirty-five per cent. were wholly illiterate. Think of it, in this land of free schools, 35 young men out of every hundred unable to read and write! One salves one's national pride with jumping at the conclusion that these men were Negroes or Foreigners. Alas, no. They were all white and almost totally native pure Anglo-Saxons.

Two years ago Pierre Dupont, a wealthy citizen of Delaware, offered to present the state with five millions of dollars, provided the state would raise an equal amount in taxation, the combined sum to be used exclusively in the erection and furnishing of school houses and the promotion of education. One pictures a

grateful people making a hero of Mr. Dupont and swelling with pride over the hope of escape from the disgrace of illiteracy. Not so; meetings were held to protest against the taxes, men fervently setting forth in public speech that they did not know how to read or write, nor had their fathers and mothers before them. More, they would be blankety-blanked if they would endure having the Governor and the Legislature tell them that they had to send their children to school and especially if they had to be taxed in the bargain.

THE Republican Governor attempted to plan for carrying out the provisions of Mr. Dupont's offer, with the result that a fierce fight upon him was made by his own party men who refused to receive education at the price of increased taxation. Last November, when the Republicans swept the entire county including many Democratic strongholds, this Republican county of Delaware went Democratic. It couldn't see anything in the campaign except the so-called "school code." The same question was intricately wrought into the campaign for ratification of the suffrage amendment and was the sole cause of its defeat. Although Sussex County, Delaware, includes in its population many charming, well educated, forward looking people, the county has gone on record as believing in illiteracy, hugging it, defending it. Patriotic Americans should hope that an enterprising Secretary of Education would find some gentle, persuasive but insistent means of setting up a different standard in Sussex County. If that were really done, and nothing more, the promotion of a Bureau to a Department would be justified. There are other counties like Sussex, and perhaps other states like Delaware. They are all unconsciously calling for a Secretary in the President's Cabinet. If you think one should be there, then fill in the following coupon, clip it out and mail to Mr. Harding: C. C. C.

To Hon. Warren G. Harding,
President Elect,
Marion, Ohio.

I beg you to recognize the importance of education in a "government of the people" by naming the new department which you have so wisely proposed to create

The Department of Education and Public Welfare.

Name

Street and Number

City and State

THIS number of the WOMAN CITIZEN calls attention to some of the aspects of the housing problem. In previous issues, there have been other articles, notably on the cooperative housing plans here and in Great Britain, on the Hampstead village plan to relieve congestion in London, and on phases of the problem as it has been approached by women's organizations.

It has recently been reported that the United States now lacks

1,250,000 homes, due to the slump in building during the past three years.

Nothing is of more vital interest to woman than her home, and the lumber situation, the cement hold-up, the rent laws, in fact, everything that remotely touches the housing problems, belongs to her daily thought.

The editors of this magazine will, therefore, devote much future space to articles touching upon the present inability to keep the home fires burning because the hearth has been at the mercy of the profiteer.

IT seems to have been fear more than any other emotion that prompted the recent defeat of women's admission to Cambridge University.

Oxford had capitulated to the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act of 1919, which provides that "nothing in the statutes of a university should hinder the admission of women," and gives full membership to its women students; but Cambridge's resistance seems to have been compounded of a complex of fears, with a sneaking hope that it might beat its rival, Oxford, if it remained a college for men only.

Professional jealousy was at least one factor among the inhibitions of Cambridge. "Disturbances incident to unemployment and economic rivalry had been growing more and more acute, and particularly in the professions men were feeling that they must protect their interests against the incursion of women," writes one foreign observer. "As the voting membership of Cambridge is composed in large part of professional men, this feeling had an influence."

Fear that the educational standards of Cambridge might be lowered by having women on governing boards, reads amusingly in view of the scholastic degrees and ranking of college women in recent years. Fears that disciplinary standards might be lowered by women in the interests of their own sex, sounds like small-boy-talk concerning their younger sisters.

Doubtless the milk in the coconut lies in the fear most frequently expressed that women want admission to Cambridge because they are "out for power." The controlling factor therefore in the deciding vote is reported to have been a resistance to this human desire for more power, the desire which has brought about every extension of knowledge since the world began.

Two schemes were under discussion, "Scheme A," provided that women be admitted to the University on the same conditions as men, provided they were students at any college established by the University. They were to be permitted to fill any office, except that of proctor—manifestly unsuitable, since a proctor is a disciplinary officer over men students.

The effect of Scheme A would have been to give Newnham and Girton college girls an equal standing with the men of Trinity or Corpus Christi.

Scheme B provided for a separate woman's university, distinct from Cambridge, but affiliated. As fostering the growth of such a university for women, Cambridge was expected to lend a helping hand, open its lectures and laboratories to the girl students, but without accepting them as students.

Scheme B was so manifestly impossible because of the immense outlay of money needed, that it merely entered in as a hypothetical discussion.

Scheme A was actually voted on and received 712 favorable votes out of a total of 1,616.

College women of England are hopeful, as they say the vote in their favor is much greater than that of 1879, when they asked for titular degrees and not for membership in the university.

THE news of Catherine Breshkovsky's illness has brought sorrow to thousands of her friends in America. According to the press reports, she had come to Paris to attend a con-

ference with Kerensky and other former members of the Douma, but was taken seriously ill, and is now being cared for in the Russian Hospital at Boulogne.

Just about the time that this news was cabled to America, Miss Blackwell received a letter from her that spoke of her approaching departure for a short stay in Paris. Another letter, dated December 11, 1920, says of the "Internats" (boarding schools) that she has started in Russian Carpathia:

"There are such a suitable aid, such radical help to the unfortunate population, that all the American missions agree, nothing is so useful as this mode of relief. When members of the Red Cross or other organizations come to see our institutions for girls or boys, they cannot but sympathize and admit that the Internats have many advantages in comparison with all other philanthropic undertakings, for they concern the spiritual life of a human being as much as his physical life. For instance, I sleep and eat, and never separate from my pupils except during lesson hours. And so it is with all the men and women who are engaged as tutors or managers.

"We never punish children, but we try to prevent their misbehavior by telling the truth about all bad possibilities. I scold them very often, but they are sure I do it with the desire to see them honest, and good-hearted. Some are greedy, being always hungry and cold when at home. But as they become sure there is no fear of starvation they become more quiet and patient.

"What is desolate is the winter with its very wet weather. Shoes are worn out and the children take cold. It is not the winter of Russia, where for five or six months we have frost, and water and earth everywhere are frozen as hard as iron. No, here we have one day ice, another mud, and then snow, which makes the roads impracticable, for in a few hours we have plenty of water everywhere. And boots and shoes are dearer here than anything else, and rubbers are not to be found, and all the footwear must serve children of from twelve to twenty, girls as well as boys. Also we need durable stuff to make sheets for beds, and durable material to make trousers for boys, for winter and summer. Paper, ink, pens, pencils, are always needed. God bless your efforts and give you success! I am sure you would be proud to see the effect of your work."

She adds that money and goods should be sent to A. A. Beskida, President of the School Fund, Civil Administration, Uzhorod, Karpato-Russ, Czechoslovakia.

She sends two photographs, one of a group of bright-faced young women in one of her schools, almost ready to be sent out as teachers, the other of a large group of younger boys from one of the boys' schools. She herself sits in the midst with her arm around one of the smaller children.

To Inez Milholland

"Winter's Tale"

By MABEL B. POOLE

(Reprinted by request)

ONE night, just a few swift-flown years ago,
Among the shadowy pines on Sunset Hill
We watched you play Hermione. How still
How breathless-still you stood, lest the king know
The statue lived! Our young hearts were aglow
With your enmarbled loveliness—until
You stirred at last, and let the warm life thrill
Through your whole radiant being. Even so
We have but dreamed your death, O unstilled heart!
We shall awake, in strange days yet to be,
Triumphant days, and find you standing there.
So shall we wait, with eager lips apart,
And see your clear eyes light with victory,
And watch the breath of freedom stir your hair.

Do You Want to Build a House?

ONE of the inevitable effects of war is a stoppage of building, and when the war is long and exhausting every country engaged in it faces a housing problem at the end.

The population grows despite the losses of war and old houses wear out, burn up, tumble down or merely cease to be livable.

So it is that all the world just now is talking about housing. Japan and Armenia, France and India, Germany and Greece, the most widely separated spots, are all clamoring for more houses.

Great Britain built about 100,000 houses a year. The war came and none were built. Multiply one year by five and England finds herself short of 500,000 houses she would have had had there been no war. She had a housing problem before the war and many houses now occupied ought to be condemned as unfit for habitation. No sooner was the war over than that country alone declared herself in need of one million new houses, and that immediately.

Alas, there was no timber, no shingles, no slates or tiles, no corrugated iron, no bricks, no stones—nothing that houses were made of. It was then that some enthusiasts made a discovery, or rather made a rediscovery.

They began building of *pise de terre*. What is that? Literally, rammed earth, but then you must be told about it to understand. It is an old method of building which was superseded by more modern methods and then forgotten. Now it is made known that when these buildings are well made they endure for generations.

They are picturesque, warm in winter, cool in summer, requiring little or no repair, and, what is more wonderful still, a very large part of the work may be done by wholly unskilled people.

MRS. OLIVER STRACHEY (who as Miss Ray Castello is known to many American suffragists) is a contractor for this form of building and is earnestly enthusiastic over it. She employs about equal numbers of men and women who work together, do the same things and draw the same pay.

If you want to try it examine your soil. Not all earth is suitable, but much of it is. Can you make balls of your earth (when moist) that will remain balls when dry? Then you probably have building material in your back yard.

Take a tub without a bottom, dig a hole in your garden, place a flat, level stone in the bottom and rest the tub upon it. Then fill in the hole about the tub, packing it very tightly. Then fill the tub with dirt for about three or four inches and ram it down thoroughly with a pestle. Then add four inches more, ramming it hard, and so on until the tub is heaping full. Scrape off the top until it is smooth. Then loosen the earth around the tub and lift it out. If it is larger at one end than the other, as is usual, the pise will come out easily. If not let it dry a few hours. The block thus produced should be covered with a piece of board on top for a few days until thoroughly dry. Beating the earth drives the moisture out of it and blends the particles. If the block remains solid after drying, then your soil will serve as building material.

Houses are built with outside walls 18 inches. Boxes open at top and bottom about ten feet long and clamped together are set over a foundation wall. These boxes are rammed full of earth, 14 inches at a time and pounded long enough to make the earth solid and smooth. The sides are then unclamped and removed. The same boxes are set up again on top of the finished wall, care being taken not to allow the walls to get wet until they have thoroughly dried out. Door jambs and window casements are set in the walls as in any form of building.

The roofs in Great Britain are usually thatched, but may be tiled or shingled.

SCHOOLS to teach people how to build in *pise* are being held in England and thousands of houses, warm, dry and comfortable, are being erected to fill the urgent need.

In the Southwest of the United States of America mud building, taught by the Spanish, was the only form known to the early settlers, and Santa Fé, with its quaint church and palazzo, is a monument as to its durability. With modern windows and doors, such houses can be made very attractive and delightfully livable.

The cost is but a trifle compared with other building, provided the family needing the house will help to build it. What is being done in England can be done here.

Pise is not suitable for city building, but for farms and villages it should prove popular when known. School houses, churches and hospitals have been made of it.

Work can only be done in comparatively dry, warm weather. Except in the dry, hot portion of the United States building would have to stop in the winter season, but it moves rapidly when the builders understand it, a completed house being quite possible in two weeks.

Who will be the first pise enthusiast on this side of the Atlantic? Where will the first school be held? Here is an occupation for enterprising men and women who may do much to solve the housing problem among us, to bring good homes to our people and at the same time support themselves?

C. C. C.



MRS. JULIA D. NELSON
of Muncie, Indiana

THUMB-NAIL
SKETCHES OF
WOMEN
LEGISLATORS

Indiana's First

MRS. JULIA D. NELSON, Indiana's first woman legislator, is probably more surprised to find herself in the Legislature than is anyone in the state.

She had been drafted to serve as chairman of the Delaware County Republican Committee, and she served well, having had a considerable experience in organization as chairman for the Franchise League of Delaware County, before she became chairman for the G. O. P. Thus she is a product of suffrage training and experience.

Just two days before election, Mr. McKinley who was representative from Mrs. Nelson's district and candidate for reelection, died. The nomination was "wished on" Mrs. Nelson, and almost before one could say Jack Robinson—she found herself a member of the Legislature.

She is a home-keeping person with three married children. Although an ardent believer in woman's enfranchisement, Mrs. Nelson "never dreamed of taking part in politics"; but she is "glad to serve her state for the honor of Indiana women." Her husband is proud to have her do it.

She goes to the Legislature as an inexperienced member, with no axe to grind. She says she will be slow about sponsoring any bills as she wants to study them first.

Why More Houses Are Not Built

From the Woman Citizen's Washington Bureau

Washington, D. C., January 24, 1920.

A MOST interesting volume of letters has just appeared as the compilation of the Federal Trade Commission in an effort to show that large lumber representatives have combined to raise prices, eliminate competition, regulate production and oppose reforestation projects.

The attempts of these men to restrain trade and yet remain within the provisions of the Sherman anti-trust law will be of the greatest interest to the families of the nation who are suffering from the present shortage of homes. It is easy to understand why building is curtailed and why the cost of houses is steadily mounting in the light of these documents. Further disclosures are promised and a congressional committee to investigate the lumber situation is predicted in some quarters.

The Woman Citizen quotes from these letters as follows:

"The writer attended a meeting of the Sales Managers Committee of the Southern Pine Association held in St. Louis last Thursday, and it developed that all those in attendance reported that their stocks were under 60 to 70% of normal, and all expect to advance their prices on the 23d, that is today, the advances running from \$1.00 to \$3.00 per M. on all items with the exception of timbers and No. 3 Boards. Timbers are considered to be about in line with the demand. No. 3 Boards seem to be in surplus, and some of the mills are willing to make a little concession off the Government price in order to move them."

"Your protest against price agreement, received by Mr. Rhodes at New Orleans, was a full and complete confirmation of the position which I also took, to-wit: I gave notice that if any group of lumbermen agreed with the government to put into effect a basis of prices less than that which my company had been receiving, and by reason of artificial competitive condition thus created my company was forced to accept a lower basis of prices than it otherwise would have obtained, we reserved the right to proceed under the provisions of the Sherman Law to recover triple damages for the loss sustained. My purpose in doing this I suppose was similar to your own purpose in making your protest. I was quite confident of the action which the Southern Pine mass meeting would take on the question, but was more or less afraid of what some group of men might feel it politic to do in the matter of agreeing with the administration, which would be productive of a condition injurious to the industry."

"We have had a most astonishing development recently in Yellow pine. I was really reluctant to believe that Long-Bell, Keith, Buchanan, etc., were actually getting the tremendous prices they said they were for Yellow Pine. Recently the Southern Lumber Company came into the market with a small amount of stock and the latter part of last week our salesmen sold a tremendous quantity of their lumber and it looks as though the Southern Lumber Company would have to go out of the market again very soon. The orders came from all sections of the country, from Nebraska to New York. We actually sold B & Better Yellow Pine Flooring in Nebraska last Saturday at \$93.00. The corresponding grade in V. G. Fir we were offering at \$65.00. I cannot understand it at all, but have about decided either I am crazy or else the rest of the world is crazy."

"The report upon lumber prepared by the Bureau of Corporations and published in 1914 clearly showed that, when-necessary, lumber manufacturers cooperated with each other in curtailing the production of lumber in order to prevent an oversupply which would necessarily have a tendency to lower the price. As pre-

viously shown in this memorandum, in 1915 the lumber manufacturers attempted to induce the Federal Trade Commission to provide lawful means whereby this would be accomplished. No action was taken in regard thereto by the Commission. About this same time, most of the Regional Associations began to collect statistics showing each week the amount of lumber cut, ordered and shipped. In addition to the actual figures, a barometer was issued whereby the relation of lumber cut, ordered and shipped, to each other, was shown by colored columns.

"A rather striking activity of the members of the Chicago retail lumber dealers through this Association is revealed in these articles of agreement whereby all retail lumber business in Chicago is allocated among the members of the Association. Those members selling more than their allotted amount pay a certain percentage of the over-shipment into the Association treasury, while those members shipping less than their allotted amount are paid out of the Association treasury upon such under-shipment. Article 12, Section 1, contains this agreement, which is as follows:

'Section 1. A fund is hereby established called the 'General Fund' through which the payments hereinafter provided shall be made, and said payments shall be reckoned upon amounts in dollars and cents.

'Each member, whose shipments of Retail Trade Sales (as classified in Section 1 of Article XIV) are more in any month than his allotted percentage for that month, shall pay into the General Fund, Ten per cent of the amount of his Overshipments for that month.' (Quoted from Federal Trade Commission comment on letters.)

"I BELIEVE that it should be shown that if the public plants trees, it will cost double what they ever can be worth and that it will not pay for the public to plant trees. That it will also not pay for private persons or corporations to plant trees."

"We have evidence in this office that Graves has started out for (on) a newspaper propaganda in regard to compelling reforestation. I think the way to meet this problem is to urge him to confer with someone, presumably your Committee, in regard to the whole problem. That was the talk and spirit in the meeting of the National and I believe we ought to take the initiative to force him to come right down to brass tacks on what can be done under his proposed plan."

"I feel that as a part of the program that he should be nailed right down to take a stand as to whether he will go before Congress and tell it that as long as timber land owners are taxed off the face of the earth and are prohibited from a restriction of production when production should not take place because of there being no need for it, that timber will be wasted, and that no plan for growing trees can be so effective as a plan for relief of the present burdens that timber land owners are under."

"I recognize that if your plan to carry the war to the camp of the reforestation crowd can be carried out, that it will be effective, but I do not see very clearly how an action for libel can be brought on the part of the industry. It seems to me the industry is lied about and not the individual. If I am wrong about this, it would change my idea about what plan ought to be used. I well remember my indignation at the time Gifford Pinchot had the ear of President Roosevelt and was urging in a very loud and noisy way the same things Graves has started now in a little way. The wave of sentiment in favor of reforestation seemed to

(Continued on page 935)

The Week in Congress

Senators and Representatives Analyze and Discuss Bills Directly
for the Readers of the *Woman Citizen*

From the *Woman Citizen's* Washington Bureau

January 24, 1921.

THE Gronna-Anderson bill providing a live stock commission to regulate the packing industry was passed in the Senate on Monday, January 24th, by a vote of forty-six to thirty-three, eighteen Republicans and twenty-eight Democrats voting for the bill and twenty-three Republicans and ten Democrats against it. Immediately members of the House gave assurances that the bill will be promptly considered on that side, in the hope of final passage this session. The fight in the House will, it seems certain, center around the eleventh-hour amendment offered by Senator Pittman of Nevada just before 5 o'clock when the members were becoming weary and restless. Many of them did not hear the amendment at all. Appeals to Vice-President Marshall were met by the ruling that it was out of order to state the amendment and the roll call began with great uncertainty on the part of senators as to what the amendment was. Numbers of senators passed on the first call and several changed their votes, declaring that they had voted under a misapprehension. One of the latter was Senator Townsend of Michigan whose change from nay to aye gave the amendment the one vote needed for its passage, thirty-eight to thirty-seven. The amendment exempts from the provisions of the bill livestock growers and associations. That a packer might become a grower and thus cease to be a packer is stated as impossible by some members, but others assert that the amendment should be defeated in the House or in conference if the bill is to be effective.

Senator Pittman's amendment followed an earlier motion on his part to recommit the entire bill to committee. Senators raised the point of order that they were proceeding under a unanimous agreement to vote at 4 o'clock, which made recommitment impossible. The Vice-President stated that he would so rule but that an appeal from his decision was possible. The appeal was made and lost by a vote of fifty to thirty. On two subsequent amendments the real strength of the bill was perhaps most clearly indicated. On a motion to strike out that part of the bill which provided for the separation of the stockyards from the other business of the packers and on another motion to give the Federal Trade Commission the jurisdiction instead of appointing a live stock commission the friends of the bill polled forty-three nay votes to thirty-four aye votes.

THE final discussion of the bill began on Friday, when Senator Sherman of Illinois presented evidence recently published by the Institute of American Meat Packers to show that unfriendly investigation of their business in this country had aroused prejudice in England which is likely to result in restraint of their business in that country, thus affecting the entire situation as regards American trade. Senator Kenyon of Iowa countered by reading from a letter taken during the war from a messenger of former Ambassador Dumba, then in the United States, in which he referred to thirty-one shiploads of meat sent by American packers to Sweden and seized by England on suspicion that they were ultimately intended for Germany. Part of the note referred to the alleged statement of a packer representative in this country to Ambassador Dumba to the effect that in retaliation England might be faced with the prospect of not receiving any meat from the United States and Argentine, in which case "she would soon give in." "Is it any wonder that England might entertain unfriendly feelings toward American packers?" asked Senator Kenyon.

A speech by Senator Norris of Nebraska was read into the record referring to the "mysterious character in Washington" who was able to give the packers information of private conversations of President Wilson, advance reports before their contents were known to federal departments chiefs and inside facts concerning congressional acts.

In a fiery speech such as he has not been heard to make for months Senator Smoot of Utah opened the discussion on the last day with a scornful denunciation of the hearings conducted by the Federal Trade Commission as "said to abound in inaccuracies, contradictions and misconceptions." The famous memorandum taken from the desk of Edward Swift and said in the hearings to be a statement of the percentage of live stock which each packer took on the market, thus eliminating competition and restraining free trade, Senator Smoot said, was instead a memorandum of percentages of the cost of migration in which the packers were all interested and for which they were to pay according to the figures.

"Not only litigation but legislation and gifts of money toward the campaign expenses of members of Congress," interjected Senator Kenyon.

"NEVER before has there been a more determined attempt to deceive the public by propaganda than is being made today," said Senator Kenyon, speaking with reference not only to the packer bill but to all legislation pending before Congress.

"Fortunate indeed is the voter who can sift out from what he or she reads and hears the real purpose of legislation and legislators. Today it is a gossip newspaper story which makes the average voter believe that he or she is getting an intimate, first-hand glimpse of a legislator, while the information contained in the story is entirely misleading. Now it is a speech which makes a bill intended to benefit the public seem a fraud, or a bill which advances private interests appear to be for the public good.

"Here in Washington are lobbyists bringing to Senators and Congressmen the reaction of the people to this propaganda, petitions against good bills, letters begging us to pass bad bills, until members of Congress and the voters are both enshrouded in these pernicious mists of misunderstanding.

"While the packing bill has been before the Senate I have been receiving hundreds of letters and telegrams, apparently spontaneous. It is a curious fact that from many small banks I have received letters against the bill, in each instance calling it by the same wrong number."

Here is Senator Kenyon's answer to one of these letters which of itself indicates the general tenor of those addressed to him:

"I AM in receipt of yours concerning S-22023. This bill is not before the Senate and the Packer Bill now before the Senate is 3944. Mr. Armour, I note, in his letters, has gotten the matter somewhat mixed up, and I suppose unconsciously, you have done likewise. I would be glad to know, however, just how this bill in your judgment is detrimental to the interests of the public. I wonder if you believe in a monopoly of four or five men controlling the food supply of the American people. If the farmers could be any worse off than they are now I cannot imagine it. Of course, the markets have been manipulated for years and attempts made to prevent legislation by claiming that agitation would reduce prices. Just now certainly farmers' prices cannot be reduced by any agitation. They are at about the lowest

possible. I realize, of course, the tremendous propaganda that the packers are waging all over the country against any kind of control. To my mind this is a very foolish thing for them to do, for this legislation is conservative compared to what they will get when the people fully realize the packers' power which is used dealing through the banks, railroads and everywhere else, and their efforts to monopolize the food supply of the American people. I am sorry that you have been induced to join in the propaganda."

It is difficult to lay hands upon the propagandists who talk to the voters, but attempts to reach the lobbyists in Washington are being made in bills introduced in the Senate by Senator Kenyon and the House by Representative Welty.

"Just as the people are deceived by statements from persons apparently in no way connected with the interests concerned, so lobbyists in Washington attempt to influence members of Congress. Former members of Congress with the courtesy privileges of the floor will start an apparently innocent conversation with a Senator as he sits at his desk or some one will speak to him in a street car or in the Capitol corridors, slipping a bit of propaganda into what purports to be mere friendly talk. If lobbyists were required to register their own names and the interests which they represent members of Congress would be in some wise protected from such deception".

(Continued on page 939)

MRS. F. LOUIS SLADE of New York City, has been elected a member of the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission, vice Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore, who has resigned. Mrs. Raymond Brown, of New York City, succeeds Mrs. Livermore on the Woman Citizen Corporation.

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Half Hours with Interesting Women

ARE you a "straight ticket" partisan, with the belief that the League of Women Voters is no place for you?

Are you an independent voter, with the ideal of service of the League of Women Voters, thinking that you are thereby barred from enrollment in and work for a political party?

Whoever you are, if you think there is an unbridgeable gulf between the parties and the League of Women Voters, read the experience of Mrs. John Rourke, of Bridgeport, Connecticut, who has been working with the joint congressional committee in Washington for the Sheppard-Towner bill.

Mrs. Rourke is a Republican district captain and has the record of an enrollment of nine hundred Republican women, only five of whom failed to vote at the November election.

She says: "I am an interested worker in the League of Women Voters, and I am also an interested worker in the Republican party. In the campaign last fall there was one man on the Republican state ticket whom I could not support. I was told that I was the only Republican woman leader in the state who intended to vote against him, that I was not a good party woman unless I could accept the entire ticket, and gradually I began to feel that I was not acceptable in good party circles.

"My attitude toward the party is the same as my attitude toward my children. I love them; I have faith in them. But when I hear that they have made mistakes, instead of being filled with resentment and arguing that they have no faults, I welcome criticism and try to set them right.

"I continued my party work. There were other men on the ticket who have not always done what women would have them do. One man in particular gave me some days of doubt. But then I learned that his constituents had been satisfied with his record, that they had even brought great pressure to bear upon him to do some of the things of which the women most disapproved. I made up my mind that if the women helped to elect that man and then asked him to do the things they wanted him to do that he would respond as quickly to their wishes as he had in the past to the wishes of other constituents. So I worked for him. Late on election afternoon, when I was using my car bringing women to the polls, a woman member of his family said that his friends had not expected my support, that he was grateful for it, and I would not be disappointed in his service.

"But I still felt it to be a matter of conscience to vote against the one other nominee, and I did so.

"When the Republican women of the state had a convention after election I sat there and heard chairman after chairman report with pride, 'I have so many voters in my districts; all but so many voted the straight ticket.'

"And there was I, a party captain, who had split her ticket.

"Then our Republican state chairman got up to speak. Mrs. Alsop is the daughter of Mrs. Corinne Roosevelt Robinson. She spent much of her girlhood in the White House, and, like others of the Roosevelt family, she is keenly interested in politics.

"You may judge of my great joy when Mrs. Alsop, after speaking of the duties of women to the party, the ideals of service which they must have and the support which they must give to the party and its activities, went on to tell of the other work which women might do for improved laws and for citizenship training, and ended by saying that there was work for women to do in a non-partisan organization and work for women to do in the party, and that membership in one by no means precluded the other.

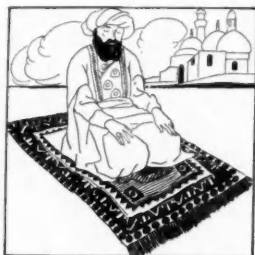
"You can give good service in the party and in a non-partisan organization at the same time, said Mrs. Alsop, and my difficulties disappeared as she spoke.

"I shall continue to work in the League of Women Voters and as a Republican captain."

MARJORIE SHULER

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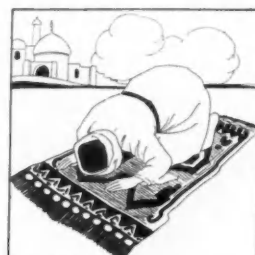
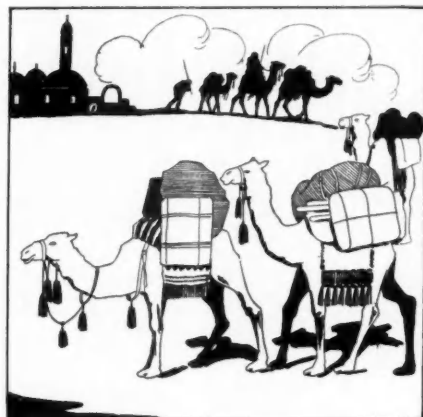


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Fifth Floor

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Why More Houses Are Not Built

(Continued from page 932)

have died out after Pinchot was eliminated and I do not believe that we are at present in any great danger, but I do believe that we ought to meet the issue fairly and squarely. Let me know if I can do anything further. I will keep you posted from time to time as to anything I get from the Forestry Department. I wish you would return for my file, the data sent herewith."

"I am handing you herewith copy of letter received from Mr. A. L. Osborn today, and I think the suggestion of meeting with Chief Forester Graves should be carried out as soon as it can conveniently be done. At least we should make a request for such meeting, in pursuance to his suggestion. If Graves continues his publicity campaign we will be in the proper position when we come to the conflict, for the following reasons, first, we have agreed to meet with him; second, a committee has been appointed for that purpose; third, that committee has requested a meeting for such discussion; fourth, Graves has, in advance of meeting and after the request for the meeting, pursued a policy propaganda in an effort to put into effect his personal ideas, in absence of any agreement with the industry. It seems to me that our position is a favorable one, in case it becomes necessary for us to 'go to the mat' on the subject."

"To my mind, the outstanding opportunity your committee has to serve the industry and also the country at large is to so mobilize its units that they may be in a position to more adequately defend themselves against the destructive tendencies of the hour. The result can be aided by the industry being kept fully advised through your committee of Governmental activities—political, legislative and departmental—that have for their direct or indirect object invasion of constitutional guarantees.

Due to this character of information the operators may be induced to pay less attention to the political complexion of a candidate for office and more attention to his standing as a bona fide American citizen—one who understands that we live under a constitutional form of government."

"I cannot undertake to review the entire field in the scope of this letter, as I know your dislike for long letters. However, let me say this, that the Lumbermen's hearing which you originally initiated has been a great success. There has been fine publicity and if the law can help, we will have the benefit of it. The superstition as to a Lumbermen's Trust has been dispelled; it is now up to the industry to readjust itself and get on a substantial footing. I realize that it will be necessary to take into account the State authorities of Texas and Missouri. We will have no trouble in Kansas. As far as the Attorney General's office of Missouri is concerned I know that we are all right; Barker is my friend and will be helpful. As to the Supreme Court judges, we will have to discuss that of course with Mr. Lucas. Through the help of Kirby, we ought to get a pretty definite angle on the Texas situation. Much careful work must be done, but believe me, we can solve our trouble if we go about it right and stick to it. You are about to reap the harvest of your great labors, and if there is a man in the entire industry that is entitled to credit, you are the man."

MARJORIE SHULER.

NEXT month will bring the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, the first woman in modern times to take a medical degree. Preparations are making in various quarters to celebrate the day, and Dr. Blackwell's relatives are being asked for facts about her life. The best source of information is her autobiography, "Pioneer Work for Women," published in Everyman's Library. A. S. B.



The Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course

Inside Stories About the Federal Departments

THE Prohibition Unit is charged with the enforcement of two sets of law; the Prohibition Laws and the Narcotic Laws. On January 17, 1920, the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States became effective. To enforce this amendment to the Constitution, Congress passed the National Prohibition Act of October 28, 1919, authorizing the creation of the Prohibition Unit. For administrative purposes, this Unit is also charged with the enforcement of the Harrison Narcotic Act, a law enacted to regulate the importation, manufacture, production, compounding, sale, dispensing and giving away of opium and cocoa leaves and their derivatives. On account of the peculiar nature of the work women play a less important part in the enforcement of these laws than in any others coming under the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. However, it is not an unusual thing to find women rendering very valuable assistance in the offices of the field employees as well as in the Bureau at Washington. In order to obtain a general knowledge of the Prohibition Unit, let us take an imaginary trip through the offices at Washington.

FIRST let us enter the office of the Field Supervisors. This office has the supervision and direction of all the field employees enforcing these two laws. This force has two subdivisions: namely, Prohibition Directors and Enforcement Agents. There is a director appointed for each state in the Union and it is the duty of this officer to administer the permissive features of the prohibition law in his particular state. The director passes upon every application for a permit filed by residents of his state before submitting the application to the bureau at Washington for final action. Under the direct supervision of the director are prohibition inspectors. It is the duty of these officers to visit periodically the plants where near beer or near wine is manufactured and the establishments where alcohol or intoxicating liquors are used in the preparation of the various commercial products; such as, medicinal preparations, hair tonics, etc., and to inspect the records of these permit holders to ascertain whether they are using the spirits issued to them in accordance with the permit granted them by the bureau at Washington. These inspectors are also called upon to investigate the premises and standing of applicants for new permits in order to advise

Prohibition Unit

Under the Treasury Department

By R. Edwin Joyce, Jr.

the director in making his recommendation to Washington for approval or disapproval of the application. The directors are also charged with the supervision of the prescription books issued to the physicians in their state, and their inspectors make regular investigations of the books of the physicians to ascertain if they are issuing these prescriptions in accordance with the law.

THE force of enforcement agents is distributed somewhat differently from that of the prohibition directors. The United States is divided into twelve departments, each department comprising approximately four states, with a supervising agent in charge of each department. Each supervising agent is supplied with a "policing" force of prohibition agents and narcotic agents, appointed by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to detect violations of the prohibition and narcotic laws, respectively. These agents are subject to the order of the supervising agent and may be used anywhere within the supervising department in detecting and suppressing violations of the liquor laws and prosecuting violators. It is in this branch of the organization that the most interesting, not to mention the most exciting, work is carried on. It is the duty of these men to locate the people peddling narcotics, to detect the moonshiner, to locate the bootlegger, to cope with the smuggler bringing liquor or narcotics across the Mexican and Canadian borders, to catch the forger obtaining liquor on forged permits, and to ferret out and bring to justice all violators of the liquor and narcotic laws from the bootlegger and the "dope" peddler to the operators of the large breweries who are producing a product in excess of one-half of one per cent.

LEAVING the office of the field supervisors, we wander to the permit Division. This division, consisting of nearly one hundred employees, devotes its entire time to the examination of applications for and the issuance of permits under the National Prohibition Act. All intoxicating liquor and alcohol withdrawn from bond since the enactment of the National Prohibition Act must be done so in accordance with

a permit issued by Prohibition Commissioner Kramer. There are fifteen different classes of these permits, some of the most common being, permits to transport, prescribe, import, export, use in manufacturing commercial products, and to sell in wholesale or retail quantities. When a citizen desires a permit under the National Prohibition Act, he files an application for the particular class of permit he desires with the director in the state in which he desires to use the permit. The director then causes an investigation to be made of the premises where the permit is to be used, as well as the character of the applicant to ascertain if there is any reason to recommend the application for disapproval. After the investigation is completed the director forwards the application together with his recommendation to the bureau at Washington.

THE application is then routed to the permit division where it is again reviewed by one of a number of expert examiners. In cases where the application is made for a permit to use intoxicating liquors in the manufacture of any product, a formula of the product desired to be manufactured must accompany the application. This formula is also reviewed by the examiners, who are also trained pharmacists, to determine whether the finished product is sufficiently medicated to prevent it being used for beverage purposes. If the result of the examiner's investigation discloses the fact that the application meets with the bureau's requirements, the permit is prepared and forwarded to the office of Commissioner Kramer for signature. After signature the permit is forwarded to the office of the prohibition director where a record is made of the permit before it is delivered to the permittee. After the permit is secured, the permittee applies to the director from time to time for permission to purchase spirits in the amount mentioned in the permit to be used in accordance with its terms. The approval of this permit to purchase by the director allows the permittee to purchase and transport the spirits from the warehouse to his place of business.

From the permit division we go to the Division of Audit and Statistics, the division that has supervision of all liquors in government bonded warehouses. The distilleries operating throughout the United States place the

(Continued on page 942)

With Our Contributing Editors

Armour Denies Mrs. Costigan

To the Editor of the *Woman Citizen*:

WE note that the December 11 issue of the *Woman Citizen* carried a communication from one "A. S. B.," in which Mrs. Edward Costigan was quoted as saying that twenty Southern railroads had contracted with the packers to haul only packer cars, thereby killing competition.

Mrs. Costigan's statement, if made as reported, is a misinterpretation and perversion of fact. She has reference to a transaction whereby the Fruit Growers' Express formerly, but no longer, owned by Armour & Company, contracted to furnish equipment for moving perishable products originating along the lines of the contracting railroads. The agreement stipulated that the Fruit Growers' Express should install icing stations and furnish equipment and in return therefor the privilege of supplying cars was made exclusive.

There is nothing improper, illegal or unethical about such a contract. It assured the railroads the equipment they needed and warranted the Fruit Growers' Express in making the necessary expenditure for icing stations and cars. It was an equitable arrangement common in the business world and Mrs. Costigan's conclusion that it results in the killing of competition is wholly unjustified. Inasmuch as the carrying charges are fixed by other than the Fruit Growers' Express all the competition in the world would not have resulted in lower rates. On the other hand without assurance of adequate tonnage no company could afford to install equipment such as was necessary to give the shippers the service they needed.

We trust you will find it possible to present these facts to your readers to offset the harm done by the publication of Mrs. Costigan's erroneous conclusions.

ARMOUR & COMPANY.

Chicago, Ill.

R. D. MacManus.

Mrs. Costigan Replies

CONCISE testimony concerning the facts relating to the exclusive contracts given by the southern railroads to the Fruit Growers' Express, formerly owned by Armour and Company, is reported in Vol. 38 of "Hearings before the Commerce and Agriculture Committees, House of Representatives, 66th Congress, second session, on Meat Packer Legislation."

On April 12, 1920, Colonel Chantland, now a practicing attorney in New York City, formerly,

Concerning the Fruit Growers Express

from 1911 to 1916, special assistant to several Attorneys-General of the United States and in that capacity engaged in anti-trust work, was a witness before the Committee on Agriculture. The official report of his testimony shows that other investigators than myself reached the conclusion that the practices of Armour and Company were surely destructive of competition and not in the interest of the public well-being.

I quote the following from that record:

"Col. CHANTLAND. The matter of how the refrigerator cars control the situation was illustrated in one matter that I did investigate for the Federal Trade Commission, and if you will pardon me I will use that illustration.

"In the Southeastern United States I found that Armour & Co. had gone in and made contracts with somewhere about 21 different railroads, big and little. The result of this was that you might have a peach orchard in Georgia, or a truck farm farther south or along the coast for the early truck market, and you might have cars of your own, and you could bring a car onto your peach orchard or truck garden, but under those contracts you were not permitted to ship it out filled with your own goods. The following year I think around 20—those numbers are not clear in my mind, there were some 20 let go, and some 7 or 8 maintained, but the situation was just the same.

"Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. I do not quite understand what you mean when you say that the cars could be brought into an orchard or into a garden, but that the owner of the orchard or of the garden was not permitted to put his own products into those cars?

"Col. CHANTLAND. And ship them out; yes, sir; because the railroads were tied to Armour & Co.—I do not remember the name.

"Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. Why would they be sent in there if they were not to be filled and the produce shipped out?

"Col. CHANTLAND. I am saying if you had your own refrigerator car.

"Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. If the orchard merchant had?

"Col. CHANTLAND. Yes.

"Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. I see.

"Col. CHANTLAND. If you were able to hire another car than that which belonged to Armour & Co. you could get it hauled empty, there was

nothing in the contract to prevent that, but if you sought to have that other car hauled out loaded with your goods, you could not do it, the railroad would not haul it. The vice-president of one of the roads told me.

"Mr. ANDERSON. You have reference to the exclusive contracts not to handle any refrigerator cars except the refrigerator cars of this particular company?

"Col. CHANTLAND. Yes, sir.

"Mr. McKINLEY. I understand you then to say that a car which belonged to a railroad company that was sent into an orchard and loaded with fruit could not be hauled by the railroad?

"Col. CHANTLAND. Right; that is exactly what I mean to say.

"Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Nebraska. Because it belonged to a packer?

"Col. CHANTLAND. That is true. I do not remember the name.

"Mr. ANDERSON. The Fruit Growers' Express?

"Col. CHANTLAND. I guess that is it.

"Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. Let us go a little further. These cars were the property of the packers?

"Col. CHANTLAND. Yes, sir.

"Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. And in this particular case they were property of Armour & Co.?

"Col. CHANTLAND. Yes, sir. Under the Ellis case they were not engaged in interstate commerce and therefore the Interstate Commerce Commission said, 'We have not any control of this situation.' That is the answer to your question.

"Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. So that we can understand whether it is a right policy or not, the owner of the property could direct entirely where that car should go and how and by whom it should be used, and, if other than by himself, he could direct entirely whom that person should be, a railroad company or anybody else?

"Col. CHANTLAND. No; I think not. I believe that the railroads were given some latitude on that, but it was their car and they could not use anybody's else's. In other words, the effect was that only their cars could be used, and there was no competition whatever in being able to get a different car or a better car, and one of the complaints that came up a number of times was the fact that the class of

(Continued on page 941)

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The Connecticut League of Women Voters

By Ruth McIntire Dadourian

"EVERY woman voter in Connecticut to be given an opportunity for political education" is to be the watchword of those who met in New Haven January 18th to organize the Connecticut League of Women Voters and incidentally to complete the organization of the forty-eight states. For Connecticut, although thorough, is traditionally the last. Her position was well summarized by Mrs. Maud Wood Park, the National Chairman, who was the leading speaker of the day.

"No one," she said, "can come to Connecticut without congratulating you that when finally you ratified the federal suffrage amendment you did it three times. This is just an example of the fact that when you do a thing you do it extremely well. That is one of the reasons why the national board of directors of the League of Women Voters expects a particularly good organization in Connecticut. We also recognize that Connecticut has already been very liberal to its women, and now leads the country in the number of women elected to its legislature."

That Connecticut women intend to live up to Mrs. Park's expectation was evidenced by the fact that the hall originally chartered for the meeting proved to be far too small, and had to be changed for a larger hall in the afternoon. But it was the keen and serious interest of the women present, their determination to perfect even the dreariest details of organization, that best gave promise of the unity and the enthusiasm with which they intend to carry out the joint purposes of the League—constructive legislation and citizenship training.

In the absence of Miss Katharine Ludington, Regional Director for New England, Dr. Valeria Parker, Chairman of the Social Hygiene Committee of the National League of Women Voters, opened the meeting with a brief address in which she outlined the genesis of the League nationally and the work already done toward organization in Connecticut.

THE day was largely taken up with the adoption of a constitution, a program and a budget, and with the balloting for officers. A Committee on Organization, with members drawn from statewide women's organizations and headed by Miss Mabel C. Washburn of Hartford, had been at work for several weeks drawing plans to submit to the public meeting.

The constitution as finally adopted states that the object of the League "shall be to develop

an intelligent and active electorate and to unite women in work for constructive social legislation." Membership is to be of three kinds: individuals, affiliated leagues and associate leagues, the latter being described as "such organizations as support the purpose of the League, but do not necessarily wish to take an active part in all the work, provided that they are not members of any other state or national organization."

Certain statewide organizations, furthermore, will be represented on the executive board by their presidents, who may be invited to become members of the board. County chairmen of the League, eight directors-at-large, a legislative chairman together with the chairmen of the standing committees, and the officers, constitute with the additional members, the executive board.

THE Legislative work for the forth-coming year necessarily will be largely a matter of endorsement and backing of bills already introduced. As the term for the introduction of new matter in the Legislature expires January 28, the Connecticut League has determined upon the following programme: (1) To support bills coming to the state which are part of the programme of the National League of Women Voters, as for instance the Sheppard-Towner bill. (2) To form a clearing-house for all organizations presenting bills of special interest to women, and to secure support for such bills as the Legislative Committee may recommend. (3) It is urged that the Legislative Committee consider the publication of a legislative bulletin to inform the members of the League of matters before the legislature. (4) It is urged that the matter of law enforcement be made one of the principal concerns of the League.

With regard to citizenship education, the plan adopted calls for classes in the machinery of government, the furnishing of model programmes to study groups, and the furnishing of speakers on special subjects, correspondence courses, the training of citizenship teachers, the holding of institutes (with which Connecticut women are familiar through the work of the Suffrage Association), and the conducting of citizenship departments in newspapers.

THE officers chosen to carry out this programme are: President, Miss Mabel C. Washburn, Hartford; vice-presidents, Mrs. Hiram Percy Maxim, Hartford, and Mrs. H. H.

Townshend, New Haven; recording secretary, Mrs. Edward Porritt, Hartford; treasurer, Mrs. Herbert Knox Smith, Farmington; legislative chairman, Miss Mary Bulkley; county chairmen: Hartford, Mrs. Herbert Knox Smith; New Haven, Mrs. William Lyon Phelps; Fairfield, Miss Mary Olcott; New London, Mrs. Harry Hunt; Middlesex, Mrs. E. Champion Acheson; Litchfield, Miss Dorothy Bull; Windham, Mrs. H. B. Cummings, and Tolland, Mrs. Fannie Dixon Welch. Directors-at-large, Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn, Mrs. Harrison B. Freeman, Mrs. George H. Day and Mrs. William H. Deming, Hartford; Mrs. A. E. Scranton-Taylor, Norfolk; Mrs. Terence S. McDermott, New Haven; Mrs. Joseph W. Alsop, Avon, and Miss Emily Whitney, New Haven.

MRS MAUDE WOOD PARK, who spoke at the close of the afternoon session, emphasized the non-partisan character of the League. She told her audience of the work carried on by the organization department of the National League under Mrs. Gellhorn, and gave a vivid and often humorous account of the progress of the bills now before Congress in which the League is interested. One Congressman, she said, had told her that if the League had done nothing else, the fact that the United States had for three days discussed the lives of mothers and babies was revolutionary in itself. It was a situation well expressed by one Senator, who said, "Now the women have risen, the babies are in arms." Although the Sheppard-Towner bill has been somewhat amended in its passage through the Senate, Mrs. Park gave as her opinion that with united and continuous pressure from the women of the country who stand back of the bill, it will be passed in the present short session. "But," said she, "if you really want this protection for mothers and babies you must work for it. Write to your Congressmen."

THE two great results of the legislative work done by the League as seen by Mrs. Park, are, first, that women are learning to work together and are becoming trained to watch federal legislation; and, secondly, they are teaching men that there is a woman's point of view.

A final touch to the success of the meeting was the announcement that already between \$2,500 and \$3,000 had been pledged in advance for the support of the Connecticut League. This will enable its officers to proceed at once to the work of organization. Individual membership dues are to be \$1.00, annually, affiliated leagues will pay \$1.00 for each delegate to the annual state convention, representation being proportional to membership of the League, and associate leagues are to pay \$5.00 annually to the State League.

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The Week in Congress

(Continued from page 934)

WITH a vote taken on the Gronno packing bill in the Senate, two of the pieces of legislation endorsed by the League of Women Voters have been disposed of by that body, the other bill being of course the Sheppard-Towner maternity bill which has been passed by the Senate and has been reposing for some weeks in the House committee.

Rumors have steadily persisted that the Sheppard-Towner bill would meet defeat in some manner in this session. The bill unquestionably got the right of way in the Senate because of the tremendous pressure of the women voters. But the Senate was prevailed upon to act, in the opinion of certain Senators for two reasons. The first of these was that it was not yet ready to act upon the unfinished business, and the second was that some senators counted certainly upon the bill being smothered without coming to a vote in the House. During the last few weeks it has been said several times that instead of the Sheppard-Towner bill, the House would act upon the Smith-Towner education bill, so that each of these bills would pass one house but neither would go through two houses this session. Certain leading Republican members of the House are positive in their assertions, however, that the Sheppard-Towner bill will be passed by that body in this session and Mrs. Maud Park shares this faith, partly because of her knowledge of the efforts which the women constituents are making.

As reported from committee to the House the Smith-Towner bill has been several times amended. One amendment strikes out the provision for school nurses, school dental clinics and the promotion of physical and mental welfare. A second amendment adapts the plan for a Department of Education to the general department revision now being outlined by the joint congressional committee headed by Senator Smoot and Representative Reavis. A third amendment aims at removing all possible objection to the bill on the part of those who have feared that it would centralize control over the public schools in a Federal department at Washington by providing specifically that courses of study, plans and methods for carrying out the purposes and provisions of the act within a state shall be determined by state and local educational authorities. The Secretary of Education is denied the right to exercise any authority whatever with respect to the administration of education within the states, his power being limited to seeing that appropriations for particular purposes shall be expended for the purposes for which they are appropriated by Congress.

THE Curtis-Gard bill regulating child labor in the District of Columbia has had a quiet but steady advance during the last few weeks, also due to the urgency of women voters.

Forty women's organizations in the District of Columbia have been brought together by Miss Arcley R. Marshall executive secretary of the Consumers' League for the District of Columbia, and, acting upon the lobby reports of Miss Hettie Hazlett, representing the National Child Labor Commission, who has been interviewing members of Congress, the women have conducted an intensive telephone campaign against certain senators and representatives. As a result the bill has been favorably reported by a House subcommittee to the House committee for the District, Representative Mapes chairman, and a subcommittee with Senator Jones of Washington chairman, has been appointed in the Senate to consider and report to the Senate committee for the District, Senator Sherman of Illinois chairman.

Friends of the bill have accepted several amendments. The Senate committee has transferred the enforcement of the bill to the educational authorities, who in the original draft shared responsibility with the labor authorities appointed to enforce the eight-hour day bill. In the House two amendments have been made, one permitting children of twelve years old to sell newspapers on the streets and the other granting vacation work permits. The bill as amended is renumbered, S 4816 and H R 13943.

THE Rogers bill for the naturalization of married women in their own right has been supplanted by the general naturalization bill favorably reported in the House by the immigration committee of which Representative Johnson of Washington is chairman. Senator Johnson is hopeful of passing the bill in the House, but not in the Senate this session. He gives as his reason for this confidence that the bill provides for an additional appropriation of only \$300,000 while it will more than double the present naturalization fees. The increased revenue he places at \$400,000,000 annually. Provisions for naturalization of married women and for citizenship of the children are provided by the new bill.

THE sixth piece of legislation endorsed by the League of Women Voters, the Fess amendment for vocational education, Representative Fess says that he expects to have placed upon the calendar this session, but that there is no prospect of a vote before the new Congress is convened.

MARJORIE SCHULER.

Incidents in Dr. Shaw's Life

Tableaux of leading incidents in the life of Dr. Anna Howard Shaw were presented at a luncheon at the Hotel Statler in Detroit to launch the campaign for a \$5,000 gift to the Anna Howard Shaw Memorial Fund.



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The Book Stall

"I Hear America"

THIS is a review of Sinclair Lewis's *Main Street* (Harcourt, Brace and Howe) and just because it is about a book of which every one is talking, one of the best sellers, and a novel you can't by any means miss, one can give it a little abuse. The reason for wanting to abuse a book so good that, once you have begun it, it is hard to lay it down, is the heroine.

Carol Milford is a priggish young person. One doesn't altogether wonder that Gopher Prairie, Minnesota, found her trying. She was trying. She had thin, stringy ideals without any spinal column to them.

She was a kind of feminine Tomlinson.

The trouble with Kipling's Tomlinson was that he never did anything good or anything bad off his own bat. He followed somebody's lead. His goodness was so anaemic it left St. Peter's keys unturned in his favor. And he was such a cheap sport that Satan wouldn't let his gentleman stokers waste their good coal on him.

Carol was something like that. She would have run a little Greenwich Village annex out in Gopher Prairie, if she could have found anybody who wanted to set up a second hand culture shop with her.

Main Street is a symptom. It is one of a dozen books of fiction and poetry that have burst out at the same blooming.

One could guess that Mr. Lewis had caught contagion from Carl Sandburg if *Smoke and Steel* hadn't fallen on the book market at about the same time as *Main Street*.

Sherwood Anderson's *Winesburg, Ohio* (B. W. Huebsch) is another of the same group,—a group that sets forth the sordidness of American village life. The side streets and back alleys of a thousand villages are like those of Winesburg. The principal streets and building blocks of the same villages are like those of Gopher Prairie.

These novels are all concerned with interpreting the United States. They echo the words of Carl Sandburg's youth in his sordid village:

"I hear America, what do I hear?"

All of these writers think they hear the real America, and they are filled with scorn at it. They have reacted from the regional novel of Mary Wilkins, of W. D. Howells, of Thomas Nelson Page, of Willa Sibert Cather,

"*MAIN STREET* there runs through the middle of the town.

And there is a dirty post office,

And a dirty city hall,

And a dirty railroad station,

And the United States flag cries, cries the stars and stripes to the four winds on Lincoln's Birthday and the Fourth of July."—Carl Sandburg.

novels which observed sympathetically various phases of life in New England, the South, the Middle West; and looked back with pride to the pioneers.

The new novelists are passionate prophets, uncovering the sores beneath our material prosperity. They are by way of proclaiming that "every knee, in the small towns of the Nation, has bowed to Baal."

Their books have the intolerance of revolt and of extreme youth.

CAROL'S revolt against Gopher was finicking, but it was real. The trouble with the rest of the villagers was that they had no desire to do anything but what they were doing and didn't even know there was anything to revolt from. They had no standards except those of their own town, slightly tinted with views of the "Twin Cities"—whose most blatant happenings percolated through to the Gopherites. One isn't satisfied that Carol's ultimate decision amounted to much—her determination to go off by herself and stay until she could see Gopher and her husband and *Main Street* as part of her life, things she could take into her soul and harmonize with herself. She lacked a strength of fibre which belongs to the frontier and the pioneer. Dr. Will had it, and behind his erudities he was of the texture of big places. He had the rough response to raw humanity which made him see "the wishing heart of it."

He saw "the white dawn frost of early winter silver, and purple over the railroad tracks and lumber yards," the saving glory of the little villages and their inhabitants, things which enter the blood of inarticulate men and women everywhere and keep them striving.

It is this factor which will finally save the American small town from itself.

Main Street is a good novel, almost a great one. But Carol Milford Kennicutt is a poor shadowy semblance of a real woman.

Our Own Sacajawea

ONE of those significant events which will be of perpetual interest to the United States, but which attracts almost no attention at the moment of its happening, was the marking of trails and historic places by the Oregon Trail Commission of Wyoming, the Daughters and Sons of the American Revolution and by citizens of Wyoming.

Just to glance casually over the attractively printed report of this event is to open up a hundred interesting channels of thought.

Over the Oregon Trail went the "course of Empire" more than a hundred years ago. One of the most noteworthy tablets on that trail is the stone set up to the memory of Sacajawea, the Indian woman guide of Lewis and Clarke.

Sacajawea lived among the Wind River Mountains until she was a century old. It was through the efforts of Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard of the University of Wyoming that her grave was located and a monument erected over it in 1909. The white race owes much to this light-footed Indian girl, and it owes much to Dr. Hebard, the Secretary of the Oregon Trail Commission from 1915 to 1921, and one of the most indefatigable students of history in the Northwest. Dr. Hebard has been a mine of information to the National American Woman Suffrage Association in its historical researches into the suffrage facts concerning Wyoming. Her historical brochures are invaluable to the whole country.

A bronze tablet was erected in July, 1917, to mark the site where the first territorial legislature of Wyoming convened and "enacted the first woman suffrage law in the United States." Another at South Pass City, marks the place where once was the "home and office" of Esther Hobart Morris, "mother of woman suffrage in Wyoming." Esther Morris was a Justice of the Peace, said to be the first woman in the world to hold this office.

All through this interesting report one comes upon reminders of the tireless, keen work of Dr. Hebard, who is the author of numberless papers and addresses.

Dr. Hebard has been regent and state historian of the Wyoming D. A. R. The state in which she is a well-known educator and the whole Northwest are the richer for her labors. She is a nineteenth century Sacajawea, guiding the trail of history.

Mrs. Costigan Replies

(Continued from page 937)

refrigerator cars was permitted to get into disrepair so badly that large quantities of fruit were spoiled, particularly that which emanated in the South in the wintertime and comes North; they were not closed in and the stuff froze in the refrigerator cars. That works both ways on the refrigerator car, hot and cold.

"Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. Armour & Co. refused to permit a railroad company to use one of the refrigerator cars to carry private goods—I use the word 'private' as distinguished from the packers' goods—refused to permit the use of that car for carrying private goods and the railroad company was bound to refuse to carry a car, even if the owner of the goods owned the refrigerator car?

"Col. CHANTLAND. That is correct. You could not get your own car or any other car hauled, filled with the products of that region, on those railroads.

"The CHAIRMAN. Regardless of the ownership of the car?

"Col. CHANTLAND. Yes, sir.

"Mr. McKINLEY. I want to get that made perfectly clear.

"Col. CHANTLAND. I want to make it clear.

"Mr. McKINLEY. This seems to be such a remarkable statement.

"Col. CHANTLAND. It was remarkable when we found it.

"Mr. McKINLEY. Is not a railroad a common carrier and does it not have to haul the car of another common carrier?

"Col. CHANTLAND. But they made this contract as to refrigerator cars that tied them to the use of these cars.

"Mr. McKINLEY. The Interstate Commerce Commission has a right to say what a common carrier can do?

"Col. CHANTLAND. I thought so. On the other hand, the Ellis case said that they were not engaged in interstate commerce.

"Mr. McKINLEY. That is a different proposition?

"Col. CHANTLAND. Yes, sir; that is quite a different thing, whether you deal with the packer or the railroad company.

"Mr. YOUNG. That is a part of it that is incomprehensible to me—how that condition could exist. I can understand how Armour & Co. could have a contract controlling their own cars; I can understand that, but when you go further and say that these transportation companies, the railroad companies, have a contract by which the railroad companies can not haul anybody else's cars, that is beyond my comprehension. How do they?

"Col. CHANTLAND. It was beyond mine, but that was the contract, that is what they did, and the vice president of one of the roads told us; that is correct.

Mr. YOUNG. And the railroads lived up to that contract?

"Col. CHANTLAND. Apparently, they did.

"The CHAIRMAN. The question involved is whether the railroad companies made an exclusive contract with Armour & Co.?

"Col. CHANTLAND. Of course, they did."

The foregoing evidence tends strongly to sustain the view that equal opportunities for all producers to secure transportation for their products can not be assured until refrigerator and other special equipment cars are made in all respects part of the common carrier transportation system of the country subject to thorough federal regulation.

While the claim of technical legality made in Armour and Company's letter to *The Woman Citizen* was also made before the Committee on Agriculture by witnesses for the packers certainly the exclusive contracts admitted in that letter were destructive of competition. This is so obvious as to make the denial in Armour and Company's letter inexplicable and once more justifies the League of Women Voters in placing primary emphasis upon the general welfare. So much being said, it is unnecessary to enter into any discussion of propriety and ethics.

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"THE doctor said the baby had the scarlet fever and told us to isolate it," said a tenement house mother reporting to the district nurse.

"Well, did you isolate it?"

"Sure, we isolated it. We put the baby at the foot of the bed."

Which was all she could do.

That the United States lacks a million and a quarter homes, was an astonishing report appearing in the daily press a short time ago. By an actual survey in Greater New York, Dr. Royal Copeland, Health Commissioner, has ascertained that New York's shortage is not less than 100,000.

The commissioner's report covered five selected areas. Among alarming conditions reported as a result of the Health Survey, was the unexpected one that overcrowding had increased—not decreased—during the latter half of 1920. In Manhattan this overcrowding increased nearly 50 per cent. In the city as a whole the increase was nearly 40 per cent.

The only possible solution of the shortage has been a doubling up, until the old joke about the

five families in one room, one in each corner and one in the middle, who got along amicably until the middle family began taking boarders, is not so far out of the way now. Single family houses are now housing from three to five families—in a few cases seven. Houses designed for eight families have squeezed in from nine to eleven. Thirty-five unit tenements are housing forty-nine families.

One of the worst features is the almost universal necessity to take lodgers. One ten-family house was found where accommodations had stretched to eighteen families and *seventy-three extra roomers*.

Kitchenettes have broken out like a rash in the districts visited. Chief Inspector Joseph M. Lonergan said that there were plenty of instances where every apartment had been subdivided, with a kitchenette in the hall or the living or the bed-room. In some of the old, ill-ventilated and unsanitary apartments the conditions may be imagined.

"The lack of privacy," he added, "the unsanitary, strained and unusual conditions, create an excellent field for the spread of disease, and tend to result in moral and mental degeneracy."

Prohibition Unit

(Continued from page 936)

product of their respective plants immediately after manufacture in a government bonded warehouse. This is done to accomplish a two-fold purpose; first to enable the product to age sufficiently in a place where it will be protected against robbery, and second to secure the payment of the government tax when the spirits are withdrawn from bond for sale. In each instance the distiller is held responsible to the United States Government for the tax on all liquor stored in the bonded warehouse, and regular reports are forwarded to the Internal Revenue Bureau at Washington of all liquor placed in the warehouses. Employees of the Internal Revenue Bureau known as storekeeper gaugers are detailed to each bonded warehouse to reauge the contents of the warehouse from time to time and to report to Washington the amount of liquor to be checked against the records in the bureau. In this way, the Prohibition Unit at Washington has the history of all bonded whiskey from the day it is manufactured until years later when it is withdrawn from the bonded warehouses for consumption.

After leaving the Division of Audit and Statistics, we go to the Legal Division. This division consists of nearly 150 trained employees who assist the Prohibition Commissioner on the many legal points arising under the enforcement of the prohibition and narcotic laws. It is to this division that reports of violations of the law are forwarded by the agents in the field. Copies of these reports are then forwarded to the United States District Attorney for the Federal Judicial District in which the offense occurred

for prosecution of the criminal liability. In addition to the criminal liability many violators of the liquor laws are liable to assessments of fines and taxes both under prohibition or narcotic law and the old Internal Revenue laws. For instance a man is apprehended for the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor. He is prosecuted by the United States District Attorney for the criminal violation of the law and if found guilty either imprisoned or fined for his criminal liability. In addition to the action of the court he is also generally liable to certain civil liability in the nature of tax assessments incurred under the Internal Revenue laws as well as the National Prohibition Act. In addition to handling the legal work incident to violations, the legal division is frequently called on for interpretations of the laws enforced by the Prohibition Unit and the regulations promulgated under these laws.

Maryland Election

THE Maryland League of Women Voters has elected the following officers: Chairman, Mrs. Charles E. Ellicott, Baltimore; vice chairman, Mrs. E. N. Cory, Riverdale; director at large, Miss Emma Weber, Baltimore; district directors, Mrs. Josiah Leeds Kerr, Cambridge; Mrs. William Silver, Aberdeen; Mrs. R. H. Miller, Baltimore; Mrs. W. R. C. Wood, Baltimore; Miss Katherine Watkins, Annapolis; Miss Elizabeth Lowndes, Cumberland.

The new board has appointed as state manager Miss Lavinia Engle, whose successful work as a suffrage organizer and a teacher of citizenship is well known.

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A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

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February 5, 1921



**A Tempest in a Teapot
A Teapot in a Tempest**

**Should Women Take
Alimony?**

By Charlotte Perkins Gilman

Alimony as a Square Deal

By Judge Charles L. Guy

The Week in Congress

**The New Woman
and the Old Man**

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cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

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Vol. LI Old Style
Vol. V New Style

FEBRUARY 5, 1921

No. 36

See the WOMAN CITIZEN for *February 12th*

For articles on several phases of the question:

WHAT DO YOU WANT YOUR CHILD TO SEE ON THE STAGE AND SCREEN?

An ensuing issue of the WOMAN CITIZEN will be devoted to a
discussion of the subject:

HOW SHALL THE 19,000,000 BE PAID?

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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME V

FEBRUARY 5, 1921

NUMBER 36

A Teapot in a Tempest

THE newspapers of the country have widely commented on Governor Miller's speech to the New York League of Women Voters at Albany. Republican papers assumed an apologetic attitude for statements they could not defend; the Independent press pronounced his remarks incoherent and inconsistent, while the Democratic papers held up his astonishingly un-American attitude to scorn. This is the way politics works. Had he been a Democrat, the order of comment would have been reversed.

The press, regardless of political faith, agrees that when the Governor charged the League of Women Voters with being a "menace to our institutions" he was so far overreaching facts as to be amusingly ridiculous.

Yet no newspaper seems to have asked itself just why a busy Governor, suffering from fatigue and a heavy cold, would go to the trouble to reopen the closed incident of a speech at a banquet if all he had to say was to tell his fellow citizens that they were a menace; a statement he reiterated four times.

No man so clever as the Governor is ever so flagrantly inconsistent except when mental operations are controlled by excited emotions.

Neither the Governor nor the group which stands nearest him likes the League of Women Voters, but the cause of dislike is not that they think it a menace to American institutions, nor that it has supported legislation they do not approve.

THE real spot where the political shoe pinches is revealed in one brief paragraph of his speech which in their surprise at the audacity of other statements the press overlooked:

"You were not non-partisan in the last election when you sought to exert political power, and in my judgment the signal failure of your efforts to punish an official because he had stood for what he thought was right was one of the most hopeful signs I have seen of the enduring nature of our institutions."

Republican women warned Republican leaders that there were many Republican women who could not and would not support Mr. Wadsworth's return to the United States Senate. They attempted to secure another candidate, but "the machine" pulled off every one. Lest the primary would fail to nominate him a designating convention was called in open violation of the primary law. Republican women were asked whether they would vote for Mr. Wadsworth in this convention if elected as delegates, and many who said they would not do so were dropped. So with careful engineering on the part of "the machine" (which being inside the party is no menace) Mr. Wadsworth was nominated. A small committee of women ran a small campaign against him, being very careful not to endorse any candidate in opposition.

When the votes were counted, Mr. Wadsworth had 800,000 fewer votes than the head of his ticket, Mr. Harding.

The women accepted the issue of the campaign and have been content to let bygones be bygones; but it becomes increasingly

clear that those 800,000 votes rankle and embitter and anger and arouse revenge.

THE real source of hostility seems to be the fear that women may develop the habit of thinking things through; and that in consequence they might continue to act in a manner inconvenient to party managers. Therefore the new philosophy is being preached rather strenuously that voters should get inside one or the other dominant party and practice obedience.

Disraeli once said: "England is not governed by logic, it is governed by Parliament." If the program now advocated can be established some great American may say, "The United States is not governed by logic but by parties."

Verily, the Albany tempest in a teapot, as some newspapers called the affair, is upon examination a teapot in a tempest instead.

The struggle in New York seems to be between the Republicans and the League of Women Voters because the Republicans are in power; but in the background Democrats are not unmindful that when their time arrives "to come back," women voters with ideas may be dangerously uncomfortable factors. A very prominent writer came to Albany from a very important magazine because its editors had been the objects of a campaign of letters warning them against the League of Women Voters, because it had gone over to the Republicans "boots, saddles and dragoons."

THIS not so long that these two great parties were vying with each other in legislative halls in eloquent declarations that women really did not know enough to vote. They now seem fairly well scared because women know so much.

After a considerable portion of the Albany convention had left the city, delegates were asked whether they were enrolled partisans. In response to this query 127 announced themselves as enrolled Republicans, 23 as enrolled Democrats and 7 as not enrolled in any party. It is a pity that the record of the entire convention had not been taken, but even the 157 delegates remaining proved that the League of Women Voters has not worked against Republican enrollment, as Republican women stated in Albany last week and that they had carried out their own resolution to enroll in a party.

One woman is announced through the press as withdrawing from the League in acceptance with the Governor's advice. There may be others unknown. On the other hand many new and unsolicited members have requested the privilege of joining. These are only the symptoms of readjustment. C. C. C.

MRS. F. LOUIS SLADE of New York City has been elected a member of the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission, vice Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore, who has resigned. Mrs. Raymond Brown, of New York City, succeeds Mrs. Livermore on the Woman Citizen Corporation.

A Tempest in a Tea Pot

From THE WOMAN CITIZEN'S Special Correspondent.

THE NEW YORK STATE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS held its annual convention on Thursday and Friday, January 27th and 28th, in Albany. Something happened there which made the convention worthy of the attention of all Americans.

A successfully conducted, well-attended convention it was, with an earnest will prevailing to search out the best way for women voters to serve their country. The able reports, the lofty spirit, the highly intelligent discussion, the absence of rancor toward others, lifted the convention to high water mark among New York's many women's conventions, but even this superlative record would give news value only to those directly interested in such gatherings.

The Governor of the State addressed a banquet. There is nothing unusual in that. When invited Governor Miller accepted. A little later he informed the Committee on Program that he did not wish to come unless he could be permitted to tell the League of Women Voters wherein he differed with it. The Committee courteously granted a cordial permission, whereupon he discovered another engagement which would prevent his being present. Later he again wrote to say that he would adjust his engagements so as to be present if it were still permitted that he say whatever he wished. The permission was granted.

He came and with him three male stenographers who took notes. Every five or ten minutes one would leave the room with his record, work it off outside on a machine and return to liberate another stenographer, so that when the speech was finished it was already typed and on the wires. The Governor had not only told the League of Women Voters what he thought of them, but he had also told every newspaper in the state.

Even this act of questionable courtesy was not of great moment, but what he said was of national importance and what lay back of his spoken word was of greater significance. Governor Miller is only one man, but he is at the moment clothed with a very great deal of political power.

MORE, what he said was precisely what the Republican women said the week before, and what the Republican women said was what the Democratic women and men have been saying.

"There is no proper place for a *league of women voters*, precisely as I should say that there was no proper place for a *league of men voters*."

"I have a very firm conviction that *any organization* which seeks to exert political power is a *menace to our institutions*, unless it is organized as a political party. Our institutions were so framed that party government is essential to their perpetuity, and a two-party system, if our representative system is to endure, is necessary. The fundamental theory of our Government is the rule of the majority, and only through a political party representing the majority or as near the majority as that may be possible can you secure an expression of the will of the people, and, therefore, it is that under our system of government the two-party system is essential. *****

"Now, the only way you can have responsible government is through a party. A party has a state, it has something to work for; and the something to work for, if it is properly organized, is the success of the principles to which it is devoted. Now of course you cannot secure unanimity of opinion as to any great mass of principles. There must be compromises. Every one cannot have his or her way.

"If you are to have concert of action the individual has to subordinate some views to meet the views of the others, and so you accept that set of principles which, for the most part, or as nearly as it is possible to attain, represent your views, and, ac-

cepting them, you belong, we will say, to one party or the other. And if you do, if you believe in party government, as I do, and in party responsibility as I do, then you will support the candidates whom you believe best fitted and most willing to carry out the principles that you stand for, and instead of voting for individuals you will vote for principles if you wish to accomplish something.

("That is what we do," several women said in stage whispers.) "So much, now, from the standpoint of being able to exercise the influence in the community that you ought to exercise. One word upon the other side.

"I said that *any body, not organized as a political party*, which seeks to exert political influence, is a *menace*. That is a strong statement. Notwithstanding the fact that the two-party system is, as I assert, necessary to the proper working out of our institutions, any group or set of people have a right to differ and to believe that something else is the all-important thing which neither of the two parties stands for. *****

"You have a right in a democratic country under free institutions even to establish a political party to change the form of your government, if you do it in accordance with the methods prescribed by the Constitution under which we live, and you have a right even to organize a political party to accomplish that purpose if you propose to do it in a legal manner. And so you have a right to organize as a political party for the furtherance of any principle or set of principles, and whether you are in a minority or a majority.

"But when, *without being organized as a political party*, any organization seeks to exert political influence, to coerce officials, either in the legislative or administrative position, to their particular views by intimidation or otherwise, by promise of support at the elections, or by threats, open or covert, of opposition at an election, such organization in my judgment is a *menace to our free institutions and to representative government*.

"Now why? Because such an organization is responsible to no one. Because by occupying a position of merely holding the balance of power you can appeal to the weak-kneed and the spineless to carry out that for which you may stand regardless of the public good. It may be that the thing you stand for is in the public interest, *but you are not to be the judge of that*. No group except through the medium of an organization which can be made responsive and responsible can undertake to exert political power for the purpose of securing the adoption of measures which they favor, or preventing the adoption of measures which they oppose, without in my judgment constituting what I said was a *menace to free representative government*. *****

"Those people who believed that prohibition was more important than everything else combined, had a perfect right to organize a political party to bring about the establishment of the thing for which they stood. The Prohibition Party has endured for many years, and I undertake to say, although I know there may be a difference of views upon this subject, that the Prohibition Party did not contribute to an appreciable extent to national prohibition. It came about *in spite of and regardless of the efforts of the Prohibition Party*, and as a party the Prohibition Party never could have accomplished it, because it was hopelessly and always in a minority.

"I have heard it said that you are non-partisan." *****

"You were not non-partisan in the last election when you sought to exert political power, and, in my judgment, the signal failure of your effort to punish an official because he had stood for what he thought was right was one of the most hopeful signs that I have seen of the enduring nature of our institutions."

THE Governor then attacked such measures as he supposed the League advocated. "Now take *your night statute*." (The measure was proposed by the organized women workers of the United States and of the world and in New York was supported by a Legislative Committee composed of organizations, one of which was the League of Women Voters). Governor Miller condemned it as false in theory and injurious in operation.

The Governor then took up health insurance and old age pen-

sions, saying that there was no such insistence for their enactment now as there was a year or two ago.

"Now, I assert that the function of the state is to prevent sickness and not to put a premium upon getting sick," he said. "I assert that it is the function of the state not to make life comfortable, not to remove these cares which the sentimentalists say afflict the poor working people, not to make it certain that, regardless of their industry, or their thrift they will be taken care of, whether they are employed, or not. I say that if you are to have the stimulus which is necessary for human progress you must leave to the individual himself the provision for his old age, or for his unemployment, or for his sickness."

The Smith Towner bill proposing federal financial aid to states in order to eliminate illiteracy was also condemned because New York state would have to pay a third of the cost.

THE points in the Governor's speech are:

1. No group of voters has the right to organize outside a political party.
2. "Any organization which seeks to exert political power is a menace to our institutions."
3. Citizens have a legal right to organize a minority party when they differ from the majority parties but (using the Prohibition Party as the only example) such parties avail little or nothing.
4. This is and must be a two-party government and every voter should get into one or the other and stay there patiently waiting until his party gets ready to do the things he most wants.
5. The bill for abolishing night work for industrial women (proposed by the organized working women of this country and many others and supported by the New York League of Women Voters) was condemned.
6. The program of legislation supposed to be supported by the League of Women Voters was condemned *in toto*.
7. The League of Women Voters (New York) has not been non-partisan.

Let the Press of New York Answer Points 1, 2, 3, 4

"If any organization which seeks to exert political power is a menace to our institutions unless it takes on the form of a political party, then many menaces unblushingly stalk about."

"There are bar associations, the chambers of commerce, the vast array of civic societies and voters leagues and labor unions—all of these exert political power."

"Governor Miller is too little a loose thinker to uphold seriously the proposition he announced. Seemingly the only rational interpretation of his declaration is that he spoke without mature consideration."—*New York Tribune* (Republican).

"To tell these women that their Association is a menace to American Institutions, is strong language. More than that it is not true. If it were true then there are tens of thousands of Men's Associations in this country that are a menace to American institutions and Governor Miller belongs to some of them.* * * The Governor's assertion won't hold water. It would wipe out every political organization, but the Republican and the Democratic Parties. It would make pariahs and political outcasts of the millions of independent voters in the country. Governor Miller tells the women that they must belong to either the Republican or the Democratic party. Nonsense. If this were in effect before 1856 there never would have been any Republican Party and Abraham Lincoln would never have been president of the United States."—*Times Union* (Democratic) Albany.

"But if the League of Women Voters is a menace, what of similar countless organizations in the State and Country? Are the Citizens Union and the City Club in this town a menace? Is the Union League Club a menace? Are the manufacturers associations and the chambers of commerce and the rotary clubs a menace? Governor Miller has laid down the astonishing dictum that American citizens in the pursuit of political ideals are restricted to individual action within the political parties. He overlooks the fact that by the spirit of our institutions no com-

mon action is a menace which is carried on in the open for stated purposes and without violence. He seemingly fails to recognize that such open agitation is precisely the safeguard against the play of secret influences in our political life: that public agitation is the enemy of the lobby."—*The New York Evening Post* (Independent).

"The members of the State League of Women Voters have not had an extensive experience in public affairs. That is why they will not be able at once to perceive the Governor's great moral and political distinction between an Anti-Saloon League which sells out George Thompson for the benefit of Nathan Miller and a League of Women Voters which refuses to support James W. Wadsworth for Senator and indorses a Democrat. The latter league is 'a menace to our free institutions,' but the former is one of the enlightened instruments of beneficent self-government. If the women still refuse to believe it let them study the election returns."—*New York World* (Democrat).

The Press on Numbers 5 and 6

"Nor can one believe the Governor carefully weighed his words when after saying to the Women's League that you must leave to the individual himself the provision of his old age and his unemployment or for his sickness he turned around and declared that he hoped the welfare measures favored by the women would come in time."—*Tribune* (Republican).

"Neither do we find coherence in the Governor's observations on the broad problem of social welfare legislation. He laid down this general thesis:

"If you are to have the stimulus which is necessary for human progress you must leave to the individual himself the provision for his old age or for his unemployment or for his sickness." To announce such a principle boldly is to indicate that one is living not in the present but in the world of twenty years ago. Governor Miller apparently denies the desirability of safeguarding the workers against the vicissitudes of life in an industrial age which enlightened statesmanship all over the world has accepted."—*Evening Post* (Independent).

"One of the troubles with Governor Miller is this: He has long been dealing with men of big affairs, with capitalists, with generals of industry. He is out of touch with the sentiments and aspirations of the man on the street, the woman in the shop. He has dealt with what economists call 'big business' so long that he is deaf to the human note in the struggle of life. Like Daniel Webster he believes that property is the corner stone of civilization. That belief lost Daniel Webster the presidency. * * * Of course organizations like the Women's League are a thorn in the side of men in power. That very fact is justification for their existence. If it were not for organizations like this, officialdom would die of complacency and moss would cover over the path of progress. The agitator, the reformer may be considered a nuisance by those in life's soft places but all the advancements of mankind have come through their knockings and their carpings. The practicalist has the stolidity of arithmetic behind him, but arithmetic changes not while humanity does. That is why the dreamer, the poet, the humanist, frees men from the fetters of custom and liberates the law books from the rule of the grave. That is the difference between people who look at our political and social problems through legalistic eyes like Governor Miller, and people who have the viewpoint akin to that of the League of Women Voters. Governor Miller and the legalists would rule us from the grave of tradition—the members of the Woman's League and those who think like them would rule us through thought that is a child of the living present.

"There is truth in Governor Miller's statement that the influence of non-partisan minorities has been pernicious. But the most active and pernicious of minorities in the lobbies at Albany and Washington are working tooth and nail to kill the measures which the League of Women Voters favor. When the lobbyists of corporate interests are no longer to be found in our capitals it will be time to take seriously the argument that non-partisan groups should drop their efforts toward just and humane regulations. Laws providing for the eight-hour day for women, the abolition of night work, and health insurance are not directed

(Continued on page 958)

Alimony As a Square Deal

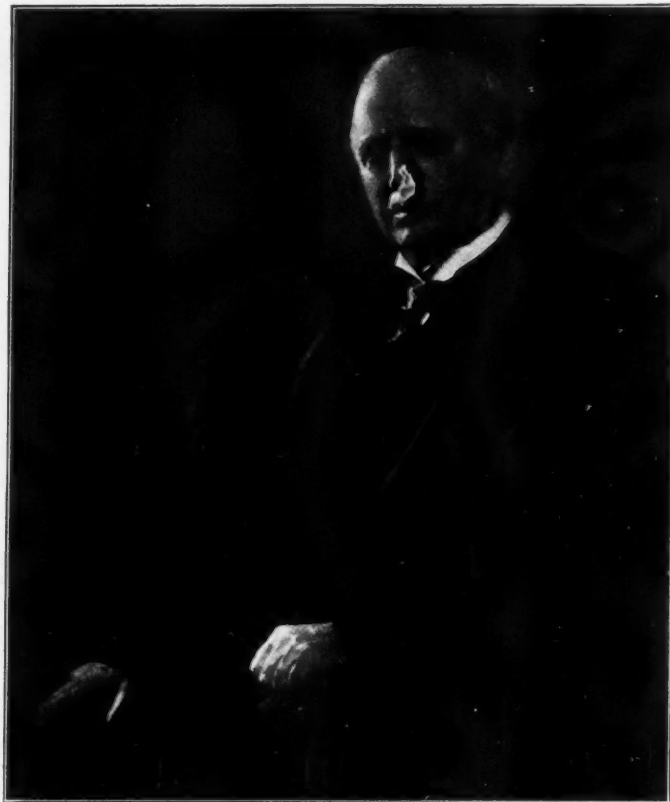
*A Decision Rendered for the Woman Citizen by
Judge Charles L. Guy of the New York
Supreme Court*

NOT only should reasonable alimony be granted a woman on dissolution of the marriage relation, without fault on her part, but she can accept alimony without any sacrifice of her self-respect or the respect of others. It is in no sense a gratuity from the former husband, nor is it compensation for services which she no longer renders. It represents the terms upon which a contract has been cancelled by reason of the breach of the husband.

Into the joint enterprise of marriage woman has put the greater part of her capital, her youth, her affections, her desire for motherhood, her possibilities of economic independence; on his part the husband has undertaken to guard and shelter her, to treat her with kindness and affection, which includes marital fidelity, and to furnish adequate support for life for herself and, during their minority, for their children. Whatever the cause, the decree of divorce can never restore the wife to her former status. When freed, excepting where the law forbids the husband to remarry, or where it imposes the obligation of paying alimony, the man is as before marriage. He may even be better off financially by reason of the intelligent aid and assistance the wife has given him. He has enjoyed a home and the intimate society and companionship of the woman; but he has parted permanently with nothing unless the law so decrees.

WOMAN, however, has lost forever in the joint enterprise which has failed the best years of her youth, and not merely marital opportunities, but her business opportunities as well. While the man has generally in the natural development of his powers, of his business acumen and intelligence, increased his opportunities in a commercial sense, the woman during the years of marriage before her divorce has, by reason of her marital duties, been unable to fit herself for earning a livelihood. With advancing years she has become increasingly incapable of the economic independence which might have been hers but for the matrimonial contract entered into between her and her former husband. To deprive her of all just return therefor and turn her adrift, perhaps with dependent children, and no other provision for her maintenance and theirs but the mere pittance which a police court would compel the father to pay for the support of his children, would be, in my opinion, a cruel injustice.

This is so well recognized in some foreign countries that there the law regards whatever has been earned or accumu-



JUDGE CHARLES L. GUY

DURING the suffrage struggle in New York State in the last decade, Judge Guy was a main reliance of the suffragists. A brilliant orator, his talents were constantly available for the suffrage platform; a calm and learned judge, his balanced arguments floored many an anti-suffragist.

lated during marriage as the joint property of husband and wife; and upon the granting of a decree of divorce a sufficient amount is first set aside for the maintenance of the children, and the joint property remaining is divided equally between the former husband and wife. Our own laws could well be amended in that respect. On the other hand, in the awarding of alimony a court should be careful not to be governed by sentiment, but to give due regard to the husband's future needs and problems. Though guilty of misconduct toward the wife and of violation of his contract with her, it must be borne in mind that he is generally still possessed of natural affection for his children, and both for their sake and his own, he should not be deprived of proper opportunity for seeing them and for retaining their affection.

In the fixing of alimony consideration should be given to the fact that the life burden thus laid upon the former husband will be without any compensating benefit to him. If the alimony is made too large there will be every inducement for him to avoid paying it by either departing from the jurisdiction of the court or secretly disposing of his property, or avoiding opportunities for the earning of adequate sums with which to pay the alimony; and he will do this even though it may mean incarceration in jail for a few months. The man, as the money earner, must also be maintained properly. If the terms are so harsh as to make success and a fair enjoyment of life impossible, he will cease to be a money earner, and the alimony will not be paid.

A divorced wife should also understand that she cannot expect, after cancelling the marital contract, to enjoy all the comforts and luxuries which the affectionate regard of a husband formerly lavished upon her. She is entitled to adequate support and maintenance for herself and children, according to the station in life she occupied during marriage, so far as her former husband's financial condition renders him capable of furnishing such support and maintenance. She is entitled to nothing more.

It is an erroneous belief that a divorced woman is entitled to a proportionate share of her former husband's earnings after she has ceased to be a wife. She has no such right during marriage, and she certainly cannot expect greater benefits financially from the dissolution of marriage than she enjoyed during marriage. Should she demand more than a fair amount for her support and maintenance, she would then have reason to lose her self-respect and the respect of others. She would be making sex

(Continued on page 966)

Should Women Take Alimony?

By Charlotte Perkins Gilman

IF their long period of economic dependence had left no mark on women it would have been strange indeed.

It is not strange to find that it has affected them with more than one unworthy characteristic.

We all recognize the shame of the woman who openly trades on sex, and many as frankly condemn the woman who marries for money. Of late years there has dawned a recognition that the financial dependence of the wife is also an illegitimate position, the commonest of all, and so having the widest effect.

Outside of these classifications there are two others in which women take money from men, on a sex basis, yet outside of the relation itself; the woman who is, or claims to be, jilted, and seeks to assuage her grief with financial "damages" in a suit for "breach of promise"; and the woman who takes alimony.

The breach of promise case clearly admits the economic dependence of women. The plaintiff has had the promise of a job, as it were, and sues for breach of contract. Women of delicacy scorn this open admission, and prefer to keep their broken hearts to themselves.

But those who object to taking money for the marriage that was denied them, do not so object to taking money for the marriage they have denied.

Alimony is financial support given by a man to a woman who was his wife, but is so no longer.

"Marriage As A Trade" is ignominious enough when the woman fulfills her part of the bargain, but what can express the sordid degradation of living on a man without even that excuse?

Now let us be fair to the thousands of perfectly "nice" women who do not see this in the least.

THE worldwide and age-old habit of living on a man's money in marriage, has blunted the "business honor" of women. It would be truer to say that it has prevented the development of that feeling.

The theory that "a woman has a right to change her mind" has naturally prevented any keen sense of integrity in keeping her word, and the lifetime of dependence upon male relatives of some sort, makes it seem perfectly natural to be supported by some man some way, no matter what happens.

The married woman, losing her life-security, feels utterly at sea. If she is the blameless one in the divorce suit, her attorney claims, and the judge awards, this "alimony," a continuous support from the erring ex-husband.

If the woman is young and marries again, she sometimes continues to accept this money from the first husband, shame for two.

If she is older, and totally inexperienced in earning a living outside of the sex-relation, she then as a matter of course lives peacefully on her alimony, feeling it to be no more than her due.

If there are children her demand is larger perhaps, and better based. But even here there should be a clear distinction drawn between support of his children, which is not a bargain, but a natural duty; and support of his wife, which means paying her for duties she no longer performs.

Whoever is to blame for the broken marriage, either one or both parties, the man should do his part in supporting the children. If she is competent to do half of it he should do the other, and in most cases he is best able to do it all.

But an adult woman, not sick, crippled or under-witted, should scorn to be supported by any man. Most of all by an ex-husband.

THE difficulty is that women do not, as a class, appreciate the nature of an economic relation, as distinguished from the relation of sex, or that of maternity.

One would think that the complete dissociation of these great natural processes in the body might furnish an illuminating analogy. We have the elaborate group of organs and functions which feed and warm us internally, keep us breathing, and generally preserve the individual life; and also we have a wholly distinct group of organs and functions which serve the ends of race preservation. These may be neglected and even removed without destroying the individual, but the economic processes can not be interfered with without immediate injury.

Our social economic processes consist in the exchange of services between individuals, either in the earlier form of interpersonal bargaining, or the later process of serving the group, as in the position of a school-teacher, for instance.

The sex processes and those of parentage are not of an economic nature. In fact they often work economic disadvantage to the individual, temporarily at least.

The human female is the only one which does so confound these processes. She alone, among all the mates and mothers in creation, expects to be paid for her share in this relation.

It is obvious that the main reason for her confusion of ideas is the confusion of her functions. She is not only a wife, but a servant. The legitimacy and nobility of her work as a mother, the development of comradeship and lasting love between husband and wife, these have blinded her to her real economic position, which is that of a general servant.

As such she "earns her living" up to the limit of wages due for this work.

SHE earns it, but in the great majority of cases she does not get it. In all that fifteen-sixteenths of our families in which the woman "does her own work," she gets only her food, and a modicum of clothing—not even the room to herself which would be given the servant.

The hired servant would have to be given food, room, and wages. The married servant receives food, half a room, and such clothing and other necessities as a poor man can afford—and feels like giving. As a poor man he simply could not afford to pay a servant, and is compelled to marry one.

When this great majority of our women realize their position, and see how they keep their families poor by this gross financial waste of labor, we shall see a change in our housekeeping methods. But they must first realize their present position, that of the unpaid servant.

It is not from this class that the avid calls for alimony are heard. No matter what the judge may wish to do, a farmer or laboring man can not "support a wife" who is not working for him.

But the ex-wife of the rich man, or of any man who earns more than enough to keep himself, expects that he shall continue to "support" her, after she has discontinued her nominal services as a hirer of cooks and orderer of meals.

We may agree that while she was doing this she was entitled to the pay of a housekeeper; but when she stops being a housekeeper she is entitled to nothing. If she was really earning what she got as her husband's housekeeper, she can easily earn it as some other man's. There is a crying demand for good housekeepers, but very few women seem able or willing to fill it.

There remains one plausible ground for the demand for alimony—the woman's health has been injured, perhaps ruined, by her unfortunate marriage. She is unable to work, she has no other relatives to turn to—should not he who has done this wrong be made to pay for it?

He should, but not as alimony. The injured woman should claim damages. There should be competent medical testimony, and under the "Employers' Liability Act" the man should be made to pay for the evil he has done—so far as money can.

If the injury is of the grave and terrible sort resulting from communicable disease there should be disgrace and punishment for the man as well as payment to the sufferer. This should work both ways. There are cases where the man is the innocent victim. Evildoers of this sort should be treated as are other criminals. A greater criminal than a man who brings a fate like this to a trusting bride would be hard to find.

But damages are not the same thing as alimony.

The cheerful divorcee, living in idleness on the money of the man to whom she is no longer married, is not a criminal perhaps, but she is a contemptible object.

Is there no work by which she can earn her bread honorably? If she was a housekeeper before, she is sure of a living and a chance to save money by being one again.

Is there no other trade for which she is competent, if incompetent in housework?

If her natural capacities are undamaged by the marriage she is as able to earn as if he had not married her, and has no more claim upon his money.

THE grievous part of the matter is that it should be necessary to insist on the obvious disgrace of such a position.

To live on the labor of another, to be "supported" without work, to be a dependent—this is bad enough for an invalid or defective. But for an able-bodied person, grown up, not crippled in any way, to willingly submit to such degradation and *not feel it*—that is what shows the effect of the long subjection of women.

The slaves in the south, after being "freed," still continued in most cases to hang about the old place and to depend on their old masters. Many generations of slavery do not develop the characteristics of free men.

It is new to women to realize that they are competent members of society, perfectly well able to earn their livings, if only by their old trade of housework. This, singularly enough, they scorn.

The same woman who sings hymns of praise to the daily tasks of the house-wife, looks down with contempt on the same work when done for wages.

What strange perversion of economic ideals can make it in their minds more honorable to work for nothing and have their food and clothes given to them, than to pay for their supplies by well-earned money of their own?

They have so long confounded marriage with unpaid house-service that it seems honorable to them; while paid house-service indicates an inferior caste.

Our brains are unused to clear strong individual thought.

We accept the prevailing theories we are brought up in with no attempt at examination. And the unbroken centuries of this particular association of ideas have resulted in a veritable anchylosis—they have grown together.

Yet the matter can be wholly disentangled by a little vigorous and honest thought.

As a human being, a woman is fully capable of earning her living, as other human beings do, by an exchange of economic services.

As a female being she should be a mother, and, as a mother, provide for her children, this is the law throughout nature.

As a human female being, she has in the work of parentage the valuable aid of the more highly specialized male, and, still further, the aid of organized society—hitherto wholly masculine, but in which the mother can now do her share.

As a "wife" she has a two-fold position, one that of the permanent mate, such as is found among all monogamous animals, the other one of the most damaging "vestigial rudiments" of primitive times—a combination of sex-slavery and domestic service.

Monogamous marriage will endure, because it is based on biological law and is distinctive of our species. In this the wife and husband hold a happy and permanent relation of mutual love and tender helpfulness, in which no taint of money payment can be thought of without shame.

But wifehood as a form of sweatshop labor, of sex-subjection, of pecuniary helplessness, we are outgrowing.

With a higher, purer and more legitimate conception of marriage, with economically independent, humanly specialized women, we shall soon develop a sense of honor which will make all of us despise alimony as much as some of us do now.

A Proposed Remedy

A STORY has been told concerning the Wives of Bagdad. It appears the King was wrought up over being told by a peasant that there was not a single contented wife in all of Bagdad. Consequently the King ordered an investigation and found to his horror that the allegation was true. Even his own wife was dissatisfied. Consequently the King ordered all wives to leave Bagdad and take only one article with them, that to be what was most near and dear only—but one woman took her husband, he a leper and cripple. She transported him on a wheelbarrow.

Who knows what would happen right here in our own United States should our President issue similar orders. However, it ill becomes any one to denounce or find fault, even with so bad a condition as our system of marriage slavery, without offering a remedy.

Here is a proposed remedy. Let the WOMAN CITIZEN lead, and ask all friendly publications to follow, in carrying on an open forum, upon the subject of marriage and divorce and make it a continuous campaign of education, until an adequate remedy has been applied. Same as has been done with woman suffrage. Will say right here, the writer is nearing the three-quarter century mark and so cannot be justly accused of having any personal axe to grind.

There appear to be some ridiculous divorce laws in some states.

Take New York for instance, where it is said, there are no legal grounds for divorce, except adultery.

A story has been told of an unhappy home. The woman in a spirit of revenge took advantage of the man during sleep, handcuffed him, tied him to a bed post, poured boiling water on his head and pulled out his hair and tattooed his body with red hot poker; still there was no adultery and no divorce could be granted.

My suggestion is: First, state by state, adopt a good and adequate mother's pension law. Second, adopt a law requiring all persons before marriage to enter into a written contract, concerning the division of property in case of divorce and providing that the mother have full custody of the children if any. This contract to be filed and recorded with clerk of the court, before a marriage license is issued. The law to further provide that either party to a marriage compact, be entitled to a divorce, upon their own application to the clerk of court and compliance with their property division contract. Those already married to submit to the law just as it now is.

(Continued on page 966)

How Sherwin Cody's New Invention Improves Your Speech and Writing In 15 Minutes a Day

How to find and correct your mistakes in English. How to speak and write with clearness, force, and conviction. A remarkable patented method which men and women in all walks of life are using with great benefit. For employers and employees. For college men as well as for those who have not gone through grade school or high school. For improving your business and social standing. **NO MATTER WHAT YOU DO YOU MUST LEARN TO SPEAK AND WRITE MASTERLY ENGLISH IF YOU WANT TO ATTAIN YOUR GREATEST POSSIBILITIES.**

MANY people say, "Did you hear from him today?" They *should* say, "Have you heard from him today?" Some say, "I didn't get your answer yet," instead of, "I haven't got your answer yet." Some people spell calendar "*calender*" or "*calander*." Still others say "between you and I," instead of "between you and me." It is astonishing how many people use "who" for "whom" and mispronounce the simplest words. Few people know whether to spell certain words with one or two "c's" or "m's" or "r's" or with "ie" or "ei," and when to use commas in order to make their meaning absolutely clear. And very few people use any but the most common words—colorless, flat, ordinary. Their speech and their letters are lifeless, monotonous, humdrum. Every time they talk or write they show themselves lacking in the essential points of English.

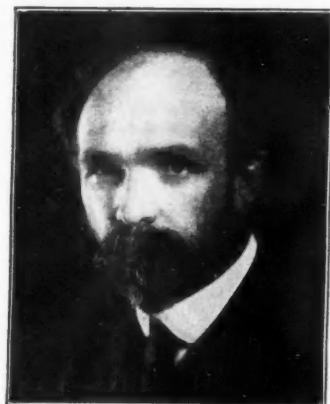
Your English Reveals You

Does your English help or hurt you? Do you write and speak correctly or do your errors reveal and handicap you? Every time you talk, every time you write, you show what you are. When you use the wrong word, when you mispronounce a word, when you punctuate incorrectly, when you use flat, ordinary words, you handicap yourself enormously. Words are the driving, compelling forces in business. Ideas cannot be expressed except in words. An unusual command of English enables you to present your ideas clearly, forcibly, convincingly. Your English is the weapon you use every day to help you improve your business or social position. If it is correct it helps you. If incorrect it hurts you more than you will ever know, for people are too polite to tell you about your mistakes.

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For the past five years Mr. Cody has been working almost day and night on the study of the problem, "How to make correct habits in speaking and writing stick in your mind." He appealed to school superintendents, and 150 of them placed classes at his disposal for experiment. He appealed to great corporations, and they let their employees be tested so Mr. Cody would know how accurate they really were. He was amazed to discover that the average person in school or in business is only 61% efficient in the vital

points of English grammar. After countless experiments Mr. Cody finally invented a simple method by which you can acquire a better command of the English language in only 15 minutes a day. Now you can



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are not formed. Finally the rules themselves are forgotten. The new Sherwin Cody method provides for the formation of correct habits by constantly calling attention to the mistakes you make.

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The "Lives" and the "Fiction" of Women

"*W*OMAN: See Female!" So reads

the General Index to the series of volumes of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, which passed away in 1818. And, turning to "Female," what do we find they wrote of in those old dead days? Of Female Decorum, Conduct, Follies, Dress, Modesty, Immodesty, Silliness—nothing else! We waited until 1900 precisely for another General Index—this the well-thumbed "Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature" in all the public libraries—to set down for the solitary reference under the obsolete old word: "*Female: See Woman!*"

A little while back in this series we barely noted in passing that the various stages of the woman movement had been marked by the stubborn yielding of terms—from "females" to "ladies" to "women." Let us see! But first let us remind ourselves that though the tilling of the ground began around 1750 with the learned females of the 18th century, the first blooming of the tardy seed was not until 1850, when determined women first began to break through their conservatory walls into fresher air, with demands for everything withheld, boldly calling themselves "women," and insolently told by men and "ladies" alike that "a woman was nothing"! It was the insulting term of address for a decade, but they thrived under it.

Now while there was no particular difference between one "female" and another, as there was not in the 18th century when life submerged all of them alike, the good old word sufficed for all. But when, at the beginning of the 19th century, the fast growing industrial era reached out greedy hands for workers and took women with men into factories and shops, no one knew what was happening, but as a matter of fact, the whole status of a sex was being put out of balance.

FOR some women, you see, had suddenly become "different." A few women were out in a strange, feared, unknown world, however miserably dragged there and however helpless; and, by that token, all of women's lives, then and to come, had begun to change. For Life had suddenly divided a sheltered sex into women who worked in the world and women who did not; into the protected and the unprotected classes. So it slowly came to be that a difference in terms crept into use between women who worked in the open, the dangerous world, and women of "delicacy" who did not. "Female" as an all-inclusive tag for a sex dropped slowly out of usage. It came to be applied less and less to women of real or supposed leisure in the home. They, the protected of men, became "ladies"; the others, the "different" ones, the unprotected, out-in-the-world workers remained what they had been, "females." You see how the new term of honor for the old, static class of women flung a shadow of contempt on the old sex-term that still belonged to the new, different class of women workers. It took the large part of a century for the unprotected "working" female to become the honored Independent Woman and for "female" to become at last what it was in the beginning, a biological term for scientists.

"As a mere synonym for woman," says that latest of dictionaries, the *Oxford*, "now commonly avoided by all good writers except with contemptuous implication."

But be sure that it was used from the beginning with contemptuous implication! "This female," wrote one old reviewer of Mary Wollstonecraft, "who dares to write of the rights of women!"

It is hard to realize how arrogant "woman" sounded at first in the ears of men! It must have held a terrifying assertion of

VI

The New Woman and the Old Man

By Edna Kenton

women and of life but of men. Females and ladies met a surface tolerance, even gentleness so long as they kept their places. But "women," who had no place and could not be trusted to keep it if it were assigned, faced from 1850 on an outraged, angry other sex, and their growing sway, both in life and in fiction, was badly hampered until Life, after a generation or two, succeeded in evolving something approaching the New Man to match the New Woman.

FOR the old female-lady type still clung about men's heart-strings. And men surely became, for some decades after 1850, the Sentimental Sex! How they bewailed the passing of "female delicacy," "female dependence," "female trust"! How they revelled in the lady in life and the heroine in fiction who still persistently fainted and blushed all over the place, with "the pearly tear of sorrow" still "spangling the fringed lid with the gem of sensibility"! Both in fiction and life man loved her best, and veiled his face and steeled his heart against the New Woman who neither wept nor fainted, who dared to differ and to do. He discussed seriously, in editorials and elsewhere, how to speak of Her, be she new or old, and one of him, writing for his brothers, decided gravely that "the sex, the fair sex, the gentler sex, the female sex, females, ladies, the ladies, women, woman, are all in a way unpleasant!"

But since the progress of woman involves the fate of man, and change in one sex means change for better or worse in another, let us consider two "ideals" set down by men; one about 1790, when the Female was pre-eminently "ideal," and one of 1895, when Woman had come into her own.

A certain Dr. John Bennett wrote, in 1790, a man's own book for females, entitled "Letters to a Young Lady," and in it, as an example to his fictitious correspondent, he was moved intensely to sketch his portrait of "Louisa"; the italics are all Dr. Bennett's own:

"Another distinguishing grace of Louisa is her *softness*. She has a quality that is a direct opposite to *manliness* and *vigour*. Her voice is gentle; her passions are never suffered to become *boisterous*; she never talks politics; she does not practice *archery*. I will venture to prophecy that she will never canvass for votes at an election. I never saw her in an *unfeminine* dress or her features discomposed with play. She *really* trembled with the apprehension of danger. The farewell tear stands big in the transparent sluice. The heart of this lovely girl is, all over, *sympathy* and *softness*."

HERE is the old female of the species; the old heroine of old novels; here is the old male ideal of femaleness all complete, a milk-and-water, bread-and-butter, wax-and-honey, water-colored figurine! And here, too, don't fail to note, is a curious male resentment at *pretended* helplessness! "Louisa" *really* trembled—example to her sex!

And "Louisa," lovely mummy, was to survive in fiction, far more than in life, for nearly a century longer, the delicate ideal invoked by many novelists, not only as poultice for the cancerous restlessness which afflicted life, but as the only heroine possible to mate with the old hero! But in 1895 the *Saturday Review*, viciously opposed from its beginning to educated, professional, business, athletic, independent and voting women, saying of them time and time over: "They are no ladies; the only word good

equality before which they flinched. And it shows as clearly as anything what a task lay before the women pioneers—the changing not only of

THAT SOMETHING NEW— SPRING, 1921

Crowley Neckwear for Women

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enough for them is that term of opprobrium—females!" wrote, all unwittingly, an epitaph: the italics are ours:

"The tendency of her education," it said complacently of the modern woman, "is rather to render her *self-reliant* than *dependent upon the protection of man*. Thus she has gradually become more of a *human being*, and less of that *mere gender* who is disposed to cling trembling to the nearest masculine arm and is full of that *sham womanliness* which makes a *virtue out of helplessness* and a *bait out of its pretended fears*."

Oh Man, Old and New! For even in 1790 "Louisa" was delicately dying, stricken with a mortal chill by your sullen suspicion of her shams and pretences. And years before 1895 she had delicately died, so unobtrusively that she was never missed except by your startled sense of relief—indeed your loud hurrah!—over the absence of "a mere gender" in the world.

Whatever is new is wrong! But only give it time to grow old enough, generations enough to sink into for background and it becomes right and might.

WHICH is the basic truth beneath the lives and the fictions of women—that it takes a great deal of life to make even a little heroine "right"; that the greedy graspings of novelists after a new heroine, before life had given her a background or the novelists a foundation for building, made her first appearances all wrong. In spite of any rare desire to do her justice she was inevitably freakish, queer, grotesque and, worst of all, most "unhappy." For love and the novel go hand in hand, and let the laboring novelist intend as he might to mate her, his hero almost always fell a victim to some delicate lingering "Louisa" lurking in the wings and ready to spring and pounce.

For life had given the novelist his new heroine long before a new hero was in sight. Men moved slowly to cross the chasm

that the woman movement of the mid-nineteenth century had created between men and women—a movement described all too narrowly as "by women for women." A generation of lonely, embittered men and women had to be sacrificed, before a new generation of men could begin to see, in women's growing freedom, not danger but their own release. For if the old dead females and ladies had suffered through men, men had suffered through them. We shall never know how many live oaks those clinging ivies killed!

Nor shall we ever know how much of that old blind antagonism of men to the New Woman was born of pain at woman's repudiation of all that men had done for her. Not much for her personal development, to be sure, but they had borne for centuries the burden of the world's work—and were suddenly scorned for their pains. They were angry and contemptuous and they gave back scorn for scorn, but they were human, even though mid-Victorian, and they were bitterly hurt. From this distance, looking back over old history, we can see it as quite possible that in those first days of woman's thrilling, inspiring revolt, it was men who were the real sufferers, staggering under heaped up penalties of past mistakes, smarting under a new and heavy spiritual loneliness and pain, and set apart by women and themselves from the most picturesque movement of our times.

So he evolved slowly—the New Man and the new hero. While women were breaking with every tradition and moving swiftly forward, he was holding grimly to old ideals, never realizing that his place in his "man-made world" was about as depressing as woman's. Women had to discover for themselves, as they went cheerfully into the world to "remake" it, that their conception of their bondage as the result of men's careful, selfish planning was incredibly crude and false; that men were as helpless as they before great social institutions; that women's demand for "eco-

conomic independence" would remain a pitiful thing until the economic independence of men was a better thing than it is; that both sexes alike were the wrongers and the wronged; and that, if women were to be free, it was not from men but with men. When women had discovered this they had truly "grown up," had become of age. As their psychology toward men's problems changed, men's psychology toward women changed. The "female" had never considered the problems of men; it took women to do that.

And so, just about the time that the *Saturday Review*, in 1895, heaved its gusty sigh of relief for the disappearance of a "mere gender" from life, the New Hero was well on his way to join what was by then almost an old heroine. For she had been, since Charlotte Brontë's "Jane Eyre," in fiction for close to fifty years. Thanks to the faithful few who had worked with her consciousness and not just with her "story"—George Eliot, George Meredith, George Gissing, Thomas Hardy, Mrs. Humphrey Ward—she had developed from a mere figure draped with theories to a real problem in fiction; from a passive, suffering thing standing in a painted niche to an active, thinking human being moving about the world; from a bitter, resentful aggressor to a warm, understanding, sympathetic woman; from a little grotesque to a creature of dignity, standing alone if she must, but standing on her own feet. And the New Hero rushed to meet her!

The woman movement has incredible victories to its credit, but the latest is the greatest, won against mighty odds—the evolution in life and in fiction of the New Man.

THE Court of Common Pleas of Maryland has dismissed the case against the 19th amendment, as instigated by that hardy anti perennial Mr. Everett Wheeler. See our next number for the full, and fairly funny, story.

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A Tempest in a Tea Pot

(Continued from page 951)

at the individual but at unscrupulous employers who are willing to take every economic advantage of helpless employees at the expense of the individual and the race."—*New York Globe*.

Answer of Republican Women

AT the close of the banquet Republican delegates were called into conference with the result that the following statement was issued:

The letter to the Governor follows:

"We, the undersigned, enrolled Republicans of the League of Women Voters, wish to thank you for coming to speak at our banquet last evening and to express to you our appreciation of the frankness and courage with which you addressed us.

"There were certain misapprehensions on which you based your statements which you will undoubtedly wish to have corrected. The League of Women Voters is not a woman's party, nor is it a political party in any sense of the word. It lacks the chief element of a political party, as it does not want anything for itself or for any of its members. It is not fighting either political party. Most of its members belong to one of the two dominant parties and the league urges party allegiance.

"Our experience within the organization of the parties, however, is a humiliating one. It has taught us that there is as yet no real equality in the management of party affairs, nor in the choice of delegates or candidates. We are forbidden to exercise independence or judgment, and are openly advised that there is no place in the party except for those who take orders.

"You deny our right to work as a group outside the political party for political measures, and you say that all non-partisan groups which seek to affect legislation and the choice of candidates are a menace to the welfare of the country. Do you include in this such groups as the State Charities Aid, the Dairy-men's League, the Grangers, the Citizens' Union, the Bar Association, the American Legion, the Manufacturers' Association, or are we a menace because we are women? We believe that such associations are only dangerous if they are secret and offer secret rewards.

"Our chief point of difference is in the way we regard party allegiance. In joining a political party we do not feel that we must give our conscience into its keeping.

"We deeply resent the charge made in two of your public addresses that our motive in pushing the welfare bills was not honest and we are amazed that you should not know that they were initiated not by us, but by the organized working women of the state. You have made your own position on welfare legislation perfectly clear and we respect your convictions. You owe us the same respect.

"Since you, the leader of our party and its spokesman in the state, publicly denounce our work, we beg to submit the following questions:

"The chief work of the League of Women Voters is educating voters, especially women. Does not the Republican party want an intelligent electorate?

"We believe that voters should study public questions in an unprejudiced way. Therefore we offer a non-partisan platform for their discussion. Does the Republican party prefer that the voters should accept a partisan view without knowing anything about the subject?

"We insist that the public offices should be given to the man who will best serve the public, and not in payment for party service. We believe that true economy will result when public office is regarded not as party spoils, but as public trust. Does the Republican party disagree with this?

"We believe that unthinking submission to the dictates of the small groups which habitually control our dominant parties would be a menace to our country's future. Does this belief preclude our working with the Republican party?"

The letter was signed by Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip, Mary Garrett Hay and forty other Republican delegates.

Mrs. Catt's Answer

IMMEDIATELY after the Governor's speech, Mrs. Catt was introduced for the purpose of a reply. The following excerpts give the trend of her remarks:

"While it is truth that this is a government by parties, it is not the whole truth. Parties administer government, but evolution is compelled by groups. I can recall no really important change in our institutions which has been brought about by party initiative and I can think of no policy more certainly destructive of normal progress than the dissolution of those organizations which are promoting measures of reform. As a matter of historical fact every great act of any political party has been brought about by group action.

"The very party these political ladies serve was for years a group before it was a party. It pommelled Whigs and Democrats with its unanswerable appeals, and as parties do, they shirked and dodged the issue, until the nation arose in revolt and blew both old parties into oblivion and made a young fighting party of what had been a fighting group.

"Instead of prohibition coming to the nation in spite of the prohibition party, the prohibition party compelled attention to it and it came in spite of the two dominant parties which to this day have been afraid to mention it in their platforms.

"The facts are that no party adopts an idea until that idea is supported by sufficient sentiment to indicate that the party will lose votes unless it takes it up or because the idea promises additional votes. In so doing parties merely obey the law of self preservation. Whoever fails to recognize that behind the parties are the people; and that among them independent groups are at all times educating, agitating, arguing, contending, urging, appealing for their various causes, has missed the determining factor in governments by the people. Those ideas swell and grow and press for recognition and parties give heed when they can evade action no longer.

"The League of Women Voters aspires to be a part of the big majorities which administer our government, and at the same time, it wishes to be one of the minorities which agitates and educates and shapes ideas today which the majority will adopt tomorrow.

"Women to whom party loyalty is a superstition and a fetish will not be able to hold to both aims; they will be partisans only. Women who fail to see good in parties because they know much they cannot admire, will be Leaguers only, but the majority will possess the vision to work with their party majority and with the League minority without confusion of thought or act.

"If there is any one thing to which our Republic is more sacredly pledged than to another, it is to free thought, free speech, freedom of organization, and freedom of political action. These are and ever have been the four corner stones of our boasted American liberty. Yet a group acting under these guarantees is called a menace. It will indeed be a menace to our institutions when any one of these rights is denied.

"There have been and are groups which are menaces to liberty, but they are not those who are aiming to improve civilization; they are those corporate groups which by the use of money have controlled legislation, men and parties. The Brewers for years were such a group.

"The League of Women Voters should go forward fearlessly until it knows for itself that its job is done."

VERMONT'S Lower House ratified the Federal Suffrage Amendment by a vote of 200 to 3 last week. Favorable action by the Vermont Senate, which is promptly expected, will place Vermont in line as the 38th state to ratify.

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Inside Stories About the Federal Departments

ON September 2, 1914, one month after the outbreak of the European War, the Congress of the United States created the Bureau of War Risk Insurance for the purpose of insuring American vessels and their freight and cargoes against loss or damage from the risks of war. This did not cover marine insurance, but only war risks. On June 12, 1917, there was an enactment to insure the crews of vessels against death and disability resulting from the war. By further enactment of Congress, October 6, 1917, there was created a Division of Military and Naval Insurance, and this is the War Risk Insurance Act as is generally understood by the term.

The Act of October 6, 1917, contained three important features: (1) Government allotment and allowances, (2) compensation, and (3) insurance.

Up to October, 1917, the bureau was housed in a single office and employed fewer than 100 clerks. But following the enactment of October 6, 1917, providing for the insurance of the lives of our soldiers, sailors and marines, the payment of allotments with Government allowances, under certain stipulations, to the dependent relatives of the enlisted men, and the payment of compensation for death or disability resulting from war service, the scope of the bureau's authority was greatly broadened and its work grew by leaps and bounds, so that it finally became an organization employing more than 15,000 persons. Since the spring of 1919 the bureau has occupied a building of eleven stories, erected especially for it on H street and Vermont avenue, in Washington, a stone's throw from the White House.

The amendment to the War Risk Insurance Act, as of October 6, 1917, provided for yearly renewable Term Insurance, upon application, in sums ranging from \$1,000 to \$10,000. The object of the insurance was purely protection against death or permanent and total disability. The insurance was unassignable and could not be attached by creditors. The insurance was granted at a low rate. The premiums were not premiums, as it was provided that the United States Government should pay the expense of administration and bear the excess mortality and disability cost resulting from the hazards of war, an expense no private or commercial company could afford to bear without a corresponding increase in the premium charges.

During the war more than 4,500,000 soldiers,

What the Government Is Doing for Soldiers and Sailors

By R. W. Emerson

Assistant Director,
Bureau of War Risk Insurance,
Treasury Department

sailors and marines, or about 90% of the military and naval forces of the United States, obtained War Risk Insurance. After the Armistice a majority of the insured permitted their insurance to lapse, but many certificates were subsequently reinstated.

THE War Risk Insurance Act provides that not later than five years after the President has formally proclaimed the termination of the war the Term Insurance shall be converted, without medical examination, into such form or forms of insurance as may be prescribed by regulations and as the insured may request. Six standard forms of life insurance are now offered by the War Risk Insurance Bureau. Up to June 30, 1920, permanent insurance policies to the number of 152,979 and to the amount of \$511,821,500 were approved. The average face value per policy of standard insurance was \$3,345.70. The average face value of Term Insurance applied for up to June 30, 1920, was \$8,697.

In offering permanent insurance the Government did not consider that it was in competition with the commercial companies. The Government passed the War Risk Insurance Act in recognition of the services and sacrifices of those called to the colors, and in providing permanent insurance for its defenders it felt that its obligation to them did not cease when the war ended.

Considerable confusion exists in the public mind respecting the difference between the insurance and compensation features of the War Risk Insurance Act. Insurance is a Government contract with an individual. Compensation is a Government grant, having nothing in common with insurance. Compensation is payable for death or disability on account of personal injury suffered or disease contracted, accelerated or aggravated in active service in line of duty and not due to a person's wilful misconduct. Com-

pensation is payable for all degrees of disability rated over a 10% reduction in earning capacity. In addition to compensation the injured person is furnished by the United States with such reasonable governmental medical, surgical and hospital treatment as may be necessary.

Disability ratings are based upon the average impairment of earning capacity in civil occupations, and not upon the average impairment of individual earning capacity. The purpose is to be just and fair to the claimant, as shown by the fact that no reduction in the rate of compensation is made for individual success in overcoming the handicap of permanent injury.

Under the original law a totally disabled soldier received \$30 a month, if single, and more if he was married and had children. If he had a father or mother, either or both dependent upon him for support, he would receive in addition \$10 a month for each. Under an amendment to the War Risk Insurance Act, known as the Sweet Amendment and approved December 24, 1919, the compensation benefits were greatly increased, so that a soldier totally and temporarily disabled now receives \$80 a month if he has neither wife nor child living, \$90 a month if he has a wife but no child living, \$95 if he has a wife and one child living, \$100 if he has a wife and two or more children living, and if he has no wife but one child living \$90, with \$5 for each additional child. If he has a mother or father either or both dependent on him for support, then, in addition to the above amounts, \$10 for each parent so dependent. For total and permanent disability the rate of compensation is \$100 a month. If the disabled person is so helpless as to be in constant need of a nurse or attendant, an additional sum not exceeding \$20 a month is allowed.

During the war one of the most beneficent features of the War Risk Insurance Act was that which provided for the making of an allotment from the pay of the enlisted personnel of the military and naval establishments and the paying of a family allowance by the United States to relatives within certain permitted classes. The Government compelled the enlisted man, if he had a wife or child, to allot to one of them a certain part of his monthly pay, in which event a Government allowance was added, if requested by the enlisted man. If the allotment was voluntary and went to certain relatives, the Government added an allowance upon

(Continued on page 962)

The Week in Congress

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 31, 1921.

EVIDENCES of a filibuster in the Senate justify the prediction of the *Woman Citizen* at the opening of the session that practically no legislation except that dealing with appropriations would be enacted by this Congress, though the fact of the filibuster is being well concealed by the words of the senators. Indeed some of those who are loudest in their denunciation of filibusters in general and denials that any filibuster is taking place at this time, have consumed so many hours in denunciation and denial as to have given practical aid to the program of delay on the emergency tariff bill now before the Senate.

Senator King of Utah, in a speech which consumed practically all of one day and ranged from an intricate discussion of the last presidential election to the causes and conduct of the great war, made an impassioned appeal against application of the cloture rule to close debate as "unbecoming the sovereignty and dignity of the states whose representatives compose the Senate." Incidentally he did not mention the emergency tariff bill to which he was supposed to be speaking.

Senator Harrison of Mississippi, interrupted to call attention to the fact that there were eight times as many senators seated on the Democratic side as on the Republican side of the chamber. His statement presented no problem of arithmetic, Senator Brandegee of Connecticut, being the sole Republican senator in attendance. Senator Harrison, who has himself been a frequent speaker in the days of discussion during which the emergency tariff bill has been before the Senate, made a moving statement concerning the way in which he had been shut off from the floor, and sent up to the desk a newspaper article several columns long, the reading of which took the greater part of one afternoon's time.

Senator McCumber of North Dakota, who has been especially urgent in calling the senators to time for not speaking on the tariff bill as the business before the Senate, interrupted Senator McKellar of Tennessee to say that on that particular day senators had talked of everything from "negroes to battleships" and would the senator give his views concerning the tariff bill. Whereupon Senator McKellar said that in speaking as he had he was merely being "consistent with the customs of the Senate."

On two occasions Senator Ashurst of Arizona has asked the Senate to face the issue "frankly," on one day adding that "Some men on that side

Senators and Representatives Analyze and Discuss Bills Directly for the Readers of the *Woman Citizen*

From the Woman Citizen's Washington Bureau

and some on this are afraid to vote on the emergency tariff. This is no place to be afraid. Let those who are afraid run out into the cloak-rooms and so dodge the vote."

So it continues, with the delay by no means confined to any one group of men or any one party. Either from opposition to the tariff or from opposition to other bills which will follow it, now one group and now another aids in consuming the ten-thousand-dollar-a-minute time of Congress, for which the people are paying. And by adroitly introducing other bills, first one side and then the other attempts to make political advantage out of whichever party seems then to be obstructing. However strong is the criticism of the men who take advantage of the system of procedure, it is the evil of permitting any such system which should be borne in mind.

ONE of the bills which has been kept off the floor by the filibustering tactics is the Johnson-Nolan bill providing that the government shall pay at least three dollars a day to all of its employees.

The bill has twice been passed in the House, the last time just preceding the national political party conventions so that passage by the Senate means enactment of the bill into law. The Senate had once passed the bill, but on a motion to reconsider, it was smothered in the filibuster at the close of the last, the 65th Congress. Senator Johnson of California has almost daily made a point of asking for unanimous consent to fix date for a vote on the bill and has also tried to introduce a motion to displace the unfinished business and thus secure action. During his last effort almost a day was consumed by Senator Smith of Georgia, who expressed bitter opposition to the bill as designed to aid "dusters in the patent office and messengers whose principal business is warming chairs, and to put such employees on a level with the cultivated women doing clerical work."

Not all of the delays in transacting the nation's business are occasioned by Congress itself. The Senate immigration committee which has just concluded some weeks of hearings for the main purpose of determining

whether or not there is an emergency in immigration was asked as a special favor one day last week to hear Anthony F. Caminetti, commissioner of immigration because "Mr. Caminetti has been in Washington for thirty days and should be given an opportunity without further delay."

After Chairman Colt of the committee had carefully explained that the evidence desired was only that which would prove the present conditions in this country, Mr. Caminetti began an exhaustive account of his recent trip to Europe as the emissary of the Department of Labor. Certainly Mr. Caminetti had no intention of making his visit to eight European countries sound like a congressional junket and yet when he had spoken for some time of the "winter weather making it impossible to visit other countries which would have added to the pleasure of the trip," "the enjoyable contact with diplomatic representatives," and "the courtesies of steamship officials," there were broad smiles on the faces of the senators. Senator Edge of New Jersey interrupted to ask how many more hours of prepared speech Mr. Caminetti had and if he would not suspend for questions upon the emergency in this country. Whereupon Mr. Caminetti declined to interrupt his discourse and said that he had had no opportunity to give a report to the Secretary of Labor on his trip and could not therefore give his personal opinions as to a program to be pursued. "If you have been in Washington thirty days in contact with department officials and we cannot get information from you, who can we get it from," demanded Senator Edge.

MR. CAMINETTI was finally allowed to continue for the better part of two days. He reviewed the efforts of representatives in Europe from American philanthropic organizations to clothe, feed, provide transportation and passports for immigrants to this country. This attitude, he stated, gave rise to an impression among the foreigners that the United States government was inviting them here, and created expectations which could in no way be met. He advocated restricted immigration, rather than suspension of immigration.

There are three bills now before the senate, the one introduced by Representative Johnson and passed in the House providing for total suspension, with an exception for blood relatives of immigrants already received in this country, and two bills introduced by Senator Dillingham

(Continued on page 965)

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What the Government Is Doing for the Soldiers and Sailors

(Continued from page 960)

condition that the allottee was dependent in whole or in part upon the enlisted man for support.

A survey of the activities of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance from its inception up to December 31, 1920, shows:

The Marine and Seamen's Insurance Division wrote war risk hazards on hulls, cargoes and seamen amounting to \$2,389,928,499, collected premiums amounting to \$47,583,971, and paid claims amounting to \$29,738,670.

The Allotment and Allowance Division approved 2,117,616 claims for allotment and allowance, involving payments for allotments amounting to \$293,258,642 and for allowances amounting to \$272,164,894, a total of \$565,423,536. With the signing of the Armistice and the demobilization of our armed forces the number of allotment and allowance awards steadily decreased, but even in December, 1920, payments of allotment and allowance made by the Bureau amounted to more than one million dollars.

The Compensation and Insurance Claims Division approved 48,728 claims for compensation on account of deaths in the service, and 235,937 claims for compensation on account of disabilities through service. The amount of money actually disbursed in payment of compensation awards, including burial awards and medical care, has been nearly \$150,000,000. There have been 34,351 burial awards, amounting to \$2,175,270. The death claims require monthly payments of more than one million dollars, and the disability claims require payments of more than five million dollars.

The Insurance Division has written 4,660,157 policies covering insurance to the amount of \$40,434,264,000. The Bureau has received premium insurance remittances amounting to \$355,408,104, and has awarded 132,365 claims for insurance on account of deaths, the amount of such awards totaling \$1,173,011,567. According

to the contracts the payment of these claims will run over a period of twenty years. For insurance on account of permanent and total disability 3,559 claims have been awarded, amounting to \$30,983,540. During the month of December, 1920, alone, the total disbursements for insurance claims amounted to \$7,329,904.

THE Bureau looks after the medical treatment and hospitalization of disabled former service men and women. On January 1, 1921, there were upwards of 21,000 patients of the War Risk Insurance Bureau in hospitals operated by the United States Public Health Service, or in Army and Navy Hospitals, or the National Home of Disabled Volunteer Soldiers. About nine hundred hospitals are now housing War Risk patients. The present rate of increase in patients in hospitals of the Public Health Service is nearly 1,000 a month, and ultimately it is believed the number of beds required will approximate 30,000 to 35,000. It is estimated that the peak will not be reached for a half a dozen years. As of December 31, 1920, patients admitted to hospitals under Government supervision numbered 90,701; patients now receiving hospital treatment, 20,706; potential patients, 641,000.

The past work of the Bureau has been one of marked achievement. Some of the burden has eased up as the need has lessened on account of peace conditions. But much is still being done and for a long time will have to be done in dealing justly, kindly and adequately with our former soldiers.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN asks why women should be especially concerned in promoting the activities of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance. In view of the administrative problems with which the Bureau deals—problems of insurance, of compensation, of the medical treatment and hospitalization of those who are sons or brothers or husbands or prospective husbands of the women of the land—your question answers itself. Irrespective of the personal equation the women of the land are deeply concerned in promoting the activities of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, because those activities have to do with a function of Government of vital importance to all the people.

Canada's Labor Standards

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the raising of standards in the United States organized labor in Canada has adopted a legislative program including, for adults, a universal eight-hour day, the beginning of abolition of night work and a 6-day week; for women, acts preventing labor in unhealthy processes or immediately before or after childbirth, and for children the raising of the minimum age from 12 to 16 years.

Moral Education and Alimony

To the Editor of the *Woman Citizen*:

SINCE you so kindly invited the co-operation of your readers, I am sending you my views for the forum on alimony.

The law, as you say, shines on the just and unjust alike. It is impossible to adjust any given law so that it shall with equal justice cover widely diverging phases; for the law can deal only with surface manifestations as they appear from time to time. We should stand a much better chance of making telling improvements if we sought out the causes of these surface disturbances and applied the proper remedies at the very root of the evil. In my opinion the underlying cause of the conditions which called for the granting of alimony by law, is ignorance of the force which makes for marriage, rather than union. The ignorance of human beings of themselves as being unconsciously governed by this force of nature, which makes it impossible for the individual to put forth intelligent effort in combating and controlling nature. If we give our young people

the knowledge which will enable them to guard against putting themselves into conditions too intolerable to be borne, the knowledge which will assist them in selecting life partners by the light of reason rather than by instinct, we shall have taken a long step toward solving the problem of alimony and others, arising from the same source. Let us put a thoroughly comprehensive course on sex matters into all our high schools and make attendance thereon compulsory. I have in mind, not the technical information in regard to construction and functioning of our physical being which physicians are so fond of handing out, but rather some instruction which will tend towards inspiring in the young of both sexes a proper regard and respect for themselves and a reverence for the Creator who made us in his own image. Human beings need to be taught that there is inherent in them a higher force which may set aside the laws of nature when such is necessary and desirable for insuring the well-being and happiness of the individual.

Yours very truly,

Pipestone, Minn.

HELEN A. MUTZ.

[Other communications on the subject of alimony have been crowded out of this number, and will be published in future issues of the *Woman Citizen*.—Ed.]

Women in Government Service

THE second annual report of the Women's Bureau shows important studies made and some practical results achieved in connection with those studies. The studies made during the year cover woman's part in American industry during the war, industrial training for women, the effect of hour legislation on the employment of women, the extent to which wage-earning women have dependents, and the status of women in government service.

Practically all these studies are of subjects not investigated, or investigated on a large scale, before. One, at least, has already led to practical results. This is the study of women in government service, which was used extensively by the reclassification commission in framing its bill, and which was followed by a ruling that all federal civil service examinations should be given to women and by studies of special groups of workers, at the request of government departments as a basis for improving conditions. The Bureau has also made local studies of wage-earning women, in Virginia, the District of Columbia, Kansas, and Atlanta, Georgia, and has served as a bureau of information on women's work.



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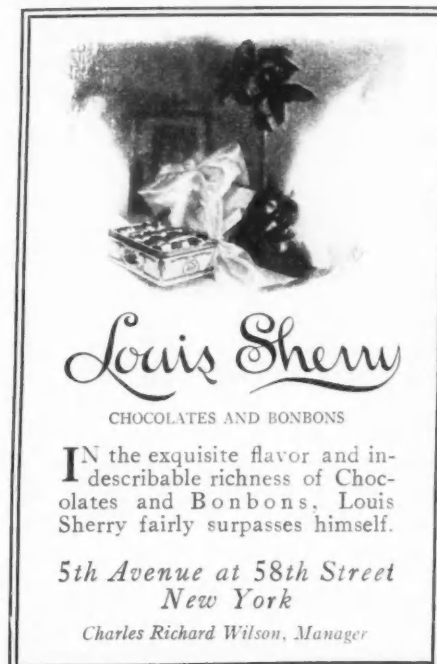


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Olive Schreiner

One of the Bridge Builders

IT seems like a paradox to say that Olive Cronwright Schreiner's death passed unnoticed because her life work was so nearly accomplished. But something like that is true.

When, as Ralph Irons, she wrote the *Story of an African Farm*, she was accounted among the most advanced of nineteenth century women. Today this book would not seem at all radical. Her chapters on parasitism threw down the gauntlet to the anti-feminists who revealed themselves by their misuse of her arguments as wholly unable to understand her appeal, which was not for an illicit liberty for woman, but a clarion call to women to sacrifice themselves for the race.

When *Dreams* appeared, it was hugely appreciated by those whose spirits responded to the cry of the oppressed; for even at the end of the 80's, people were not so generally awake to the significance of the industrial revolution as now. And there was novelty and hot emotion in such visions as "The Sunlight lay across my bed—"

This was Olive Schreiner's dream of hell and heaven—the hell where human beings drained the life blood from their fellows and drank it at their banquet of life.

Few had then arisen to see poverty as the crime of the rich. It was still referred to sentimentally as "that state into which God had pleased to call" people of no particular consequence. The philosophy of poverty's being "always with us" was simple and sufficient. Therefore, when Olive Schreiner's picture appeared it stung people into consciousness of duty undone.

Reading the dreams nowadays one sees them as faulty in construction, yet they still convey the sense of horror which was evoked at the thought of that banqueting room behind whose flimsy curtains the blood of the many was being pressed into the flagons of the few.

"Then the feast went on, and after a while

I saw a small, white hand slipped in below the curtain's edge upon the floor—and men saw it and started to their feet; and women cried. . . .

"I said to God, 'Why are they frightened of that one small hand?'"

"God answered, 'Because it is so white'. . .

"And the curtain hung smooth and still; and there was a small stain upon the floor.

"I said to God, 'Why do they not wash it out?'"

"God said, 'They cannot.'"

They were impressive, those dreams. Now the mood of the world has changed and it is thought intellectually immodest so to strip one's pity to the buff.

BUT Olive Schreiner's pity was for all, not for oppressed women merely, nor mainly, but for oppressed people—even for prostitutes. "I thought I stood" is one of the first instances in which a woman's voice was raised in behalf of the women of the streets. It was an arresting idea.

"The three dreams in a desert" were taken from her monumental treatise destroyed during the Boer war. The "three dreams" have the grace of brevity which the wine-press dream lacks. They picture unawakened, earth-bound woman struggling to rise. They have a plastic quality—statuesque—classic.

The third dream shows the pioneer feminist starting towards the Land of Freedom.

"There is one way and one only," said Reason, her guide, "Down the banks of Labor, and through the water of suffering. There is no other." And the guide made her give up all handicaps and all impedimenta.

When she reached the border of the river which she must cross alone, the woman listened intently, and said:

"I hear a sound of feet and they beat this way!"

"He said, 'They are the feet of those that shall follow you. Lead on! Make a track to the water's edge! Where you stand now the ground will be beaten flat by ten thousand times ten thousand feet.' And he said, 'Have you

seen the locusts how they cross a stream? First one comes down to the water-edge, and it is swept away, and then another comes and then another, and then another, and at last with their bodies piled up a bridge is built and the rest pass over."

"She said, 'And, of those that come first, some are swept away, and are heard of no more; their bodies do not even build the bridge?'"

"And are swept away, and are heard of no more—and what of that?"

"And what of that—" she said.

"They make a track to the water's edge."

And she said, "over that bridge which shall be built with our bodies, who will pass?"

"He said, 'The entire human race.'"

"And the woman grasped her staff."

"And I saw her turn down that dark path to the river."

EVERY suffragist sees in this woman at the water's edge Susan B. Anthony and Lucy Stone and a hundred pioneers among women. The marvel was that out on that African farm so shut away from her kind, this young girl should have envisaged life a generation ahead of her day.

Olive Schreiner was the daughter of a Lutheran clergyman sent as a missionary from London.

She was born in Basutoland nearly sixty years ago. She was neither radical nor revolted. She was very much the product, racially and intellectually of her ancestry. Her writings have the impassioned fervor of missionary zeal. She saw woman becoming decadent, self-indulgent—a drag on the race. Like an Old Testament prophet, Olive Schreiner came out of the wilderness and the desert to beg women to stop sapping the life of the race, and go back to the standards of their primitive ancestresses.

"It is often said of those who lead in this attempt at the readaptation of women's relation to life, that they are 'New Women,' " she wrote in one of her chapters on "parasitism," "and they are sometimes spoken of as though they were a something portentous and unheard of in the order of human life. But the truth is we are not new. We who lead in this movement today—have in us the blood of a womanhood that was never bought and never sold; that wore no veil, and had no foot bound; whose realized ideal of marriage was sexual compan-

(Continued on page 966)

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The Week in Congress

(Continued from page 961)

of Vermont and Senator Sterling of South Dakota providing for restrictions.

When Mr. Caminetti had concluded, the senators on the committee asked questions to determine whether an emergency exists at this time. Asked as to the number and class of immigrants who have entered this country in the last six months, Mr. Caminetti said he could not reply. "I am deeply disappointed," he said, "there are seven hundred officials at Ellis Island and yet I have not been able to secure that information. When I returned to this Country I found the machinery at Ellis Island out of order. There is something unexplainable about the situation."

It will be of interest to see just how much the Senate immigration committee explains after its weeks' of investigation and what legislation will be initiated and passed as a result of these hearings.

THE progress of the Sheppard-Towner bill has been greatly expedited by Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, vice chairman of the National Republican Committee, who has been in Washington aiding Mrs. Maud Wood Park and the members of the joint congressional committee in their efforts to have it passed during this session. The bill has now been favorably reported by the interstate commerce committee. But it has encountered further difficulties in the printing of the Senate action with such inaccuracies and omissions as will send the bill to conference even after its passage by the House. A conference report is not amendable and would have to be passed as submitted by both Houses in order that the bill may become a law.

OPPONENTS of the Gronna meat packing bill passed by the Senate have brought tremendous pressure to bear in order to have the House committee on agriculture arrange further hearings on the bill. This move for delay was defeated in a meeting of the committee by a vote of nine to seven. The favorable majority did not stay with the bill during the afternoon session of the committee however. The bill as passed by the Senate was read part way through. Motions were made to amend almost every line and were lost by a tie vote. If the enemies of the bill can win over one man on the committee they will be able to carry their proposed amendments and at any rate by continuing the filibustering tactics employed today they can continue the delay by reading the bill and submitting amendments, thus preventing its being reported to the House for some time.

ON the eve of a meeting of the Senate reconstruction committee to decide as to constituting a lumber investigation, Representative Snell of New York has introduced a bill in the House as a means he says of "defining the future policy of the federal government toward

one of the greatest national resources." The bill, which provides for cooperation between the federal and state authorities carries with it an annual appropriation for the next four years of not less than one million dollars for fighting forest fires; one million dollars for investigations in reforestation; one million dollars for actual reforestation work, and ten million dollars for watershed and navigable streams protection. Mr. Snell in explaining the bill for the *Woman Citizen* stated that he hoped merely to start an agitation during the present session with a possible vote on the bill in the next.

He did not say how the National Lumber Association became interested in the bill. The same question was put later by the *Woman Citizen* to Mr. Gifford Pinchot when he came to Washington to speak against the bill in hearings before the House agriculture committee. He said:

"The bill purports to prevent the devastation of privately owned timberlands. In fact it is a bill to promote a monopoly of lumber in the hands of a few great owners of standing timber. Four-fifths of the lumber in America is in private hands, and half of that is owned by 250 holders, the great bulk of whose holdings is on the Pacific Coast.

"The clear and obvious fact is that the Snell Bill is not supported by the timber owning interests, because they want to be controlled, but because they know that national control is the only form of control they have to fear; that state control means no control; and that so long as national control can be avoided, they will be safe from control of any kind, whether the Snell bill passes or whether it does not.

Moreover, they know that the passage of the Snell bill would be the most effective step possible at this time to put into the hands of a little group of Pacific Coast lumbermen a monopolistic power over the farmers, the wage earners, the manufacturers, the business men, and the rent payers of the whole United States, a power far more oppressive than that exercised by the steel trust, the anthracite trust, or the oil trust. This is a power which there is no reason for giving, and which the people of the United States will assuredly see that the lumbermen do not get."

THOSE who believe that water power is a national asset and that Niagara Falls belongs to the nation and not to New York state alone, have been developing a conflict with private interests in hearings before the Federal Power Commission of which Secretaries Baker, Paine and Meredith are members. At least one of the proponents of the ten projects for private development of Niagara Falls told the commission that if it granted him a permit he "would have no difficulties with the Legislature of New York state," and others predicted the testing by New York of the right of the federal government to have any jurisdiction in the matter at all.

MARJORIE SHULER.

Barriers Fall Slowly

THE Grille is down in the House of Commons; women take part in the debates of many national legislatures, and yet we are told that the attempt of a woman to enter the Paris Bourse the other day met with her expulsion under an eighteenth century law that no woman may go farther than the steps of that building.

Music and Citizenship

THE songs of the European folk are the great expression of the joys and sorrows, the hates and fears, the romance of the people who sing them. During her frequent visits, Florence Hudson Botsford has been gathering these songs. Her book contains the music, jotted down often on odd scraps of paper at some village festival; the words in the original tongue; and translations of these words into English poetry by such artists as Edna St. Vincent Millay, Jacob Robbins, Margaret Widdemer, Edgar Lee Masters.

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THE WOMAN CITIZEN

171 Madison Ave.

New York City

Olive Schreiner

(Continued from page 964)

ionship and an equality in duty and labor; who
stood side by side with the males they loved
in peace or war.

"Though the battle be now for us all, in the
laboratory or the workshop, in the forum or the
study, in the assembly and in the mart, with
the pen and not the sword, of the head and not
the arm; we still stand side by side with the
men we love, 'to dare with them in war and
to suffer with them in peace,' as the Roman
wrote of our old Northern womanhood."

SOMETIME perhaps the world will awake
to the phenomenon of this voice from the
desert. But for the past twenty-five years it
has been too busy fretting at the question of
feminism—as if by fretting it could dam the
swelling emotion growing in the hearts of wom-
en on every continent—to notice that those who
have arisen here and there to save the race,
have been large-souled women, impassioned for
race rightness.

They have asked no quarter for themselves
and accepted no compromise. Olive Schreiner
was of this sisterhood. Her great treatise on
woman upon which she spent nearly a dozen
years of scholarship in biological and sociologi-
cal lines was burned in a raid on Johannesburg,
during the Boer war. It was the child of her
best years, her other child—her only physical
child—dying in infancy. She could bring the
one back to life, no more than the other. If
anything should have embittered a human life,
this wanton destruction of her documents—one
of those cruel minor incidents of war—would
have done so. Yet her chapter on "Woman
and War," concerns itself with woman's greater
consideration for human life; not at all with her
own personal grievance.

Olive Schreiner was allied with the leading
feminists everywhere. The book by which she
is best known, *Woman and Labor*, the brief
epitome of her burned manuscripts, was dedi-
cated to Lady Constance Lytton.

"It is with some pain," she writes in her
preface, "that I give out this fragment. I am
only comforted by the thought that perhaps all
sincere and earnest search after truth, even
when it fails to reach it, yet often comes so
near to it that other minds more happily situ-
ated may be led, by pointing out its very
limitations, to obtain a larger view.

"All I aspire to be and was not, comforts
me'."

A Proposed Remedy

(Continued from page 954)

It is argued that this proposed liberal divorce
law would tend to result as follows: First, to
qualify unmarried women for economic inde-
pendence and better wives; Second, entitle
women to select a husband and to do the ask-

ing act (at present, it would be improper for a
woman to invite a man to marry and support
her for life); Third, more suitable mating,
better conduct on the part of each because of
easy release. More marriages and less divorce.
Also more happy and prosperous homes and a
better civilization generally. In the interest of
my grandchildren—other people's grandchil-
dren, and the nation as well—I am hoping and
expecting (the WOMAN CITIZEN leading) that
all good women and men will give attention to
this most of all important matter and succeed
in speedily bringing about the enactment of
necessary laws to make the change.

Yours for a better nation,

Mitchell, S. D.

FRANK WELLER

A Square Deal

(Continued from page 952)

the basis of her appeal to the court rather
than the American principle of the square deal
upon which the granting of alimony should be
based.

The marriage laws of all civilized nations
are based upon an intelligent comprehension
of what woman contributes to marriage—that
she is investing in the life venture practically
all her capital, and that the failure of the joint
enterprise will be far more disastrous to her
than to the man. It is for this reason that she
is safeguarded by marriage laws and that the
free love relationship is prohibited. Such rela-
tionship is free for the man, but never free
for the woman. For the man it may be but
the gratification of a passing fancy or passion;
for the woman it may mean the destruction of
all life's hopes and promises. For the man it
may be an episode; for her it may be a
tragedy.

Vicarious Mothers

"EARLY marriage is the salvation of most
men and of all women and motherhood
is the only worthy career for a woman," accord-
ing to Counsellor Clark of London, who be-
lieves that childless wives should be compelled
by law to contribute money or service to
mothers. He holds that mothers of large fam-
ilies should be encouraged by state bounties and
that childless women are nearly always hard
natured and anxious to occupy positions where
they can exert "a masterful authority over their
own sex."

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complete description of the Dramatiza-
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By CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

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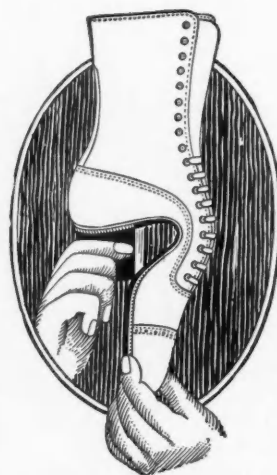
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A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL
FOUNDED 1870

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February 12, 1921

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What the Club Woman Advises

What the Drama League
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What the Mothers Are
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AT 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the
cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

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Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt
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Miss Alice Stone Blackwell
Boston, Mass.

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New York City

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New York City

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Vol. LI Old Style
Vol. V New Style

FEBRUARY 12, 1921

No. 37

"The Movies—What Are We Going to Do About 'Em?"

Some straight from the shoulder talk to women by a movie man.

Of course, being a man, he blames things on the women.

*But he is one man who gets
away with it—makes his case*

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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME V

FEBRUARY 12, 1921

NUMBER 37

THE WOMAN CITIZEN was founded by the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission, Inc., in the hope that it might prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The editorial offices are at 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

Carrie Chapman Catt and Alice Stone Blackwell are special contributing editors.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief. Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd and Marjorie Shuler are associate editors.

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It is not to be understood that the WOMAN CITIZEN gives editorial endorsement to the opinions expressed in articles signed with name, initials, or pseudonym. Such articles may be at dagger's point with the editorial commitment, or in exact accord with it. They are printed because they seem worth printing and not because of an agreement in their expressed opinions. The editors speak for the magazine in the editorial pages.

A LONG time ago, a very long time ago, the *Woman Citizen* began and has chanted ever since about the moving picture theatre as a woman's problem. It called the photoplay the mother's responsibility, and it has beckoned to these mothers to come on out and talk the whole question over in the open. Then for a long while there was silence. It seemed as if the mothers were not, after all, so much aroused as they had appeared to be or as the *Citizen* thought they had appeared to be. It seemed as if no one cared at all. Then all at once today's articles have burst out, not only putting the matter of suitable plays for children and adults up to the woman but putting it up to her all by her lone self, not as one timid member of the Town Betterment Association or of the Society for Improving the Standards of Podunk, but just as herself. Inside of organizations women have long been the one aggressive civic factor, demanding better drama, better photoplays, better pageantry on Fourth of July and on all other days. Now come forward the moving picture producers and distributors themselves acknowledging woman's potency and telling her that not only must she help save the screen but she must march up to the box office as one social unit and make her protest on the spot. And this women are to do because the drama both on stage and screen is a factor in human life which must be reckoned with. It is a force for shaping human emotions, for carrying on visual education. It can not be ignored, but it can be directed. The stage is a great art. The motion picture can be. The future of both rests with the women of the country—but how? Suggestions as to how are given today. Other suggestions will be given later. This is a message the *Woman Citizen* has long been trying to get over.

THE *Woman Citizen*, it will be noted, devoted considerable space in its last number to the question of alimony. Today it offers another article, and from the present outlook it will be obliged to devote a good deal more space to this problem. Always an acute social question, alimony for women has become yet more so with their changing political and economic status.

Husband and father as wage-earner on one side, wife and mother as home-maker and child-bearer on the other. This seemed on the face of it a fair division of labor in times past, in spite of the possibility of galling pressure on each side, and in spite of the fact that there was inherent in it the disturbing contingency of alimony. Undoubtedly the fairness still applies to the social economic scheme as concurred in by most men and women. But the social economic scheme is not static, and already, though most women remain within the home on the old basis, so many are out in the professions, in industry, in business as wage-earners that they are coming more and more to be taken as an advance guard of what may be in the future for women. Are we then facing the need of some intelligent readjustment of the whole status of women in matrimony, and along what lines shall that readjustment be made? The contributions to the *Woman Citizen* have served to present divergent viewpoints as to what is involved in the question of alimony. Forthcoming issues will present contributions that develop other viewpoints, and will still further elaborate the subject.

ACCORDING to a cable received by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the long program of affirmation of the Swedish woman suffrage measure was finally completed late in January. The measure was adopted in 1919 by both Chambers of Parliament, but to clinch its validity it had to be adopted again by both chambers after the elections in the autumn of 1920. It was the formal parliamentary decision which was made in January. All the formalities are, apparently, now complied with and some million and a half Swedish women will vote in the elections of the autumn of 1921. The exact figures are given as 1,400,000 as against 1,300,000 men. Swedish women have had municipal suffrage since 1862, theoretically on the same terms as men, but as the suffrage was based upon income, many women were excluded, particularly married women. In 1918 universal municipal suffrage was granted to women and men alike without any income qualification. With the 1921 formalities completed Swedish women will vote on exactly the same conditions as Swedish men and will be eligible to office as well.

THE House of Deputies in the province of Tucuman, Argentina, lately passed a bill to give women municipal suffrage, *La Nacion* says:

"This action was expected, and applauded, and would undoubtedly have deserved the concurrence of the Senate, but it met a really curious obstacle—the opposition of the representative of the executive power. Dr. Rosas does not favor woman suffrage. He says Argentine women are not ready for democratic life, and that to give them a vote might lead to family quarrels."

THE Vermont Senate on February 9th voted unanimously to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Following the favorable action of the House, this assures Vermont as the 38th ratifying state.

The Anna Howard Shaw Memorial Fund

By Mrs. John O. Miller

FEBRUARY 14 will be the birthday of the late Dr. Anna Howard Shaw. Two years have passed since this great little woman, one of America's outstanding suffrage leaders, passed to the Great Beyond. In these two years much has happened which has caused the women of America to remember her and her work, and much has occurred and is still transpiring which might cause many of them to forget.

Suffrage was won shortly after she breathed her last. That she was chiefly instrumental in the victory achieved by the women of America certainly no one can deny. That her memory deserves to be kept ever green, all those who fought with her in the cause will testify. But she was instrumental chiefly in gaining the vote. Most of her efforts were directed toward that end. And now that this question has been settled for all time, now that the vote is unquestionably gained and being exercised by women all over this land, her work in perspective appears as something finished, something there is no need to continue. Since they no longer need to fight for the right of franchise, women's aims are turning in another direction, in a variety of directions in fact. Had Dr. Shaw lived, undoubtedly her enthusiasm, her capacity for work, her ideas and her oratory would have continued her in the leadership under new conditions, as it held her in foremost place under the old. But her career closed almost coincidentally with the victorious end of the suffrage fight and she already appears as an historic figure, without points of contact with present day problems.

Women, like men, are likely to forget Anna Howard Shaw under such circumstances, unless those who knew her and honored her and loved her and looked to her for their leadership continue the work of keeping alive her memory. This work was nobly begun a year ago, when the National American Woman Suffrage Association, at its final meeting in Chicago, voted unanimously to raise a fund as a Memorial to Dr. Shaw and appointed a committee to carry on the work of raising the money.

MUCH has happened in the past year, both to assist and hamper the raising of this fund. During the first half of 1920, the final fight for the ratification of the Suffrage Amendment occupied almost the entire time of the women who had pledged themselves to raise the fund. The second half of the year was still busier for them and for all women, because women everywhere were preparing for their first step into full participation in politics.

These things kept the various committee members occupied, it is true, but it also afforded an opportunity for bringing Dr. Shaw's name before the public. Anything connected with suffrage was live news during 1920. People were thinking about it, reading about it and talking about it. And the committee saw to it that the late Dr. Shaw's name was mentioned at every opportunity in connection with the suffrage victory and also that this enthusiasm was organized, so that local committees were formed all over the country for the purpose of assisting in the raising of the fund.

And so, now that the work has been going on a year, it is proper that a summary be made. In Chicago last February, the committee was named, with Mrs. John O. Miller, of Pittsburgh, as its national chairman. Mrs. Miller established National Headquarters at No. 1606 Finance Building, Philadelphia, Pa. State Chairmen were named in all but a few States and these were instructed as to how to organize their States for the fund. Local committees sprang up everywhere and the collection of money in a small way was undertaken.

Anticipating last spring that the State of Delaware would ratify the Suffrage Amendment in March or April, the National Committee decided to open the Anna Howard Shaw Memorial Fund work as soon as this action was taken, as Delaware would have made the 36th State, the necessary number to make the Suffrage Amendment operative. However, Delaware failed to ratify and, as a result, all these plans were upset. Attention was then turned to other States and it was found that Tennessee was the most likely ground. This State, however, delayed action until midsummer, when it was inadvisable to start.

It became necessary, therefore, to select some other significant date. In view of the fact that most of the women of America were going to the polls for the first time on November 2, 1920, it was decided to inaugurate the work on that date.

IN order that there should be some striking method of attracting attention it was decided to station women sentinels at as many polling places throughout the country as possible, each one bearing a banner and carrying a container into which contributions for the fund should be placed. So that this effort might be a success, a vast amount of organization work was necessary. Fifty thousand banners had to be made, a million fliers printed and instructions given to those who were to act as sentinels all over the United States.

It was planned to ask the women especially to give a "Thank Offering" for the Shaw Fund as they went to vote, in honor of the woman who had done more than any other individual to gain them the right of franchise.

National Headquarters did its part well in distributing banners, leaflets and instructions to committees in the various States, and some of the States stationed a large number of sentinels at polling places, but the women in other States, no doubt in the excitement of casting their first ballot and taking part in their first political campaign, overlooked the Fund to some extent, with the result that a large number of banners and leaflets were unproductive. However, in a general way, the result justified all this preliminary work, as a large sum was collected, only part of which has reached National Headquarters, with considerably more to come.

One thing was accomplished, however, and that was the publication far and wide of Dr. Shaw's name and the record of her deeds, as newspapers everywhere in the country, devoted a large amount of space to the publicity which was sent out from National Headquarters. Further appeals, therefore, will not fall upon barren ground.

To be more specific concerning the intention of the Fund and the amount thus far received, the following is submitted:

The Fund will be devoted to the establishment of a Foundation in Politics at Bryn Mawr College for Girls and the establishment of a Foundation in Preventive Medicine in the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania.

It is hoped to raise \$500,000 toward this end, with the idea that each institution receive half.

Bryn Mawr has turned into the Fund the \$100,000 it raised during its endowment campaign, and the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania has handed over the \$30,000 it has raised as part of its endowment. This puts \$130,000 of the \$500,000 into the Fund before it starts.

Thus far, there has been turned into National Headquarters \$27,000 as the result of private contributions and partial returns from the Election Day collection. More contributions are being sent in almost daily and the sum is being gradually increased.

Many States have as yet made no return whatever, but it is known that they have collected something.

This makes \$157,000 collected, a goodly sum, but far short of half a million. The National Committee, therefore, hopes to make 1921 a banner year for collections for the Fund and is now considering plans for raising the money.

BUT before telling some of these plans, it might be well to speak of the work of the various states.

Pennsylvania, of course, heads the list in contributions, because it was in Pennsylvania that Dr. Shaw had her home during the last years of her life, and also because the two institutions which are to be honored by having Shaw Memorial Foundations are in that state.

Iowa has done extremely well, under the capable chairmanship of Miss Flora Dunlap, of Des Moines, who has organized all the women's organizations of the state in aiding the Shaw Fund.

Florida, ably led by its chairman, Miss Elizabeth Skinner, of Dunedin, is another state that had been well organized.

And Rhode Island, the smallest state, with Miss Helen Emerson, of Providence, as chairman, has surpassed all the other New England states.

Michigan has also approached its quota, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Wilber Brotherton. In this state it is planned to observe Dr. Shaw's birthday with a luncheon of women.

In Tennessee, Mrs. Guilford Dudley, who led the ratification fight, has accepted the Shaw Fund chairmanship and will try to complete Tennessee's assessment before the April Convention of the National League of Women Voters.

Missouri has secured part of its assessment and a recent payment of \$71.95 from Sedalia was raised entirely in nickels.

Nebraska is another state which has done well, while a number of other Western states with comparatively small population have sent substantial contributions.

On the other hand, some of the largest states in the country have fallen down in the task. New York, for instance, has sent in but a small contribution, probably due to the fact that the natural women leaders there have been occupied with stirring political matters, which caused them to forget the Shaw Fund.

Massachusetts, which was for some years the home of Dr. Shaw, has also made a poor showing.

Ohio, Illinois, and California, three great and populous states, from which large contributions might naturally be expected, are also lagging behind. Seven states were never organized at all and have no chairman—Arizona, Colorado, Montana, New Hampshire, North Carolina, South Dakota, and Texas.

It has been noted by the leaders that the size, wealth and power of a community bear no relation whatever to the amount contributed to the Fund. Whether or not money is raised is due entirely to the work of the local or state organizations. Where there is an active chairman who is a good organizer, there money is raised. Where there is a weak organization there no money is raised, despite publicity, despite wealth and despite the character of the community.

The fact that the American people are said to be "fed up" on money-raising campaigns, appears to have but little effect on the Shaw Fund. People knew who Dr. Shaw was and realize that she is deserving of a fitting memorial. All that is needed is some efficient organization to collect it.

There has been found, however, some objection to the Fund on the ground that the purposes to which it is to be devoted are too entirely practical and that not enough sentimental interest can be aroused in college foundations. Which brings to consideration several propositions which have been made for further

popularization of the Fund and for raising money in the future.

The first of these proposals, which has not yet been acted upon, it may be stated, is that Dr. Shaw's home at Moylan, Pa., just outside of Philadelphia, be included in the Memorial and be made a permanent Memorial to her to be used as a resting place for professional women, especially the professors at Bryn Mawr and the Medical College, as both of these institutions are within a short distance of it.

Another proposition is that a de-luxe edition of Dr. Shaw's autobiography be issued and the trustees of Dr. Shaw's estate have made the very generous arrangement to apply all the royalties from "The Story of a Pioneer" to the Memorial until the Fund is raised.

More timely is the suggestion that the anniversary of Dr. Shaw's birthday, February 14, 1922, be made the occasion for meetings of women everywhere in the country at which contributions could be taken for the Fund. As this day falls on the same date as Valentine Day, it is also suggested that an appropriate valentine would be a contribution to the Fund.

However, the National Committee has no definite plans as yet. Dr. Shaw's spirit is still with the women who fought for suffrage and that spirit is one that would never accept failure.

Checks and pledges should be sent to Mrs. John O. Miller, National Chairman, 1606 Finance Building, Philadelphia, Pa.

Attention, Readers!

MY attention has been called to the circulation of a rumor purporting to come from the headquarters of the Woman's Party at Washington that an invitation had been extended to the National American Woman Suffrage Association to join in the ceremonies attendant upon the presentation of certain busts to the Capitol and that no reply had ever been received.

The facts are: The invitation dated January 3rd was received at the National headquarters on January 5th. On January 6th the following letter was mailed:

"My dear Miss Paul:

This acknowledges receipt of your favor of January 3rd.

I am calling a meeting of the officers of the National American Woman Suffrage Association for the 17th or 18th of January, at which time the contents of your letter will be laid before it for consideration. You will be informed promptly thereafter as to the outcome. I am

Very truly yours,
(Signed) CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,
President."

The Board of Officers met as called on January 17th, and on the same date the following letter was mailed to Miss Paul:

"My dear Miss Paul:

The Board of Officers of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, at a meeting held January 17th, voted unanimously not to accept the invitation of the Woman's Party to participate in ceremonies attendant upon placing certain busts in the Rotunda of the Capitol.

Of the sixteen members of the Board, thirteen were present or voting by mail. Three were not heard from.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,
President."

Since the meeting two more officers have sent in their votes, both being opposed to acceptance of the invitation. One remains unheard from.
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

The Movies—What Are We Going to Do About 'Em?

By the Advertising Manager of One of the Biggest Distributors

I HAVE been asked to write an article about Motion Picture Photo-Plays, and if this article ever sees the light of day it is because the editors of the WOMAN CITIZEN were really honest when they asked for the article, knowing that they would get only an honest expression of opinion, a frank get-together sort of talk, that might pinch a bit here and there, but after all was honest and—facts.

Just at the moment some publications have used an attack on the motion picture industry to further their circulation lists. That's nothing; every big business forces itself into the limelight the moment it starts to take on large proportions, and because it is large and well known, nationally, any attack makes good "copy" now that the war is over and headlines on the "Treaty," the "European Situation," etc., etc., fail to attract much attention. True, three very daring aviators embarked in a gas bag and landed in the wilds of Canada, thereby breaking the monotony of "routine news," but outside of that incident, editors, re-write chaps, and reporters have been hard put for news. Believe this as facts. We know. We issue a motion picture news reel twice weekly. Therefore, any attack on the third largest industry in the United States is "good copy," and you can write about it by the mile.

I shall not try to defend or condemn the motion picture industry. It does not need any defense, and any condemnation I made of it would not count much any way. I shall put myself right alongside of you folks and as one of you look at "us" in the motion picture industry and try to help analyze the situation.

Motion pictures are at once the greatest known means at hand for education and entertainment. You and I learned what a cat was from a picture of pussy long before we could spell c-a-t. Children learn by observation before they reach the age of reason. Visual instruction is the most lasting and the easiest means of registering an impression on a child or a person who neither reads, nor writes, nor even speaks your language.

I SAT in a theatre for three hours one night in Esch, Luxembourg, and I saw two thousand American doughboys thoroughly entertained with foreign motion pictures with all titles written in French and German and not three per cent of the audience could understand either language. They roared at comedy, wept at melodrama. THEY UNDERSTOOD PICTURES! There are thousands upon thousands of patrons of motion picture theatres in the United States who neither read nor speak English. On the continent they print titles in several languages side by side, so all may read. We have a vast non-understanding audience that would absorb our American ideals, our atmosphere; get to know it and love it if they understood better. Know it more readily at least. But—they're getting it, getting it because they can read pictures. Motion pictures can teach geography, natural and physical, as no bound book can teach it. Do you know my company could sit you down in a theatre and take you around the world, into every nook and corner of it, show human types, how they live, how they labor, what they produce, the physical aspects, etc., etc.

Did you ever go around the world step by step, not hit or miss, but with continuity, week after week? You bet you didn't. Why? Mr. Robert C. Bruce makes such pictures with a deft touch and a beauty that is superb. Mr. C. L. Chester can take you on the screen from the depths of Vesuvius to the top of Mount McKinley, yet how many of you can remember the names of three Chester Outing Pictures? Mr. Burton Holmes has de-

voted his life to putting the world before you on the screen. How many of his pictures have you ever seen? Not many. Why, I ask you?

Because—as any film salesman will tell you, the exhibitors, the theatre owners, say "Oh, my audience don't want scenic pictures." It is a heart-breaking job at times to sell scenic pictures that are so beautiful, so entertaining that could they be framed, they'd have a place in the leading art museums.

There is the answer in a nutshell. There is the crux of the whole motion picture structure in that exhibitor's answer, "My audiences don't want that kind of pictures." Is that true, you women? Does the exhibitor know what you really want? If he does, he is a mind reader worthy to go down in history, for YOU DON'T TELL HIM WHAT YOU WANT!

Do you know that Raymond L. Ditmars, Curator of New York's famous Zoological Park, has put every one of his great priceless collection of animals in motion pictures? Did you ever see pictures directed by this world-renowned authority? I doubt if many of you ever did, because the exhibitor says: "My audience doesn't want that kind of pictures" and—you never told him what you want!

DO you know that the "Birth of a Nation" and such pictures as "Way Down East" are among the biggest box office winners this industry ever produced? There are enough stories of like character to keep every producer going for a century if you continue to want them and the exhibitor is made to know you want them. Do you know that there are comedies, clean, fine fun, like "Torchy," "Mermaid," "Charles Ray," etc., etc., and they are as a rule less costly to produce than some other types of comedies, if the exhibitor only knows you want them?

And—is the exhibitor a hard-shelled sort of man who is just going to run his theatre any way he sees fit just 'cause he thinks so? 'Deed he isn't! He is one of the shrewdest, keenest, up-to-date business men in this land. He has a tremendous investment in his theatre many times greater than the combined investments of the butcher, the baker and the candle-stick maker, whom you patronize any day. Do you say to your grocer, "Just send me some beans," or do you say, "I want Heinz Beans or Van Camp's Beans or Armour's Beans"? Are you still buying crackers out of a barrel or have you forced the grocer to give you Blank's Quality Crackers in a neat sanitary package? Are you buying just bread that's juggled around by dirty hands or are you insisting on Ward's Bread or Bond Bread or Mother's Bread or Anybody's Bread, neatly sealed in waxed paper?

Do you suppose the grocer you trade with every day likes to take a shorter profit on well-known brands, well packed brands just 'cause he is a philanthropist? Not at all. You made him give you the goods you want because you told him what you wanted and you sent it back if it was wrong.

You go to a vaudeville theatre and you clap when you like an act. The manager is listening to those claps. The artist's salary is based on those claps. You voice your approval and the extent of your approval by applause and that can be heard. An act that cannot get a "hand" cannot live.

NOW here is another fact. Sixty per cent, nationally, of all motion picture audiences are women. Some are children, the rest, men. You are an overwhelming majority, but because clapping is not the usual thing in a motion picture theatre, and smiles in the dark or frowns cannot be heard or easily seen, the

(Continued on page 981)

The Week in Congress

Playing Politics With the Unknown Dead

From the Woman Citizen's Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 7, 1921.

PLAYING politics with the unknown dead—that seems to be the purpose of some members of the Military Affairs Committee of the House, and their attitude is typical of that of many members of both House and Senate toward the whole question of disarmament.

When General Pershing and General Lejeune appeared before the Military Affairs Committee last week on behalf of the bill introduced by Representative Fish, of New York, to bring an unknown American soldier back for burial in this country, accounts went broadcast through the country of the serious proposals for a war ship to cross the ocean for the body, an escort of soldiers, the ceremony at Arlington, the participation in the last rites by the future President of the United States. While the really significant facts about that hearing to the voters who are closely watching their representatives were the suggestions made by some of them to avoid "invidious criticism" by extending the application of the bill. First it was stated that each branch of the service should be represented by an "unknown" dead. And then one enterprising member of Congress advanced the idea that they might well safeguard the interests of their constituents by bringing back an "unknown" dead from each state.

It was not the absurdity of the idea that an "unknown" dead might be sufficiently well recognized to identify the state from which he came that was so striking, but the fact that political considerations would so blind members of Congress to the unity and significance of such a symbol.

SOME resounding sentiments, evidently intended for the Record, were made by some members of the Naval Affairs Committee a few mornings later when General Pershing was testifying. On one side of the table sat the commander of the A. E. F., stating that more than any other man in the country he was in a position to know what unpreparedness meant to the United States at the outset of the great war and yet advocating a conference with other nations for the reduction of armament. On the other side of the table was the tribunal of representatives, talking in lofty terms about the fine spirit of the United States toward the other nations, and yet urging the maintenance of the present degree of armament. In the gentlest of tones General Pershing remarked: "I do not know just how far our good intentions are properly understood."

It is undoubtedly true, as Senator New of Indiana said, in explaining for the *Woman Citizen* his own strong advocacy of a large standing army, that in the executive sessions of the committees information has been given which it would not be for the public interest to announce, and which has yet alarmed members of Congress and made them feel that the United States must maintain its armament. Senator New said further: "As a matter of general principle, I am much in favor of disarmament. I would be very glad to see the United States party to an agreement entered into in good faith between the five principal world powers looking to a reduction of armament on the part of each. Manifestly the United States cannot enter upon such a programme except in concert with other nations."

It is probably true, too, that Congress feels that the new administration should have a free hand in forming international affairs. But that, after all, is only a technical objection. The Republicans are now in control of both branches of Congress. Any suggestions from President-elect Harding would seem certain to find ready co-operation on the part of Congress. And, after all, since we know what we think, it is most important to find out what other

countries think and the people of other countries who note our official delays and read the attacks made upon their good faith by some of our Congressmen must have great difficulty in believing the spirit of our country to be what we think it is.

IN urging the Senate to adopt his resolution for a disarmament conference between the United States, Great Britain and Japan, Senator Borah of Idaho said: "Whether the naval and military forces and the armament trusts are strong enough to prevent the people from having their way I don't know. I think there is a practical possibility of disarmament and I believe there is good to be had from making the attempt. At least we owe it to the people of the country before imposing this additional armament burden upon them, to prove that we have done our best to get such an understanding. There are those who are willing to render lip service to disarmament who conjure up all means of delay, which is just another means of defeating the bill."

Senator King, of Utah, in the same discussion said: "If the United States had entered the League of Nations there would have been employed the instrumentality already set up in the League for disarmament, an instrumentality both feasible and practicable. It is grim irony that those who have been most opposed to the League are obliged to resort to its principles to obtain that which they believe to be for the public good."

In addition to his resolution for a disarmament conference, Senator Borah has introduced and secured the passage of a resolution calling upon the Naval Affairs Committee of the Senate to report as to the advisability of holding up the present ship-building program until an investigation can determine how many and what kind of ships should be built for the future.

But, after all, the legislation most likely to pass, and therefore to govern, the military policy of the country during the next few months are the appropriation bills.

In the face of the Senate reducing the standing army to 150,000 men, and on a reconsideration raising the number to 175,000 men, the military appropriation bill, as reported by the House provides for only 150,000 men. The naval appropriation bill reported in the House provides for 100,000 men. Both bills have been radically cut from the estimates submitted by the departments.

A DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE is the latest development in the suggestions now before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. "The attempt will be made to group in this department the bureaus in which women are particularly interested in the hope that a woman will be appointed as its chief," states Senator Kenyon, of Iowa, chairman of the committee. MARJORIE SHULER.

Where Senator Walsh Stood

UNITED STATES SENATOR DAVID I. WALSH of Massachusetts was the only New England Senator who voted for the Gronna bill to regulate the great meat-packers. Tremendous pressure was brought to bear against the bill, and it took a strong man to stand out against that pressure. Incidentally, Mr. Walsh is the only New England Senator whose election is credited to the suffragist. Their active campaign against his competitor, Mr. Weeks, who had held up the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, was undoubtedly the cause of Mr. Weeks's defeat.

A. S. B.

The National Scope of the New York Drama League

By Kate Oglebay

THE theatre, the most democratic of all the arts, the one which makes the widest appeal to humanity, should properly be classed as a public utility. That it never has been is not due, as some of us like to think, to the fault of those who are interested in the theatre as a business, but to the fact that those of us who enjoy the art—the audience in the theatre—have never quite realized its social importance. The theatre has never had the organized attention that other social movements have had—some of them of far less consequence.

For nine years the New York Drama League has worked toward a single end. It has worked to make the public recognize the theatre as a social force of the first magnitude, and to enable the theatre, through such recognition, to provide the best entertainment of which it is capable. Out of these years of experiment has emerged a definite and practical program. Each item in it has come as a response to popular demand, and each item is helping to develop the possibilities of the American theatre. To an outsider, the program of the New York Drama League may seem too varied to be constructive. There is sure to be something in the plan in which you are not interested, however much interested you may be in the theatre. But, on the other hand, there is something for which you care vitally, and that is the theory on which the League is building. Maybe you care for the theatre just as entertainment. Perhaps you like the printed play, or feel keenly what the drama could do for the education of the young and for their social development if it were properly taught in the schools. Maybe you are one of that very increasing group who go under the general title of "little theatre workers"—playwrights, producers, designers, amateur actors—to whom the craft of the theatre, in some one of its forms, is a personal pleasure. Or you are just a student, or best of all, you are one of the professional workers in the art of the theatre. Somewhere in its program you will find the Drama League working hard to create and foster and to organize an interest in the thing for which you care most.

ONCE a week the League issues a *Drama Calendar*, a brisk, newsy, yet thoughtful guide to all that is best and most interesting on Broadway—or off it. The Calendar fills the need for an intelligent news periodical of the theatre. The League's well-balanced Play-going Committee sees and reviews all spoken plays. Its judgment is impartial; its vision eclectic. In his play-going the reader of this weekly thus has the advice of a magazine editor, a decorator, a dramatic critic, a publisher, a business woman, a bookseller, an educator, an author. Drama Leaguers swear by their Calendar. Even those who judge everything by material values are sure that it saves them ten times its cost in theatre tickets through the aid of the "Sign Post," in which the Calendar includes the names of all plays worth seeing.

In addition the *Drama Calendar* prints special articles, lists the dramatic events, special performances, lectures, recitals, etc., not recorded in the advertising columns of the press, notes new publications, and prints news of real moment in the theatre.

An interesting article might be written on the way the audience for the printed play has doubled and tripled in America in the last few years, largely through the aid of the *Drama Book Shop* and to correlated agencies. As long as there is no town too small for a library, there is no town too small for the best plays today, and the man who has learned to see a play when he reads it has acquired a new form of art enjoyment which is as real in solitude as in company.

The League maintains the *Drama Book Shop*, the only shop in New York devoted exclusively to plays and books about the theatre. In its 3,000 titles it carries the most extensive line of drama to be found in any store in America. Orders come from all over the world, and it furnishes a wide circle of patrons with advice as to the reading and production of plays.

At the League headquarters, managed in conjunction with the *Drama Book Shop* is a Library and Reading Room which holds about 1,500 volumes of plays and books about the theatre. To this members of the League have free access for reference and general reading. This collection of books is now the best available anywhere in America.

Under a well organized plan the League is establishing a complete library of the drama, including all important ancient and modern plays in all languages and all notable critical and biographical works as well as a complete collection of the contemporary plays suitable for amateur production.

EVEN a more interesting activity of the League is its interest in the child and its relation to the theatre. The young people of today get the best of all arts but the drama. They are taken, as a part of their education, to the art museums and to symphony concerts. But what do they see in the theatre?

In order to bring the best of the theatre to young people and to show them how entertaining and instructive it can be, the League plans: (1) Special matinees of suitable plays from the current stage—"Abraham Lincoln," for example; (2) Special performances of plays read and studied in the schools, Shakespeare in particular; (3) Special performances of fine plays written especially for children. In each case the League holds to well defined standards, both dramatic and educational. One of the objects of the League is to establish a subsidized fund in order to effect a reduction of the price of theatre seats to enable public school children to see the best things in the theatre. But there is much more to say on this special subject. "Our Children in the Theatre" is another story.

Beginning last season the New York Drama League has presented lectures on Sunday afternoons as a basis for a future studio theatre audience. The lectures have been on subjects related to the craft of the theatre all over the world, on foreign customs and manners, on scenic design, on lighting, on directing, on acting, on the audience, and in fact on every phase of the activity, employing such figures in the world of the theatre as William Lyon Phelps, Granville Barker, John Drinkwater, William Archer, Walter Prichard Eaton, Louis K. Anspacher, Dhan Gopal Mukerji, Edwin Bjorkman, Sam Hume, Gilbert Cannan, John Garrett Underhill, Peng Chung Chang and others of like calibre.

The League is virtually the guardian angel of the Little Theatre of the country—both professional and amateur. It aids in the development of native play writing, acting, and production, through the little theatres, amateur groups and community playhouses. The League has put into organized form the service of information and advice which it has been compelled to give at random during the past five years and which it has collected from acknowledged authorities in the Little Theatre movement. The League is constantly assembling and dispensing information as to plays suitable for production, supplying directors and designers, suggesting methods and means of production, giving advice on the construction of theatres and the reconstruction of available

(Continued on page 983)

State Legislation for Maternity Protection

By Irene Osgood Andrews

Assistant Secretary, American Association for Labor Legislation

WHEN the Federal Children's Bureau in 1919 published its report on "Maternity Benefit Systems," by Dr. Henry J. Harris, it was a direct challenge to the United States that the report must deal only with "Certain Foreign Countries." It seems incredible that in such a report covering the nineteen leading countries of the world, our own country should be the only great power absent from the list.

For several years the American Association for Labor Legislation has urged maternity benefits, both cash and medical, in connection with the plan for a general system of health insurance—the method which Dr. Harris tells us is the one adopted in all but three of the foreign countries. At the same time the Children's Bureau had been conducting investigations into infant and maternal mortality and had repeatedly shown the great need for some form of maternity care. It is an old story now—if such a story could ever become "old"—that a quarter of a million American born babies die every year before they are one year old, 680 every day as Mrs. Kelley points out, and that at least 25,000 mothers die every year from causes due to childbirth; then add to it all 100,000 still born babies each year. But the further tragedy of the situation is that physicians declare a large part of this frightful loss is entirely unnecessary. Is it any wonder that physicians and leading citizens everywhere are declaring that the prevention of this waste of human life is the most important public health problem before the country to-day?

With the passage of the federal bill for the public protection of maternity and infancy by the U. S. Senate, mutilated as it was, we have our first acknowledgment by the federal government of its responsibility in this field. Hearings on the bill before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in the House have been completed and early passage by the House is anticipated.

ACTUAL maternity care depends of course, upon action by the states. This year forty legislatures meet, many of them not to convene again for two years. It is important therefore that bills be introduced at the earliest possible moment so that the states be authorized to co-operate with the Federal Children's Bureau and to claim its share of the federal funds. To meet a steadily increasing demand the Association for Labor Legislation has prepared the draft of a standard bill for state legislation and already more than a dozen states have secured copies for introduction.

In Massachusetts bills providing for maternity benefits have been introduced for several years past and last year a Special Commission to study the subject and report a bill was appointed, and a measure unanimously agreed upon, is now before the Massachusetts legislature. The provisions of this bill and of the standard bill of the Association are similar in most respects.

While about half of the foreign countries providing for maternity protection include cash as well as medical and nursing benefits, it is unlikely that in the beginning any of our states will attempt to provide both kinds of help. Of the two medical and nursing care is undoubtedly the more important. The standard bill authorizes boards of health "to provide instruction, advice and such care as the Board may deem necessary to expectant mothers during pregnancy and confinement and to mothers and their infants after childbirth; and to employ such persons as may be necessary to carry out the requirements of this Act." The bill applies to all mothers who have been residents of the state

for six months and who comply with the instruction of the board; mothers are protected in their civil and political rights. The board is authorized to make all necessary rules and regulations to carry out the provisions of the act, to cooperate with other agencies, to accept gifts from private sources and to make investigations and recommendations for the purpose of improving maternity care.*

The feeble beginnings toward proper maternity care already made in a few states should be supplemented by comprehensive systems undertaken cooperatively by the state and federal governments and providing, through properly conducted maternity centers, adequate medical and nursing care.

If we are willing to face the facts in regard to infant and maternal mortality, if the state is really desirous of producing a strong and vigorous population, we must take up vigorously, and at once this important problem of maternity protection.

2,000,000 Women for Maternity Protection

NOW is the time to prepare for it. There is in prospect a big event. It will take place in Cleveland, Ohio, in April. It is the second annual convention of the National League of Women Voters and its slogan is: "A delegate from every congressional district in the country." Mrs. George Gellhorn, Vice-Chairman of the League, predicts that this will be more than fulfilled. The convention will be held April 11-16 and already plans for a program which will give attention to practically every social and civic field in which women are interested, are well under way.

The League, which was formally launched as a separate organization only last February at the time of the final convention of the National Suffrage Association, now boasts a branch in each of the forty-eight states of the country.

It is estimated that the League now has a membership representing approximately two million women voters and "that membership is growing every day," declares Mrs. Gellhorn, who has charge of the general arrangements for the convention.

The program of the convention has not been announced in detail but it is understood that a particular feature will be the reports on the legislative program adopted by the League.

That program was based on the reports of the seven standing committees of the League, all of which will play an important part in the convention. They are, with their chairmen: American Citizenship, Mrs. Frederick P. Bagley, Boston, Mass.; Women in Industry, Miss Mary McDowell, Chicago, Ill.; Child Welfare, Mrs. La Rue Brown, Washington, D. C.; Election Laws and Methods, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, New York City; Social Hygiene, Dr. Valeria Parker, Hartford, Conn.; Unification of Laws, Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch, Chicago, Ill.; Food Supply and Demand, Mrs. Edward P. Costigan, Washington, D. C.; Research, Mrs. Mary Sumner Boyd, New York City.

The National officers of the League are: Chairman, Mrs. Maude Wood Park; Vice-Chairman and Director Sixth Region, Mrs. George Gellhorn, St. Louis, Mo.; Secretary, Mrs. Solon Jacobs, Birmingham, Ala.; Treasurer, Mrs. Richard Edwards, Peru, Ind. The Regional Directors are: Miss Katherine Ludington, Hartford, Conn.; Mrs. F. Louis Slade, New York; Miss Della Dortch, Nashville, Tenn.; Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser, Girard, Ohio; Mrs. James Paige, Minneapolis, Minn.; Mrs. C. B. Simmons, Portland, Ore.

* Copies of the bill can be secured by writing to the Association for Labor Legislation at 131 East 23rd Street, New York City.

Alimony—What and When?

SEPARATION with support, where the husband renders life together intolerable, is as old probably as the British and American system of marriage, and though the separated woman's social position was not generally enviable, the common law gave recognition to what is called "divorce from board and bed" (*a mensa et thoro*). Separation of this sort is no break in the marriage relation, reconciliation and a return to the husband's domicile is always possible, and consistently with the theory that the marriage still exists, the husband's common law liability for necessities continues throughout the separation. Absolute divorce "from the bond of matrimony" (*a vinculo matrimonii*) is a contribution of statutory law—it is indeed referred to by one authority as a largely American contribution to the law of the Anglo-Saxon nations—and it presupposes a complete breaking off of the married state, with its common law obligations. That being the case, a complex property relation created by marriage, has to be readjusted. The wife has often, not as in the old days handed over her separate property to the husband, but has put it in greater or less degree in his control. She has often exchanged her independent economic status for that of a housekeeper in her husband's home, working, in the old phrase, "on mutual terms" without pay. It may take her some time to get on her own feet financially; perhaps she may never regain her position, especially if she has children to take care of. For these reasons alimony is awarded in suitable cases of absolute divorce. It is regarded by some authorities as a property readjustment, by others as a continuation of the husband's liability for support.

In the statutes touching alimony in absolute divorce, special attention is sometimes given to such details as division of common property or restoration of separate property, methods of making payments for support (alimony proper) adjustment of inheritance rights. The statutes of most states are, however, simple; they direct that the judge shall give alimony "at discretion" the assumption being that all the wife gave to the marriage she takes away with her *plus* alimony to the extent of whatever the judge thinks necessary to eke out her support. The tendency of decisions since the wife's separate property rights have been safeguarded by legislation in recent years, is to give alimony only in those cases where she has no or insufficient separate property.

Curiously enough alimony is the only income connected with marriage which is not left to the husband's decision, but which guarantees a set amount in the wife's own control for her to live on.

ASIDE from what we may think of the fundamental principle on which alimony is based, in actual practice it presents certain problems. One of these is the amount. In theory the judge fits the amount of alimony to the circumstances of the husband and the standard of living of the family, and where the wrong was great he may add something to this as compensation for the suffering of the wife. Not all decisions are equally just. We hear of wives who get \$7 a week out of a husband's income from \$30,000 worth of property; we hear of husbands bled of most of their earnings by the large alimony the court requires of them. It has been suggested that for these and for cases of changing income alimony should be put on a more flexible basis so that the amount could be adjusted better to fit the husband's income and other responsibilities, or the wife's need, which might change with sickness or health and with the passage of her children from childhood to maturity. One case at least is on record where the court decided that it had no authority to remit alimony even after the husband was growing old and all the children who were

with their mother had grown old enough to be contributing to her support. The flexible basis above suggested would have made such a decision impossible.

The biggest problem connected with alimony is the problem of collecting it, for the divorced husband in many cases, some lawyers say in the majority of cases, does not pay. In some cases he makes off and leaves no trace. Only a short time ago the newspapers carried an item about a wife whose alimony had fallen in arrears many years, and who had just succeeded in running her former husband down.

This is a problem bigger than alimony, bigger than divorce; it is part of the problem of the family deserter with whom neither local police nor state extradition laws have yet been able to cope. Some alimony laws provide that security shall be furnished, some that certain properties shall be set aside for the divorced wife, but even this does not help where alimony is paid out of earnings, and the husband has no property.

ONE common complaint is that alimony is a one-sided affair, that the wronged husband does not have this right. It is said also that though many women may have just cause for divorce and legitimate need may force them to claim alimony, there are others who bring their troubles on themselves and in some of these cases alimony is a form of exploitation. Courts and lawmakers are already to some extent taking cognizance of this side of the story. Sometimes alimony is refused where the technically wronged wife is to a great extent the cause of her own troubles. I find a case which goes back at least as far as the nineties where the court decreed that "if it appears that the wife was the chief cause of family dissensions and pursued a course of petty annoyances to harass and distract the husband, no alimony is to be paid."

A recent press item tells of a lawyer of Dallas, Texas, who would go farther; who says that right or wrong, women who now claim equality under the Nineteenth Amendment have no right to claim alimony and who is fighting a case on the ground that an award would be discriminatory.

Though this interpretation of equality is not and may never be accepted, almost a third of the states have some provision in regard to alimony for a divorcing husband, or throw some safeguards about the property of a defendant husband. Often a husband puts some part, sometimes a large part, of his property in his wife's name. For such cases: Connecticut* (1) provides that if the divorce is for the wife's fault property given her by him shall revert to him; Indiana and Rhode Island, that in like case, though the husband may not have alimony during the divorced wife's life, he shall inherit from her as though there had been no divorce. Maine has a somewhat similar provision. Ten states allow an aggrieved husband alimony, three of these specifying that it shall be given in case there are children left him to support. Some of the community-property states make provisions to protect the separate property of either spouse as far as possible, and Arkansas provides that the husband's separate property shall be restored to him. Undoubtedly in many other states where statutes are not so explicit, the discretion of the judge makes it possible to safeguard a husband financially on divorce.

Often alimony is not decreed if the divorce is for the wife's fault, though a few state laws provide that it may be and in general this is a matter left for the judge's wide discretion.

M. S. B.

* This and the states named hereafter taken from the digest of property rights laws prepared by the Uniform Laws Committee of the League of Women Voters.

The Movies

(Continued from page 976)

exhibitor says, "my audience doesn't want that kind of pictures." As a matter of fact some authorities go so far as to say the average exhibitor really would give anything to know the real thoughts of the majority of his audience. You don't tell him! You women go to his theatre, you are sixty per cent of his audience, you come again and again and he is only human and draws a perfectly natural conclusion, that you like the pictures he is showing whether they are good, bad or indifferent.

If a good-sized majority of you, or what looked like it, went to him and said, "We dislike that type of picture," he'd change his presentations in a jiffy because he is a sound business man and can't make his great investment pay only by getting you to come to his theatre to see the sort of pictures you want. Furthermore, he is as a general thing paying some one of his staff to try and pry you loose from an honest expression.

There is a lot of talk right now about "betterment" of motion pictures. Some folks are rushing about and saying "something must be done." What do you women, you sixty per cent of all motion picture audiences want? It is quite as simple to make what you want and will pay your money to see as what you don't want or you may find objectionable. Only—you have got to tell the exhibitor—your exhibitor, not a committee that goes here and there and talks "betterment" without being specific. Exhibitors regard—and naturally—such groups as merely spreading propaganda. It is up to you women, you sixty per cent, who say to your own exhibitor, just as you do to your grocer, or your butcher, "I don't like that type of picture you showed tonight because, etc., etc.," or "such and such a picture as you showed tonight is the type I like." That's specific. He can tie up to that, and if enough of you say it, being specific, you will stop buying crackers out of a barrel, you will stop seeing just pictures; you'll see the type of pictures you want to see.

ALL this talk of censorship is beside the issue. It merely creates fat jobs for politicians and you pay for it. You women, you sixty per cent, working directly on your own exhibitors, the exhibitors you yourselves patronize week after week, are all the censors needed. The box-office is the greatest little censor ever devised.

When you women wanted to vote you got yourselves together and went after it. Where—on street corners? Yes, to some extent, but you settled down to a definite persistent attack on Dad, Brother, Jim, Uncle, Tom and male neighbors. All you women did. You started after a time—right. You started at home. You wanted "betterment" of woman's civil status and when you started on the folks at home you got there and got there in a hurry.

All right, why isn't the plan just as logical now? Everyone of you vote no to all talk of censor business with its galaxy of fancy salaries you pay ultimately and that doesn't ever work, and start right now, tonight every one of you women, you sixty per cent. Learn the name of your theatre manager, have him pointed out to you, ask for him, and tell him what you liked and didn't like on that specific program. Say, ladies—take this fact from "us" who know, you'll censor, or "better" or do any old thing you want to do to the movies in thirty days and it won't need national, state, or city censors with their terrible financial burden on you to do it. You'll do all the censoring this thriving infant industry needs.

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NEW YORK

What Women Can Do With Motion Pictures

Mrs. Woodallen Chapman

Chairman of Motion Pictures, General Federation of Women's Clubs

A CLARION CALL comes ringing to the women of our land. "Awaken, women of America! A mighty instrument for the upbuilding of the nation lies ready to your hand. Rise up and use this power for the welfare of your country."

To this call the women are already responding, eagerly asking to be shown how their activities may be most effectively directed.

In the days gone by, when woman stood timorously beside the stream of life, apprehensively watching its swirling current, fearful lest some sudden eddy should bring danger to her loved ones or her home, her attitude was naturally defensive. With a negative attitude of mind, she naturally felt that whatever possessed possibilities of harm should be combatted, censored, suppressed.

Today woman is in the very swirl of the life-stream, realizing more and more every day that by the use of her own God-given powers she can make its currents subservient to her own definite ends. With this, positive, constructive attitude of mind she is beginning to see that the force of motion pictures is not something to be feared by her but something which she can use.

That there is danger from the misuse of motion pictures, no thinking person can deny. That there have been many pictures which contained much that was harmful to the unfolding mind of the child must be admitted. But the remedy for all of these ills rests in the hands of the people, because it is the people who make the success or failure of every motion picture ever produced.

AND who are the people?

Why, you and I—and our friends and neighbors.

It is in our hands that the whole matter rests. The vital question is, Are we aware of our power and are we making definite use of it?

The General Federation of Women's Clubs has awakened to the need for a definite plan of action which will have for its aim the using of motion pictures for the formation of right character and the upbuilding of the nation's life.

The qualities which have made the wrong kind of motion picture so much to be dreaded are the very qualities which will make the right kind of motion picture a wonderful power for good. All we need to do is to see to it that enough of the right kind of pictures are made and given wide circulation so that the undesirable ones will be driven out of existence.

We believe that this can be done through the active cooperation of all who have the welfare of the community and the nation at heart—and we are convinced that in this classification will be found the producers and exhibitors of motion pictures themselves.

The place to begin this active cooperation is in the local community.

The plan is a very simple one. The first step is for the local club or clubs to appoint a Chairman of Motion Pictures whose first duty it will be to become personally acquainted with the owner of the local motion picture theatre (or owners, if there is more than one theatre). She should approach him, not as one who has come to tell him how to run his business, but as a member of the community who appreciates the service he is rendering by furnishing needed entertainment. She should be a woman who has a real appreciation of motion pictures and who can, therefore, make him feel that she is really his friend.

Her next duty is to arouse the clubwomen and the other good people of the community to their responsibility in this matter. They are not helping the cause of good motion pictures when

they sit back and by hearsay criticize the "perfectly terrible" pictures that are being shown at "the movies." It is their place to GO to the motion pictures, see with their own eyes what is being put on from week to week, and then use their critical faculty constructively, not destructively.

They should go with the intention of seeing everything good and of expressing their appreciation of it. More than that, they should make it their business to hunt up the proprietor, or some one connected with the theatre, and *express* their appreciation, telling him that it is their purpose to tell all their friends of this splendid picture. It is in this manner that they will be able to make the exhibitor feel that he is recognized as a vital part of the community and that he has friends whose commendation he would like to continue to earn.

AFTER a cordial relationship of this kind has been established, if an undesirable picture is thrown on the screen, then let the Motion Picture Chairman go to him as his friend and tell him that the women could not approve of this particular picture. She cannot ask them to come—indeed, it would be inadvisable to have them because they would have to condemn the picture and tell their friends to stay away. Her words will now carry weight, because she and her friends have already shown a desire to help him make a success of his business.

Even an exhibitor who has been in the habit of running the poorer class of pictures could be educated in this manner to put on a better type. Why has he presented the "thrillers," the pictures of crime and violence? Because his patrons have seemed to desire them. But suppose now the better class of people begin to attend his theatre and commend whatever they see that is good, with an occasional criticism of the other kind. He will at once try to satisfy this better class of patronage, and thus in time the whole character of his place may be changed.

The women may further aid the local exhibitor by learning the names of the very best pictures being produced and put in a request for some of these. The local exhibitor can just as well get a later run of these pictures as to put on the earlier run of the cheaper pictures, and he will do so if he feels that the community will patronize the better pictures in larger numbers.

Moreover, this plan has a wider bearing upon the question at issue than might at first appear. As the demands from the theatres change in character, so will the productions change. After all, it is money that talks, and if good pictures are made a financial success, good pictures will be produced in increasing numbers.

THIS is a form of local democratic censorship that should appeal to everyone, because each one can feel that he and she is having a part in the great work of making motion pictures contribute to the better side of the nation's life.

Still more definitely may motion pictures be used for a great purpose in the field of education. We are just beginning to glimpse the wonderful things that may be done through the use of the truly educational motion picture. Here, also, is there great need for the active cooperation of the women.

Before this work can be carried forward to any great degree, many real educational motion pictures must be produced—pictures that are made for classroom work, with an understanding of the child's needs and the best way of using the motion picture to meet those needs. But they cannot be made in any great

numbers until such a demand has been created for them as shall induce producers to invest their money, feeling sure that they will be able to receive adequate return for their efforts.

This means educating the general public to a realization of the work that may be done by such motion pictures, so that they will be willing to have a greater proportion of the school funds appropriated for this form of visual instruction.

IN this work also women can play an important part. They can talk with the school authorities and show them the latest printed word upon that subject. In New York City, a Visual Instruction Association has been formed to assist the Director of Visual Instruction to put motion pictures into the school curriculum, and a similar step might easily be taken in smaller communities.

Then a public exhibition could be given of the very best educational motion pictures yet made. They cannot be secured from the theatrical exchanges, but their names can be supplied upon request. Having already established cordial relations with their local exhibitor, the women will probably have no difficulty in securing the use of his theatre without charge for a morning exhibition to which the school authorities and the parents together with the children may be invited.

One such exhibition will do more to convince people of the effectiveness of motion pictures as a means of instruction than six months or a year of talking about it.

With minds awake to their opportunities, the women will discover that they can make motion pictures a vital factor in character and nation building.

New York Drama League

(Continued from page 978)

auditoriums, planning programs for pageants and giving facts relating to community drama material.

All this information—for which the rebuilding of the American theatre calls—is accurately and promptly furnished. Experts are employed to prepare play lists for publication. A special director and office force is in charge of locating, gathering, and classifying information and materials, and of bringing the existence of this clearing house to the attention of groups in need of its services. Such services are rendered free to Little Theatre members of the League.

All members of the New York Drama League, except Calendar Members, also receive the *Theatre Arts Magazine*, the acknowledged art magazine of the theatre and the drama. This handsomely illustrated brochure on the progress of the theatre of the world expresses the best thought of the men and women who are making over our playhouses, plays and settings. It is the only publication in the world that occupies itself solely with the aesthetic side of the theatre and the drama. It is the spokesman for the new movement in the theatre. The New York Drama League, by increasing the public for this magazine, is increasing the audience for the work of all artists in the theatre. It is, moreover, by its enthusiasm and its leadership, furnishing the inspiration to the younger artists and craftsmen to enter the field. Before the war spoiled the use of the word "clearing-house" by tying it up to strange enterprises, it used to be said that the New York Drama League was a clearing-house of information and inspiration for the drama and that is, in fact, what it remains.

THE *Woman Citizen* will follow this article by two others concerning the impulses fostered by the Drama League. One will cover the Little Theatre movement, the other, the work for children's matinee performances.—Ed.

Do you know there is now an eighth Fine Art?

Combining the glories of painting, fit to hang in any art gallery—of drama more thrilling than any ever seen within the four walls of a theater—of the greatest novels, narratives and brilliant translations—of all life and all humanity.

REV. JOHN T. WILDS

(Pastor, Seventh Presbyterian Church, 134 Broome St., New York)

"A perfect play, perfectly played, and perfectly presented. I am truly grateful to the dear Lord that He has so led you in your work that you are doing great good."

REV. LINCOLN H. CASWELL

(Pastor, Lincoln Memorial Methodist Episcopal Church, New York)

Rev. Caswell delivered a lecture on "Way Down East" from the pulpit of his church on Saturday and Sunday, Oct. 30 and 31, 1920, illustrated with seventy lantern slides from the Griffith production.

REV. ROBERT T. TUMBELSTON

(Pastor, Chellen Avenue Baptist Church, Germantown, Philadelphia)

"You have presented in a typically Griffith way, an old, yet ever fetching story of high idealism. There is much to sweeten and inspire life in this production. I would not in any manner hesitate to give it my full endorsement."

CHARLES HANSON TOWNE

(Editor *McClure's Magazine*)

"I do not remember ever to have been so thrilled in a theatre. I congratulate the public."

JOHN BARRYMORE

(America's Distinguished Actor)

"It is the most superlatively exquisite and enchainning thing I have ever seen in my life."

CHARLES DANA GIBSON

(Artist and Art Critic)

"Ever since seeing 'Way Down East' for the second time, I have wanted to write and congratulate you on this magnificent production. You certainly have put moving pictures AMONG THE FINE ARTS."

ALISON SMITH

(Critic, *New York Eve. Globe*)

"Most amazing spectacle ever seen on sea or land or moving picture screen. Brought the audience to its feet."

NEW YORK EVENING MAIL

(September 4, 1920)

"A thrill the like of which has not been felt since the Clansmen rode over the hills in 'The Birth of a Nation.' Pandemonium broke loose. The theatre resounded to cheers, whistles and yells of delight."

NEW YORK HERALD

(September 4, 1920)

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The Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course Inside Stories About the Federal Departments

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 7, 1921.

WATCHING the rise and fall of public opinion as to whether or not there will be a woman in the new cabinet is a favorite Washington diversion these days. Just now the tide seems at its lowest ebb, but where it will be tomorrow is uncertain.

Pressed for reasons as to why the suggestion of a woman for the cabinet seems to have been abandoned, leading Republicans say that the women themselves will be better satisfied by delay, that women have been enfranchised such a brief time that there has not yet been developed the woman who is qualified pre-eminently by a national reputation, by leadership of other women and ability to manage a department. The impression seems current that there are not enough positions to take care of the men who are cabinet material and that therefore women must continue to wait in patience.

Senator Curtis of Kansas, Republican whip in the Senate, says, "I hope that the plan for a department of social welfare will be included in the department revision which ought to be completed within the next two years. The object of that department, grouping the activities which are closest to the hearts of women, is of course partly designed to place a woman in the cabinet. If the entire revision of the departments is not to be completed within the two years, I should be in favor of pushing the separate bill for the establishment of the social welfare department."

Which might indicate the appointment of a woman in the cabinet by the time at least of the next congressional elections.

Representative Fess of Ohio, chairman of the Republican congressional campaign committee, says, "I regard it as extremely unlikely that a woman will be appointed to the cabinet in the new administration. If the department of social welfare is created I believe that it is possible but not probable that its head will be a woman."

HOW generous the incoming administration will be appointing women to other positions is another question of interest especially at this time. Previous to the last two administrations, Miss Julia Lathrop was the only statutory federal appointee. In addition to Miss Lathrop, the other women now serving in federal positions, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate are Mrs. Annette Abbott Adams, assistant attorney general; Mrs.

A Woman and the Cabinet

From the Woman Citizen's Washington Bureau

Helen Gardener, whose appointment to the National Civil Service Commission seemed especially logical to the members of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, whose "diplomatic corps" she has been for so long in Washington; Mrs. Frances Axtell, commissioner of federal compensation; Miss Mary Anderson, chief of the Woman's Bureau, Department of Labor. Then there are the three women federal appointees in the District of Columbia, Miss Mabel Boardman, District commissioner; Mrs. Clara Sears Taylor, of the rent commission and Judge Kathryn Sellers of the juvenile court.

FOR the figures of that large army of women whose individual service to the government in its various departments is less well known, the *Woman Citizen* is indebted to Mrs. Gardener. She says, "In the District of Columbia there are approximately 85,000 civil service employees at the present time, 50% of whom are women and 50% men. Outside the District there are 565,000 civil service employees, 113,000 women and 452,000 men, a proportion of 20% to 80%. This great difference in percentage is due to the fact that there are included the railway mail service, the city and rural postal carriers' services, the Panama Canal service and the mechanical force at navy yards, arsenals, etc."

There is a constantly increasing number of women who are winning recognition in executive appointments in the bureaus, although most of them are in the position outlined by Mrs. Adams, assistant attorney-general, in these words, "It is surprising how many men in important positions in Washington and elsewhere speak of women in their offices whose work is vital to their own. I always ask these men how much money they are paying and how much credit they are giving to these women."

The history of Mrs. Adams, admitted to the California bar in 1912, appointed assistant attorney general in 1920, is one of the most romantic stories of women in official life today.

"At first," she says, "I thought it dreadful

to admit a lack of information on any topic and so I would sit up all night working out information for which I should have just walked up and asked the clerk of the court. When I found that men attorneys did not pretend to know the whole field of law and were perfectly frank in asking questions, I began to do so too. It seemed as though the least generally understood part of the practise was that relating to the federal courts and I early decided to specialize in that. In 1914 there was a vacancy in the United States' attorneyship in California. Previously there had been three assistants in the office but the new attorney, Mr. Preston, decided that the work required four assistants. He applied to the United States Attorney and received sanction for the fourth assistant. He sent in the names of three men and myself and immediately the Attorney General granted the three other appointments and cancelled the fourth position. Mr. Preston is what you might call a direct actionist. He required that one of the three men resign and appointed me in his stead, but the approval of my appointment was refused. From January until April the discussion raged and then the man who had resigned for me was appointed. In September when Mr. Gregory was made attorney general, the question was renewed and I was finally appointed in September at a salary of \$1,800, the cheapest assistant the office had. Later there were salary increases and I was given a great deal of work which familiarized me with the scope of the court. Finally, Mr. Preston was obliged to go to the hospital with a case pending against the German consul. He left it in my hands and I assure you that with leading counsel ranged against me the contest seemed most unequal. The pleadings were fought through to the highest court but I won a conviction.

"When Mr. Preston was detailed to special war work in 1918, he wanted me as his assistant, but I said that it was United States Attorney or nothing. He said that women would not work under a woman, but I reminded him that the same thing had been said when I was made a high school principal and I had proved that it was not true.

"Finally I was given the position and two years later came the appointment as assistant attorney general. The special work assigned

(Continued on page 990)

The End of the Leser et al. Trial

THE place was the Court of Common Pleas in Baltimore, Maryland, Judge Heusler presiding. The plaintiff was mostly Mr. Everett Wheeler. Several persons present have sent the WOMAN CITIZEN their impressions of the scene. One report from Mrs. William M. Maloy of the League of Women Voters, gives some running comments on the personnel of the group who instituted suit.

"Mr. William L. Marbury, noted for many anti-suffrage utterances in the past, led the 'gal-lant and brave'—I quote from one of his speeches in court—'little band of irreconcilables,'" writes Mrs. Maloy. "In the legal engagement, which lasted four full days, Mr. Marbury laid the first barrage, and in my judgment, endeavored to conceal, by a smoke screen of irrelevancies, the real issue in the case.

"ASSISTING 'General Marbury' at the trial table was Senator George Arnold Frick, who led the Committee from the Maryland Legislature, and who, although he considered it presumptuous for a member of the President's Cabinet to write letters to Maryland legislators urging ratification of the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment, nevertheless went blithely forth to West Virginia and Tennessee, and, in imitation of King Canute, commanded the irresistible tide of woman suffrage to roll back.

"Respect for old age prohibits comment on the efforts of the venerable Everett Wheeler (another of Mr. Marbury's assistants) who, forgetful of its former fate, filed with the Judge the same brief that he had so confidently presented in the Fairchild Farce (now catalogued as a legal curiosity).

"Last, but not least of the doughty knights who entered the lists in behalf of a cause which was lost before they arose to fight, was Thomas Cadwalader, who, during his argument, in which he attempted to prove that the Nineteenth Amendment and the methods by which it became a part of the Constitution were all wrong, startled the Court and his audience by declaring, among other things, that the 'Parliament of England has existed for 2000 years', and that the 'right of male suffrage had been handed down to us by our posterity'. Aside from these historical discoveries and astounding revelations respecting the origin of male suffrage, this bright young advocate of the doctrine that 'women's place is in the home', contributed nothing more to enlighten the Court than had already been said when the Susan B. Anthony

SURE that our readers would not be able to survive the suspense if we printed anything much in advance of the court's final decision, the WOMAN CITIZEN's editors have forborne until now to let into its pages so much as a hint of the dire challenge to the 19th Amendment recently staged in Baltimore. Now, however, that the end has come, we venture to set forth the tale, which is passing into history as the Leser et al Case.

In order that the case may be clear from the beginning, it must be borne in mind that Mr. Wheeler and his confrères object to Article V of the Constitution of the United States of America. They want the power conferred in that article limited to accord with their own particular and peculiar interpretation. The power conferred is the amending power, the power given to Congress to amend the Constitution whenever it was found not to fit life under life's changing conditions. Our forefathers sometimes seem fairly static in retrospect but they were not half static enough to suit Mr. Wheeler. They provided for change, but he is sure they didn't mean to do it, and should not be understood as having done it. The Court of Common Pleas of Maryland does not agree with him. Mr. Wheeler, it is announced, will carry his contention to the Court of Appeals and thence to the U. S. Supreme Court. That is what tenacity of purpose means in the octogenarian who is a reactionary as well. It will also mean another chance to laugh.

See the court's decision given below.

Amendment was first submitted to Congress.

"The case, in which an order was prayed to strike from the registration books of the Seventh precinct of the eleventh ward of Baltimore City the name of a certain white woman and that of a certain colored woman (the real object being to set aside the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution) was ably defended by the Assistant Attorney General of Maryland, Hon. J. Lindsay Spencer.

"By courtesy of the Attorney General's office, the Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore, of which Mrs. Charles E. Ellicott was for many years the president, and of which Miss Caroline E. Roberts is now the president, also had its

attorneys at the trial table. Mr. George Moore Brady and Mr. Roger Howell, shared honors in arguing for the defense, as did also Judge Jacob M. Moses, for many years one of the trustees of the Elizabeth King Ellicott suffrage fund, which to a great extent enabled Maryland suffragists to carry on the stubborn fight for the political emancipation of our women."

EVEN the Baltimore Sun, ancient enemy of woman suffrage, couldn't take the matter seriously. From Mr. Raymond Tompkins, its special correspondent, we quote: "The nation as a whole was taking woman suffrage for granted. Hardly anybody in the United States knew that in Baltimore men were invoking the judicial power of the United States Government to take away the vote from American women, in so far as the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution had given it to them."

Thus does Mr. Tompkins take note of Mr. Marbury: "Last week Mr. Marbury was at his best. You wished he had had a rock instead of a chair to sit on; Rodin would have embraced and kissed him. And when he knit his brows you wished his finesse at knitting had been used on some of the home-made socks folks sent to the boys in France." And pays this tribute to Mr. Frick: "And George Arnold Frick in Baltimore's best known longtailed coat, expounding the law—there was another story the reporters grudgingly passed over. Newspaper men see many impressive things but seldom anything more impressive than Mr. Frick crying:

"This Constitution—the greatest instrument ever struck off by the hand of man!"

Finally Mr. Tompkins relates that the newspaper men came away "from this historic court proceeding, convinced that for once they had seen and heard humanity engaged in a task noble enough to preclude rebuke, ridicule or criticism. The trouble was that, in trying to separate sublimity from low comedy when they sat down to write, they found that the only really sublime thing about it all was that, no matter which way Judge Heusler or anybody else decides, the whole case will have to go to the Supreme Court of the United States."

The Decision

"TO resume and conclude, the Court is of opinion that the power to amend the Constitution of the United States granted by the Fifth Article thereof is without limit except as to the words, "equal suffrage in the Senate,"

(Continued on page 990)

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The First Woman Doctor

By A. S. B.

FEBRUARY 6th was the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Elizabeth Blackwell, the first woman to take a medical degree.

Elizabeth was born in Bristol, England. Her father, a sugar-refiner, emigrated with his family to the United States in 1832 and carried on his business in New York. Six years later he moved to Cincinnati, O., partly with the hope of introducing the manufacture of beet sugar, and thus indirectly striking a blow at Negro slavery by making the slave-grown cane sugar unprofitable. But he died soon after reaching Cincinnati, leaving a widow and nine children dependent on their own efforts.

The mother and the older daughters opened a little school. If at any time the pupils under the mother's care waxed unruly, it was only necessary to call in Elizabeth, then a girl of seventeen. She would walk around the room and look at them, without a word, and they all became as quiet as mice. Her force of character made itself felt instinctively.

Later she taught a district school in Henderson, Kentucky, also taking private pupils in music and languages. She was a successful teacher, and received much social attention, but the frivolous character of the young men she met did not attract her. In a letter home, replying to a suggestion that she might marry in Henderson, she wrote: "I cannot find my other half here, but only about a sixth, which would not do."

She was first led to think of studying medi-

cine by the case of a woman friend, who died of an illness the nature of which made it very distressing to her to take treatment from a male physician. She said to Elizabeth: "If I could have been treated by a lady doctor, my worst sufferings would have been spared me." In addition, Elizabeth was always falling in love, but on a closer acquaintance always got over it. In her autobiography, "Pioneer Work for Women," she says that she felt the need of some absorbing study to take up her mind and guard her against these futile attachments.

She wrote to consult several physicians and other persons of influence. She says: "The answers were curiously unanimous. They all replied to the effect that the idea was a good one, but that it was impossible to accomplish it."

Elizabeth, however, was not easily discouraged. In 1845, she went to teach in a school at Asheville, North Carolina, kept by a Rev. John Dickinson, who had been a doctor. Here she studied medicine under him in the intervals of her teaching. Later, Dr. Samuel H. Dickinson, a distinguished physician and a professor in the Medical College of Charleston, South Carolina, got her a position as music teacher in Mrs. Du Pre's boarding school in that city, and himself directed her medical studies in her spare hours.

IN 1847 she went to Philadelphia with her small savings, studied anatomy under Dr. Allen, and applied for admission to each of the four medical schools of that city, in vain. Dr. Pankhurst, professor of surgery at the largest college in Philadelphia, offered to admit her to his classes, but only on condition that she would disguise herself as a man. This she refused to do. Having applied, also in vain, to the large medical schools of New York, she wrote to twelve of the country colleges, including Geneva University (now Hobart College). Dr. Stephen Smith, who was a member of that year's medical class at Geneva, has published an account of her application there. He says the faculty did not wish to receive her. They referred the question to the class, with a proviso that if a single student objected, she should not be admitted. The class consists of about 150 young men. Dr. Smith says:

"They were rude, boisterous and riotous beyond comparison. On several occasions the neighbors sent written protests to the faculty, threatening to have the college indicted as a nuisance if the disturbance did not cease. During lectures it was often almost impossible to hear the professors."

Of Elizabeth's application, Dr. Smith says:

"The whole affair assumed the most ludicrous aspect to the class, and the announcement was

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received with the most uproarious demonstrations of favor. A meeting was called for the evening, which was attended by every member. The resolution approving the admission of the lady was sustained by a number of the most extravagant speeches, which were enthusiastically cheered. The vote was finally taken with what seemed to be one unanimous yell 'Yea!' When the negative was called a single voice was heard uttering a timid 'No.' The scene that followed passes description. A general rush was made for the corner of the room which emitted the voice, and the recalcitrant member was only too glad to record his vote in the affirmative.

"Two weeks or more elapsed, the incident was quite forgotten, and the class continued in its riotous career. One morning, all unexpectedly, a lady entered the lecture room with the professor. She was quite small of stature, plainly dressed, appeared diffident and retiring, but had a firm and determined expression of face. Her entrance into the Bedlam of confusion acted like magic upon every student. Each hurriedly sought his seat, and the most absolute silence prevailed. For the first time, a lecture was given without the slightest interruption. The sudden transformation of this class from a band of lawless desperadoes to gentlemen, by the mere presence of a lady, proved to be permanent. A more orderly class of medical students was never seen, to the close of the term."

ELIZABETH soon won the respect and good will of professors and students, but she was ostracized by Geneva society. The general belief was that she must be either a bad character or a lunatic. A doctor's wife at her boarding house refused to speak to her. Women passing her on the streets held their skirts aside. The press commented humorously on the phenomenon of a girl studying medicine. The Baltimore Sun said she should confine her practice to diseases of the heart.

During the summer vacation she studied in the women's department of the great Blockley Almshouse in Philadelphia. The head physician, Dr. Benedict, showed her much good will, but when she walked into any ward, the young resident physicians walked out. They even ceased to write the diagnosis and directions for treatment on the card at the head of each bed, wishing to afford her no information. But she managed to learn a great deal.

At the almshouse the consequences of the social evil were for the first time strongly brought to her attention. She wrote to her sister:

"So help me God, I will not be blind, indifferent or stupid in relation to this matter, as are most women. The world can never be redeemed till this central relation of life is placed on a truer footing."

Elizabeth graduated in 1849 at the head of her class. All the surrounding country turned out to see her take her degree. A trifling fact shows how different the ideas even of the most advanced women in those days were from ours, in matters of etiquette. Dr. Webster, the Professor of Anatomy, wanted her to march with the other students when they went in procession to the commencement exercises, but she refused on the ground that it would not be ladylike!

Later, Dr. Elizabeth studied in London and Paris, receiving much kindness from many distinguished physicians, and making valued friends. Among them was Florence Nightingale, then a young woman living at home. She used to come and sit in Dr. Elizabeth's little room and talk to her about her own great wish to study medicine, which at that time seemed impossible.

In 1851 Dr. Elizabeth returned to New York and began to practise. Socially she was almost ostracized. She had difficulty in renting a respectable consulting room, and had to buy a house.

Being shut out from the hospitals and dispensaries, she started a little dispensary of her own, and in 1857, with her younger sister, Dr. Emily Blackwell, and Dr. Marie Zakrzewska, founded the New York Infirmary for Women and Children. This was the first hospital conducted wholly by women.

It met with strong opposition. In Dr. Elizabeth's words: "A host of objections were raised by those whom the early friends of the institution tried to interest in their effort. They were told that no one would let a house for the purpose; that female doctors would be looked upon with so much suspicion that the police would interfere, that if deaths occurred their death certificates would not be recognized, that they would be resorted to by persons whom it would be an insult to be called upon to deal with, that they would be unable to control the patients, that if any accident occurred, not only the medical profession but the public would blame the trustees for supporting such an undertaking, and, finally, that they would never be able to collect money for so unpopular an effort."

All these predictions proved groundless. The poor people welcomed the women doctors gladly, from the first. The institution secured a fine

(Continued on page 990)



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The Book Stall

Careers for Women

WHEN is a career not a career? Why, when it is a good old-fashioned occupation.

But no modest violet, if there is any, looking for a quiet corner in which to earn her living need turn away from *Careers for Women*, edited by Catherine Filene and published by Houghton Mifflin Co. If she does but open this fat volume she will find little as well as big "careers" spread out before her in bewildering array, each vouched for by a woman who has turned the trick herself. Not only that, but each writer has been tempted into the most searching self-scrutiny as the exact scope of her task, the ideal preparation for it, the financial return it offers and its advantages and disadvantages. Thus the beekeeper writes that the advantages are the out-of-door life and the interest and variety of the occupation. "The disadvantages are the heavy lifting and bee stings." Well, to be sure!

A mere glance at the index lures one on to thoughts of all the vast affairs of men into which women are pressing. It is no longer "the butcher, the baker, the candle-stick maker" but the banker, the advertiser, the factory inspector, the motion picture director and the "foreign trade representative," and women are all of these. Several of the writers are so strictly pioneers that they know of only one or two other women doing similar work.

The monograph method of presenting vocational information is not new. In fact one might almost call it antiquated, if one were not sharply reminded that the whole subject, as far as women's colleges are concerned, is barely a decade old. "Vocations for the Trained Woman," published by the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, Boston, in 1910, was for many years thereafter the standard and only manual for the vocational advisor of women who did not wish to teach. It gave the personal experiences of a carefully selected group of representative women in much the same form as that used in this new volume. Naturally the later book includes many types of work which women had but rarely attempted ten years ago. It is comprehensive, fairly well balanced, and many of the subjects are adequately covered. Within

the strict limitations of space each picture is vivid. Ah, there's the rub! One feels like a little girl at a church fair, running from table to table clutching a precious quarter and longing "for this, and this, and this!" Each "job" is so alluring, each so different.

THIS, then, is our chief quarrel with the continued use of the monograph method. It assumes powers of perspective that the average undergraduate and even her vocational advisor cannot claim. Only a person with very wide contacts in life will be conscious of the qualifying facts that lie all around and beyond the rosy-colored statements of the "Successful." When a museum director gives a salary range of from \$2,000 to \$6,000 per year and adds that "There are positions open to the college graduate in all departments of museum work," one does well to investigate the total number of museums in the country, as compared with public libraries for example, and to bear in mind the limited facilities for getting the training through experience which a director must have before she can direct.

One place where Miss Filene's method seems to have proved inadequate is in the field of interior decorating. The women of this profession have arisen in arms because the subject is dealt with summarily. This is among the older art professions where women have labored long and with marked success. The monograph in "Careers for Women" is brief and scarcely touches the high spots.

Take, for another example, the highly important subject of legal training. We find seven articles devoted to it, each written by a woman of outstanding achievement in her field of the subject. Five of the seven may be said to be practicing law, including, of course, Judge Norris, the only woman magistrate in New York State. One is an assistant district attorney, of whom there are known to be only four in the United States. Two are specializing in corporation and patent law, respectively, the latter requiring a thorough technical course in engi-

neering in addition to the study of law. Of the two who are not practicing one is a coroner, in which the study of law is not a prerequisite, and the other is editing legal documents. If we stopped here certainly our view of the field would be based on a brilliant group of exceptions. Fortunately in the interest of the perspective which we are seeking, Miss Straus, in her very able paper, has gone beyond her personal experience and has presented general facts that give an entirely new setting to the subject. She states that the total number of women admitted to practice law in the United States in the period from 1872 to March, 1920, was 1,599 and estimates that less than half are actually practicing. Even allowing for marriage what has become of the 750? The Bureau of Vocational Information, (New York) has light to throw on this point from records secured recently from about three hundred women lawyers. The tale of slow, discouraging effort to get a start is repeated again and again. One girl waited fourteen months for her first chance to enter a law office. Another, after struggling in vain, reluctantly admits that she is "buried in a law library." Miss Straus most fairly points out that this is a pioneer field but the quantitative studies that she draws upon are highly important as part of the evidence in every field and it is these that personal individual experiences do not supply.

PERISH the thought that any ardent Portia should be discouraged from following her Heaven-sent star. If she really be Portia, however, she will insist upon knowing all the facts. She has been taught the value of the scientific method, and the sampling process will not satisfy her. She and her many able and energetic sisters who are facing conditions caused by the changed economic and political status of women to-day will not be discouraged by the mere fact that difficulties are to be met. They are intelligent and ardent and unafraid. For that very reason they should be supplied with comprehensive, detailed, vocational studies more scientific in form and content than any that have yet appeared. These should be illumined by a psychological point of view and should indicate, at least along broad lines, the grouping of occupations according to the temperaments and other characteristics required by each. A sort of "How to Know the Wild Flowers" in the human realm is sorely needed. That it will be out of date almost as soon as published should but prove an incentive to the task.

Does Your Child See Good Movies—or Bad?

Follow the articles by Mrs. Woodallen Chapman, Motion Picture Chairman of G. F. W. C., in EDUCATIONAL FILM MAGAZINE and guide your child to the right pictures. Illustrated reviews in each number. Series began in December. Start with that issue. Special price to women's club members, 75c year. 15c copy. Write NOW, enclosing check or stamps.

EDUCATIONAL FILM MAGAZINE, 1218-B Aeolian Hall, New York

The Junior Cinema Club

A LITTLE girl of eleven ran in one day at teatime to her young stepmother. The child had just returned from her afternoon's walk with the governess to whom her entire care had been confided before her father's remarriage. This afternoon the little girl's cheeks were flushed and she appeared much excited. The stepmother anxiously inquired the cause. "I have just been to the most wonderful moving picture," returned the child, "the most exciting one I ever saw. It was all about a girl from the country who came to town and was very poor. And then one day a man told her that her mother had come to the city to see her and had been taken very sick at a friend's house and that she must go there right away. But it was such a very funny kind of house that he took her to, for as soon as she got there they took away all her clothes and wouldn't let her go to her mother at all and then—" And as the young mother listened horrorstricken the little girl faithfully related all the details of the sordid story.

One can answer, of course, that the child did not realize what she had seen but who can say how soon the clue will be given her as to what that story meant? Few appreciate the vivid and lasting qualities of the visual upon a child's sensitive mind.

The Junior Cinema Club was organized in the spring of 1920 by Mrs. Langdon Geer, Mr. W. Herbert Adams and Mrs. Christopher Wyatt; all of whom were the parents of young children and were thus vitally interested in the existing conditions. The professional end was represented by Mr. Lewis Hooper. The purpose of the Club was to present a series of performances for children at which motion pictures would be shown, chosen from the standpoint of healthy amusement; education and artistry.

The idea of the Junior Cinema Club was at once endorsed by the Council of the Parents League of the City of New York, an organization headed by Mrs. John Henry Hammond for the purpose of "uniting parents in an effort to promote the moral, mental and physical well being of their children by establishing wholesome standards in matters affecting their education, amusements and home life." The Council of the Parents League permitted the Directors of the Junior Cinema Club to send out their announcements under the endorsement of the League, and the President personally recommended it to the attention of the League members. The response, however, was surprisingly small.

THE Broadhurst Theatre—one of the newest and best equipped houses was secured for the Junior Cinema Club and every possible form of cooperation was gladly given them by its courteous manager. The subscriptions, which were \$12, entitled the subscriber to two tickets

One Attempt to Provide Suitable Motion Pictures for Children

Is the average well-to-do New Yorker perfectly willing "to take a chance" on what his children see and hear?

Mrs. Wyatt thinks he is.

to each of the six performances with the privilege of securing an extra single subscription for \$6. At the Box Office the rates were 75 cents for the balcony and \$1.35 for the orchestra.

The Junior Cinema Club opened its season on December 3 and continued for six Friday afternoons and Saturday mornings; the Friday program being repeated at the morning performances. It was at first thought that the Saturday series would be the most popular but strange to say the subscriptions were about equally divided. As Friday afternoon is the drill day for the Knickerbocker Greys—a popular Junior Regiment—a mid-week afternoon had been at first designated, as the fashion for going out of town on Saturdays is so prevailing. But as the Parents League disapproves of any entertainments interrupting the school week the Directors cancelled their first announcements and sent out twenty-five hundred new ones at great additional expense.

That the selective public to whom the invitations were addressed was not already educated up to the need of specialized performances for their children was something which the Directors of the Cinema Club had not appreciated, but despite the fine publicity given their movement by the leading newspapers—which included an editorial in the Tribune—over a thousand dollars was spent in a campaign of education. It was then discovered that it was not what the mothers of New York wanted but what the children wanted that counted for anything. The parents, it seemed, might roughly speaking be divided into three groups: First, those who were convinced that all motion pictures were worthless and that their children must not see any; Second, those who allowed their children to go whenever and wherever they wished and who seemed willing to take the chances; Third, those who appreciated the value of good pictures and who were willing and anxious to pay a little more than the ordinary theatre that their children might see only what was the best. These latter, however, were the minority and represented but five percent of those approached.

The season was commenced with the directors facing a deficit which ran into four figures but which they themselves underwrote, determined to give their idea—which they were sure was a good one—a fair chance. The fea-

ture films shown were *Treasure Island*, *The Mollycoddle*, *Pollyanna*, *What's Your Hurry*, *Alice in Wonderland*, and *My Own United States*—an excellent adaptation of a *Man Without a Country* with Arnold Daly in the title role. *Alice in Wonderland*, which the Directors considered the least good from an artistic standpoint, proved the most popular and drew the largest outside public. One fact that must be squarely faced in any movement of this sort is the impossibility of securing first releases as one must hire films by the day and a one-performance show cannot possibly pay the price that the man pays who runs a continuous daily show. The programs always included one educational film either of travel or plant life with an animal picture and an animated cartoon. The children who came ranged from three years of age to sixteen and it was therefore quite a problem to suit all tastes. It was finally determined to give the shorter films first so that the very little children need not stay through all of the long picture. But it was found that most of them did. The only criticism made of the performances was induced by the first where *Treasure Island* was shown. Two mothers objected to this—one because it was too old and the other because it was too exciting, although she admitted her boy of six had already seen it. In both cases their money was returned to them.

THAT mothers would care to bring children under eight to any pictures was a surprise to the directors and a most complicating factor in the choice of programs.

Through the directors' own efforts the loss of the performances was reduced to a nominal figure. The possibility of giving three more performances on Saturday afternoons at the New Town Hall of the League for Political

(Continued on page 990)

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Citizenship Course

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Are You Keeping Up?
Every Issue of the
WOMAN CITIZEN

The Junior Cinema Club

(Continued from page 989)

Education has been considered but the expense would be such that after sending out a return postcard announcement it has been decided not to continue. In closing the cooperation of the Directors of the League for Political Education must be acknowledged, who permitted announcements of the Junior Cinema Club to be made from the stage at their lecture courses.

The Junior Cinema Club was merely an attempt to gauge the popular demand for better pictures for the children of those parents who are supposed to demand the best but apparently the average well-to-do New Yorker is perfectly willing "to take a chance."

EUPHEMIA VAN RENSSELAER WYATT.

A Woman in the Cabinet

(Continued from page 984)

to me are the cases coming up under the Volstead prohibition, the income tax, the war risk and the federal compensation acts."

WITH the close of one administration it is customary for the assistants and bureau chiefs to submit their resignations to the incoming heads of departments. Whether or not some of these women will be continued as has been the case with Miss Lathrop through Republican and Democratic administrations, it is too soon to predict.

But certain it is that the eyes of women all over the country are turned toward Washington as they have never been before, watching for the appointment of women, not as women, but as especially qualified for the work to be done.

MARJORIE SHULER.

Leser et al

(Continued from page 985)

and those words have no other meaning than that hereinbefore announced; that by no implication can you read a limit to that power, and that the aforesaid Nineteenth Amendment does not in any way violate the guarantee contained in Section 4, Article 4 of the said Constitution, which provides that "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government," etc.

"The court is further of the opinion from all the exhibits and other evidence submitted that there was due, legal and proper ratification of the amendment by the required number of State Legislatures.

"Accordingly all the instructions submitted will be refused and an order signed dismissing the petition with costs."

Incidentally Mr. Wheeler contends that three-fourths of the states have not legally ratified. To which the court answers that: "There was one legal and proper ratification of the amendment by the required number of state Legislatures."

The First Woman Doctor

(Continued from page 987)

list of consulting physicians and an able board of trustees.

For more than 60 years, the Infirmary was the only place in New York with the exception of one small homeopathic hospital, where poor women would be treated by physicians of their own sex. It was the pioneer in the social work which hospitals are now taking up more and more. In 1859 it established "a sanitary visitor whose special duty it was to give simple, practical instructions to poor mothers on the management of infants and the preservation of the health of their families."

In 1858 Dr. Elizabeth revisited England, and advocated the starting of similar work there; but funds were lacking. She was the first woman placed upon the medical register in England (in 1859).

WHEN the Civil War broke out, a meeting held by the Drs. Blackwell was the beginning of the great National Sanitary Commission, which did so much for the soldiers. As women medical students were not admitted to the hospitals, they needed to get practical instruction in an institution of their own. In 1865 the Women's Medical College of the New York Infirmary was founded. It did excellent work for many years, maintaining a high standard and insisting upon a full course of training. Dr. Elizabeth occupied the chair of hygiene. When Cornell opened its medical school to women, the college was merged with it.

In 1869 Dr. Elizabeth returned to England, and made her home there till her death on May 31, 1910. She practised medicine, gave lectures, and wrote a number of valuable books and pamphlets, including "Counsel to Parents on the Moral Education of their Children in Relation to Sex," which was rejected by twelve publishers, but later went through eight editions. She collected her main works in two volumes, entitled "Essays in Medical Sociology." She worked with Josephine E. Butler against the State regulation of vice, and opposed compulsory vaccination, and the abuse of vivisection. In many things she was far in advance of her time.

When Elizabeth Blackwell died, the census showed that there were in the United States 7,399 women physicians and surgeons. She wrote in her latter years: "It is well worth the efforts of a life-time to have attained knowledge which justifies an attack on the root of all evil—viz., the deadly atheism which asserts that because forms of evil have always existed in society, therefore they always must exist; and that the attainment of a high ideal is a hopeless chimera. The study of human nature by women as well as men commences that new and hopeful era of the intelligent cooperation of the sexes through which alone real progress can be attained."

In this Number of the WOMAN CITIZEN

Are these articles:

**The National Scope of the
New York Drama League**

By Kate Oglebay

**What Women Can Do with
Motion Pictures**

By Mrs. Woodallen Chapman

**One Attempt to Provide Suit-
able Pictures for Children**

By Euphemia Van Rensselaer Wyatt

**The Picture Play is only one of the
subjects discussed in the**

Woman Citizen's Forum

Among questions to be broached later is

Wages for Married Women

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or NO?

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WHAT PELMANISM IS

A Face to Face Talk that tells how the Famous Course Performs Its Seeming "Miracles"

By GEORGE CREEL

PELMANISM might well be called the Science of Self-Realization. It helps you to use fully the powers that you know about, and what is even more important, how to discover and use the hidden, sleeping powers that you do not know about.

It teaches you how to develop *will*, *imagination* and *originality*; how to build *character*, how to strengthen *individuality*, how to cultivate *self-confidence* and *resourcefulness*. It takes the negative qualities—purposelessness, indecision, timidity, etc., and changes them into *positives*. Pelmanists *know* they are going and are on their way. And they know because they have learned to *know themselves*.

All of us pay close attention to the body. If an eye strain develops we see about it at once. If our digestion grows wrong we take pills or else get a doctor to work out a diet. If a climb up a hill makes us puff, if the waistline begins to disappear, if our muscles grow soft and flabby, we decide upon exercise.

But how many of us know anything about the mind or give its condition and working any large amount of thought? Yet the mind can develop a strain, the mind can get soft and flabby, and our mental digestion can go to pieces. What if you started to walk to a given point and discovered that you could not go straight, but shot off at angles, or else trotted around in a circle? You know, as a matter of course, that your alarm would be instant and profound.

But how many of us take alarm when we find that our minds cannot drive straight—cannot follow through—but jump from point to point with all the erratic purposeless movements of a grasshopper? Mind wandering—wool gathering—is a common complaint to-day, and stands as one of the obvious causes of failure.

Early Schooling at Fault

Most of the trouble traces back to the school room. It is because of a faulty educational system that so many people express themselves in day dreams, instead of *action*. How can they *listen* when they have never been taught concentration? How can they have *initiative* and *originality* when our educational system tries its best to turn pupils into parrots and have them all uniform in type? How can they have *purpose*, and hold to it, when vision and imagination have been scorned! How can they be mentally alert when our life ignores the fundamental truth that the human mind has got to be exercised in order to *get fit and stay fit*? As a matter of fact, the majority of workers are doomed to day dreams because their training, or lack of it, has robbed them of their *mental teeth*. They can't take hold and hang on. The mind, unused to continued effort, tires quickly.

Pelmanism is the denial of these false teachings and the remedy for these evils. It proceeds upon the sound scientific theories:

(1) That there is no law in nature that condemns the human mind to permanent limitations.

(2) That the brain is *not* an automatic device but a delicate machinery that has got to be watched and tended with the utmost care.

(3) That the brain is the most *trainable* organ of the body and that there are literally no bounds to its development by proper methods.

Pelmanism has perfected these methods. It develops the mental faculties by regular exercises, just as the athlete develops his muscles. It gives the mind a gymnasium to work in; it prescribes the work scientifically and skilled educators superintend the work. It is, in its essence, *applied psychology*—psychology taken out of the university and put into harness for the doing of the day's work.



GEORGE CREEL

The law of mental operation works along two definite lines: one is the inherited ways of behavior, such as breathing, eating and drinking, which psychologists call "reflex and instinctive responses," and the other is *habit ways of acting*.

Mental development depends almost entirely upon the setting up of *habits*, and in life the whole difference between failure and success is just the difference between *right* mental habits and *wrong* mental habits.

Mind wandering, indecision, timidity, lack of imagination, are *wrong* mental habits that should and can be broken; courage, will power, originality and determination are *right* mental habits that can and should be formed.

Pelmanism teaches you how to replace the wrong mental habit with the right one—it trains you in the formation of these habits of right thinking, exercising your mind scientifically, meeting its new strength with new tests, until at the end, there is perfect balance, full power and an amazing tirelessness.

How many of us have the full use, the efficient use, of all the sense organs? Do you really see? Is the picture clear cut—etched in your memory—or is it a blur? Do you really *hear*, or is it all rumble without distinct meanings and lasting impressions? Are your perceptions sharp and enduring or are they hazy and ill-defined? Pelmanism would be worth all that it costs if only for the lesson on "Observation." Yet this lesson is but one of twelve—each a vital step in the organization of your mental life. For Pelmanism does not train observation alone, or memory alone, or will power alone, but trains the mind as a unity.

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GEORGE CREEL

Note.—In bringing Pelmanism to America, the needs of the United States have been considered at every point. Plan, methods and principles remain the same, but American psychologists have Americanized the lessons and American instructors, carefully trained in the course, will pass upon every work sheet.

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FEB 25 1921

SOCIOLOGY DEPT.

The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL
FOUNDED 1870

10 Cents a Copy

February 19, 1921

The Call
to the
Annual Convention
of the
League of Women Voters

Shall We Have
State Censorship of
Motion Pictures?

The Week in Congress
Appropriations

The Second Thoughts
of Governor Miller

The Nation's Plan
for Americanization

By Raymond Christ

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cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

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New York City

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New York City

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New York City

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Vol. LI Old Style

Vol. V New Style

FEBRUARY 19, 1921

No. 38

The Truth About The Black Troops On the Rhine

will be given in an article by
MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

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The Woman Citizen
of
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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME V

FEBRUARY 19, 1921

NUMBER 38

It is not to be understood that the WOMAN CITIZEN gives editorial endorsement to the opinions expressed in articles signed with name, initials, or pseudonym. Such articles may be at dagger's point with the editorial commitment, or in exact accord with it. They are printed because they seem worth printing and not because of an agreement in their expressed opinions. The editors speak for the magazine in the editorial pages.

1921 CALL 1921

To the Second Annual Convention of the National League of Women Voters

THE League calls its State Auxiliaries through their elected delegates to meet in Convention at Cleveland—Statler Hotel—April 11th to 16th, inclusive.

A dream has come true. Equality of suffrage is a fact. It is the result of a crusade, an exalting and holy crusade. The world has seen none more wonderful. We shall have need again and again to draw on this example of tireless effort and high courage bequeathed to us.

Hear the call to the second convention of a functioning League of Women Voters. We meet to celebrate the close of our first and successful year, and to plan with broad vision and renewed energy for the months ahead.

We have not wasted our year. The League now stands organized in every State in the Union. The woman voter has already proved herself an earnest and selfless worker.

By faith we have won the fight for suffrage. By belief in the efficacy of the ballot and the value of good citizenship, we have come thus far. Let us know no pause. From the whole stock of our several experiences and combined wisdom, let us lay our plans more effectively for the future.

Heed the call! The League is established. The League has power. How best shall we use this power to become a vital and helpful force in our country? How best continue in the work of educating a conscientious, well informed electorate?

Answer the call! Send a delegate from every congressional district in the United States of America.

Board of Directors of the National League of Women Voters

Maud Wood Park, Chairman

NEXT in importance to the food question put the motion picture question among all the questions that are vital to the home of 1921. The "movie"—a greater teacher than the schools, more influential than the churches, quicker than books, surer than precepts—no wonder that the women of the land are at last closing in on its potency for good and evil. No wonder that the producer, the distributor and the local manager are having at last to reckon with the mothers on this issue.

It has come to pass that the children of the real world are passing in and out of the screen world so constantly that the mothers have had to follow after and they have seen what they have seen. In the result there have come to be many opinions as to the way to clean up, with a temporary line-up of mothers on one side and motion picture interests on the other. Temporary because no such cleavage can endure where interests are essentially one and the same. The motion picture interests sim-

ply cannot afford to have the mother power of the world pulling against them year in and year out. The mothers cannot afford to have this vast educational agency suborned to wrong uses, any more than they can afford to let it lie dormant. They've got to make it an active agency of the right sort. How?

We have a letter from a reader asking us to name some moving picture firm whose very name would be a guarantee of an entertainment. And we can't do it. Why? Because hard on the heels, or the reels, of a finely entertaining picture will come some coarsely suggestive comic, scheduled with it, the local manager pleading that the reels are sold in groups or programs and that he can't get the good one without the rank one. That is the sort of pressure that drives women toward state censorship. State censorship has admitted evils. It has come to be a bitter bromide in moving picture circles that state censors seem to have as many standards of morals as there are states. What the Missouri censor considers moral may be taboo in Kansas. What Kansas passes won't do for Virginia.

Yet there are those among producers and distributors who are responsible for screen productions that are as much an offense to morality as to plausibility. There are those among them that take a license that cannot be allowed. It has to be stopped.

Again how?

It cannot be said that there is any unanimity of opinion on the subject. The proponents of state censorship are often ruthless in their castigation of such an agency as the National Board of Review. Those who are trying to meet the issue on a national basis, point wryly to the divergence of moral standards as set up in different states. The motion picture people want no censorship of any kind. Organization women themselves are not united on the question. In our last issue we had Mrs. Woodallen Chapman, an expert of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, committing herself to an espousal of individual and private protest and appreciation as opposed to state regulation. In this issue we have the evidence that state federations of women's clubs are among the ardent sponsors of state censorship.

LAST week we presented a plea from a "movie man" for direct individual pressure brought to bear on manager, distributor and producer. It is only fair to him to say that he wants the moving picture world made over just as much as the women do. He represents what you might call a reform movement in the movies. But he wants reform based on the box office. He says hit the business where it hurts, in its pocket. The women who favor state censorship have their own answer to that argument. As an example of their arousedness we call the attention of our readers to the argument of the Massachusetts proponents of state censorship which we feature in this issue. Telegrams from New Hampshire and Maine and Rhode Island solicit immediate space for argument on the same side of the question. The question is fairly up to the women. They will and must find the answer. And alas for the opponent of state censorship who is hoping that if he can just keep the law off he can evade the clutches of the women. How far stronger than the law's hold is the mother's clutch!

For State Censorship of Motion Pictures

To the Editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN:

BOSTON, MASS., Feb. 14, 1921.—The bill for state censorship now pending in Massachusetts has been endorsed not only by the League of Women Voters, but by 401 other organizations, including the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the State Federation of Protestant Churches, the League of Catholic Women, the Parent Teachers' Association, the Grange, the W. C. T. U., and all the local censorship boards except one, which is divided on the question.

The motion picture industry is very rich and powerful. In Massachusetts it is spending money freely and pulling all possible strings to defeat our bill. It brought its utmost pressure to bear upon the recent meeting of the State Federation of Women's Clubs; yet, after hearing all that could be said in opposition, the delegates voted for state censorship, 367 to 68.

Two broad facts stand out: (1) The so-called National Board of Review is ineffective. Anyone attending the movies can see that they exhibit, along with much that is unobjectionable and beautiful, many films which are distinctly and dangerously indecent.

(2) In the old times good people were divided as to woman suffrage, but all the vicious interests were solidly against it. Just so we now find that good people are divided as to state censorship of the movies, but everybody who wants freedom to exhibit bad films either wants the matter left in the hands of the present ineffective National Board of Review, or else wants us to rely upon getting every separate little town to censor its own movies efficiently. A bill providing for the latter method has been put into the Legislature to head off the one advocated by the women and the churches.

State censorship of the movies is compared by its opponents to censorship of the press. There are two kinds of press censorship. There is the kind introduced when the war broke out, and continued since, which tends to suppress news and smother free discussion, and hence is justly obnoxious to the friends of freedom; and there is the kind that has existed for generations and is generally approved, which forbids indecent pictures or printed matter to circulate through the mails.

If such pictures ought not to be circulated through the mails, still less ought they to be thrown on the screen every night before millions of our young men and women. The damaging effects are only too plain. It is a condition and not a theory that confronts us.

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.

To the Editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN:

THE two articles appearing in the last issue of THE WOMAN CITIZEN in regard to what women could and should do to improve picture films emphasizes again the fact that the Motion Picture Industry, although claiming to be the *third* largest industry in the country, according to the anonymous "Advertising Manager of one of the Biggest Distributors of Motion Pictures," has not the power to control itself, and needs must lay the blame for the bad pictures which it produces upon the shoulders of the women of the country. Such a confession is a welcome sign. It marks a step in advance. Last year the American Association of the Motion Picture Industry, at that time claiming to be only the *fourth* or *fifth* largest industry, through a set of formal resolutions pinned its faith of purification upon a small group of self selected women with headquarters in New York.

This so-called National Board of Review, which according to its own published report, January, 1917, is almost entirely supported by film interests, claims to examine and pass upon 99

per cent. of all films made in the United States before they are released for exhibition. It has printed standards by which to judge the pictures. The pictures, however, which appear day after day on the screen of our public theatres are sufficient evidence that these standards are not used or else without legal authority the decisions cannot be enforced.

WOMEN are used to having the shortcomings of men manufacturers laid at their door. They are the "shopping public," therefore they are responsible for the high French heels and pillow slip skirts and they "get what they demand," but now that we have won our legal rights as citizens—not, as the writer says, by persistent attacks upon Dad, Brother, Uncle and neighbor—but by sixty years of persistent legislative action in the individual states, we are not satisfied with panegyrics; we want straight facts and proofs presented to us from which to draw our own conclusions. Therefore, in the article by the man who, "being a man, blames things on the women and gets away with it—makes his case," according to the advertisement on the first page of the CITIZEN, we want to know what publications have used an attack on the Motion Picture Industry to further their circulation list or to fill up their columns with good "copy" because they are hard put for news? We in Massachusetts who have been working for better standards for motion pictures would be glad to know these channels through which we could give to the public the facts as we have found them in printed reports and authentic investigation. We want to know how it is determined that 60 per cent. nationally of all the motion picture audiences are women? We want proof that the readers of the WOMAN CITIZEN "come again and again" to the motion picture theatres, or are many of them disgusted with the degrading scenes of the underworld, the monotonous thrills of the crime serial and the vulgarity of the major part of the comedy? Are these thoughtful, seriously-minded women the ones that the exhibitor relies on for applause or is it the vast majority of young people and children whose judgment is yet unformed and the men and women who drop in after a hard day's work? And finally, is it true that "all this censorship talk is beside the issue"? Can it be possible that the General Federation of Women's Clubs of the country through its delegate body at Hot Springs, Arkansas, in 1918 voted to recommend that the states work for State Censorship, and that bills were filed in 23 states for this method of control* for the sole purpose of "creating fat jobs for politicians," as the writer says? No, the fact that Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, Vermont, Nebraska, Tennessee, North Carolina, to my knowledge, and probably other states are bringing this question to their legislatures this year despite the boasted methods of the industry—shows that more and more women all over the United States are awakening to the great menace of the motion picture as it is at present conducted.

AS for Mrs. Woodallen Chapman's plan of local volunteer censorship, it sounds simple on paper but it has not worked out in practice for several very good reasons. Mrs. Chapman approaches the problem of improving films with the same optimism that most of the women who have tried her plan for years first had. In the first place it is not practical because, despite the declaration of the producers, the matter does not lie in the control of the local exhibitor. His contracts for pictures are made with the producer sometimes for three months and some-

*Annual Report of the Censorship Committee, National Association of the Motion Picture Industry, Inc., Aug. 5th, 1919.

(Continued on page 1005)

How Dr. Shaw's Memorial Fund is Being Raised

MISS ROSA MANUS of Amsterdam, Holland, one of the official board of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, who is now in this country as the guest of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, was much impressed by the fact that one of New York City's public schools is honored as the Anna Howard Shaw School. At a recent graduation ceremony, she was present, and the children were much entertained to hear that she came from the Dutch city for which New York was named when it was "New Amsterdam," and that she belonged to the race who early settled the city and gave it its Knickerbocker ancestry. Miss Manus thus describes her impressions:

"MANY readers of the WOMAN CITIZEN may not know that there is a public school in New York City named after Dr. Shaw and therefore I want to tell you what I learned about it. Some days ago I was invited to attend the graduating exercises of public school 61, 610 East 12th Street. About 80 girls were graduating. The principal, Miss Jessie B. Colburn, an ardent suffragist, who was one of the workers in the 1917 campaign, told us that shortly after Dr. Shaw's death it was decided to change the name of her school and so since September 1920, there exists the *Anna Howard Shaw Public School*. Not only in name however, this school is feminist, no, the spirit of it is as strong. The big hall in which were about 2,000 people, was decorated in white and yellow, the girls who graduated wore white dresses which they had made themselves in the school and had big yellow bows of ribbon in their hair.

"First the school orchestra gave us some music. Then the girl who won the school prize for achievement, read a composition called, 'The Little Band of Exiles.' Then the graduates gave a dramatic interlude, a feminist little play which was wonderfully well got up, and very well acted indeed. The girls were quite unconscious of their talents in diction and acting, which made it all the nicer. After that we had some dances and singing and then the presentation of diplomas.

"Then Miss Mary Garrett Hay gave an address to the graduates in which she told the girls that each of them when leaving the school, took a responsibility upon her shoulders, that each should try and help to solve the great problems of the world and do something to help uplift humanity. Think of Miss Shaw she said, the greatest woman who lived in the United States. She gave her life to the big cause.

"Miss Colburn then handed Miss Hay an envelope with a hundred dollar note for the Dr. Anna Howard Shaw Memorial Fund, which had been collected in the school by pennies.

"I certainly think it is splendid to have a school called after Dr. Shaw and all the more when the spirit is so progressive and altruistic as is shown in school 61.

"I hope that within a short time many towns in the United States will name their school after the greatest orator of the world, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw."

THE Delaware County, Pennsylvania, Anna Howard Shaw Memorial Committee gave a Valentine Luncheon in honor of Dr. Shaw's Birthday February 14th, at the Woman's Club of Lansdowne, Pennsylvania.

Plans were made to entertain 300 guests. Pieces of evergreen from Dr. Shaw's "Forest of Arden" were tied on the red hearts used as place cards.

The speakers were Mrs. Henry C. Lincoln, Williamsport, Chairman for the Anna Howard Shaw Memorial; Dr. Martha Tracy, Philadelphia, Dean of Woman's Medical College; Mrs. James Starr, Philadelphia, Assistant Treasurer; Mrs. J. Claude

Bedford, Media, who will arrange for the completion of Delaware County's quota.

Orders were taken for Dr. Shaw's photograph by Miss Lucy E. Anthony, after the luncheon, the proceeds to be used for the Anna Howard Shaw Memorial.

THIS is the last picture ever taken of Susan B. Anthony. She is standing in the doorway of the building in Baltimore where was held the National American Woman Suffrage Convention of February, 1906. Miss Anthony was just 86 years old and had risen from her sick bed against the advice of her friends to go to this convention.

In her hands is the little purse in which are the five-dollar and one-dollar gold pieces—\$86 in all—which had been given her for her last birthday on earth, the 86th.

One of the Oregon campaigns was on and Miss Anthony gave her purse of gold to help it forward. Hers was the first pledge for that cause. After her death these gold pieces were sold for more than twice their value, and the money accrued to the Oregon fund. One \$5 gold piece, which was bought for \$10 by Dr. Anna Howard Shaw and given to Miss Lucy Anthony, has now been sold for \$25 and the receipts given to the Anna Howard Shaw Memorial Fund.

At Miss Anthony's death her small fortune was left to her sister Mary, her niece Lucy and Anna Shaw. After the inheritance taxes were paid, this sum amounting to about \$5,000 was the foundation of a scholarship in political science in Bryn Mawr. Miss Mary Garrett added to it so that the annual income of the scholarship fund amounts to \$500.



SUSAN B. ANTHONY
AT AGE OF 86

IN order to make up three full sets of material for the National American Woman Suffrage Association archives, the following books and pamphlets are asked for:

Woman's Journal—1 full set bound volumes *Woman's Journal* through 1916 with all unbound issues from Jan.—May, 1917.
Extra copies *Woman's Journal* for Jan. 22, 1916; Aug. 19, and Dec. 31, 1916 and Mar. 3, 1917.

Suffrage Convention Proceedings:

Any early Woman's Rights Conventions, also earlier Convention Proceedings of N. A. W. S. A.
Proceedings of N. A. W. S. A. for 1902, 1910 and 1914.

International Woman Suffrage Association:

Proceedings of 2nd and 3rd Conferences.
Another life of Susan B. Anthony (3 vols.) and 1 set of Vols. I-III of the History of Woman Suffrage.

Any suffragist who can donate one or more of these records will receive the hearty thanks of the Association.

The Week in Congress

Appropriations

From the Woman Citizen's Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 14, 1921.

LOOKING on at the annual revival of the appropriation comedy staged by Congress is for the average voter like attending an unfamiliar opera without a translation or explanation of the score. Once it is understood that each department of the federal government asks for about twice what it hopes to receive, thus giving Congress an opportunity for some effective chorus work on the subject of economy while cutting the appropriation in two, and that this is fooling no one except the audience—the public—the average voter will begin to take more interest in the stage.

When it is made clear that brave talk about economy is no more real than the duel between the tenor and the bass, since the great proportion of the federal taxes goes not for administration but for interest on the fixed public debt and for war expenses—past and future—the average voter may cease his applause as the retinue of one political leader gives place to the economy cries of the followers of another.

"Just how much actual reduction in appropriations can be expected from this Congress and from the incoming one," was the question which the *Woman Citizen* put to half a dozen appropriation committee members and leading senators.

With one accord they replied, "We have great hopes."

But none were prepared to discuss how the hopes might be translated into deeds.

Appropriations is the main theme of the present Congress and the newspapers have almost daily accounts of the amounts under consideration. It is not so easy however to obtain accurate information on the system itself and what may be done to improve it.

UNTIL recently there have been ten committees in the House to whom the various appropriation bills were submitted and there are at the present time seven committees in the Senate. The Senate appropriation committee, of which Senator Warren is chairman, has charge of five of the fourteen general bills: Sundry civil; legislative, executive and judicial; District of Columbia; fortifications; deficiencies. Not including deficiencies, the committee now has before it proposals amounting to \$478,000,000. This may seem a large sum, but considering what it covers, comparison between it and \$922,650,000—the amount needed in 1922 for the interest on the public debt—will provide the thoughtful voter with a topic worthy of consideration.

This year the House has had a joint appropriation committee of thirty-five members, with Representative Good as chairman. On an estimated total of \$3,475,000,000, this committee has pared off \$1,250,000,000 from the \$4,725,000,000 asked for, which would sound like excellent economy if it were not for the knowledge that the various departments never expected to get the whole amounts they asked for.

In the opinion of many members of Congress this joint committee was a step forward in government efficiency. Its work is already being attacked however, as a result of personal jealousies and differences of opinion between the committee members and the chairmen of the various other committees to whom appropriation bills were formerly referred.

It is well for the woman voter to understand this fact; for the experiment as tried in the House is likely to be discussed many times, in view of the proposal for a national budget system with

provisions for one appropriation committee in each house which is now under advisement by a special committee appointed by Congress with Senator Smoot and Representative Reavis at the head. The committee has the task of devising a plan by which the amount the nation can afford to spend shall be more understandingly distributed between the various departments. The plan will also include the combination and elimination of overlapping departments.

Members of Congress have stated that they do not expect the committee to be able to submit any proposed legislation which will secure action in less than two years.

In the meantime the old system continues and under it as Senator Smoot says, "A committee may be able to give only a few hours to proposals involving a large sum of money."

TAKE as a test of the time which may be given to each, the number of committees upon which just one member of the Senate appropriation committee is serving, in addition to his office work for his constituents and his hours on the floor. Senator Kenyon is not only a member of the appropriation committee, but also of the sub committee to report on the legislative, executive and judicial appropriation bill. He is a member of the Calder reconstruction committee, which has just completed a coal investigation and is now looking into the lumber situation. He is chairman of the subcommittee of the committee on privileges and elections which has been investigating payment of campaign expenses. He is chairman of the select committee which handled the Virgin Islands investigation and as a member of the general committee is now assisting in the preparation of bills. He is especially interested personally in the agriculture committee. It was the packer regulatory bill of that committee for which he led the Senate fight and he has initiated other legislation of special rural interest, such as the rural credits bill now pending. The agriculture committee members also have charge of the agriculture appropriation bill. He is chairman of the committee on education and labor, which has in charge some proposals of great concern to the women voters, such as the proposed department of education and social welfare, the Smith-Towner bill and the Fess-Capper bill. He was a member of the steel investigation committee and since the resignation from the Senate of President-elect Harding he has been acting chairman of the Philippines committee.

THE woman voter who desires to make a close comparison of the appropriation bills of this year with preceding ones may obtain from the Government Printing Office a pamphlet on Appropriations from 1875 to 1921, prepared by the clerks to the committees on appropriations of the Senate and House.

It is a long way from the amount expended by the forty-third Congress, \$652,454,993.01 for two years, 1875 and 1876, to the sum of \$4,780,829,510.35, already expended by the 66th Congress for the year 1921 without any reckoning of the appropriations now under discussion for 1922. The appropriations by the present Congress will not, however, approach the size of those made by the two war congresses, the 64th, which appropriated \$20,517,447,497.11 and the 65th, which appropriated \$33,560,609,706.12. Of these latter two appropriations over eight billions was later repealed by the 65th and the first two sessions of the 66th Congress.

MARJORIE SHULER.

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A Husband On Alimony

To the Editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN:

AS a general proposition—until they have to face it as a problem of their own—my observation is that men believe in alimony. That is most men feel in a hazy sort of way that it is merely meting out justice to those we have been pleased to call the "weaker sex." But in this day and age with so many avenues open to woman's activity, with the growing sphere of her usefulness and proven capacity, justice does not invariably demand that the man shall pay the woman who either cannot or will not longer live with him.

Ten years ago I married a talented woman. She was trained in a vocation and was able to make a good living at it. She continued for several years after our marriage and always kept the fruits of her labor while I paid the bills. She was extremely temperamental and harmony was more discussed than realized. Health did not bother her. Other things did. We always lived up to my income under the delusion that liberality was the price of peace. Ill nourished affection nearly starved to death the first year and thereafter had a precarious existence. It matters not whose fault it was, probably both.

After seven years she suddenly announced that she was going to divorce me and force me to pay alimony. I did not take her seriously. Just as suddenly I was served with papers and restrained by court from visiting the home. I filed a denial of the charge of cruelty but no counter bill and was ordered to pay temporary alimony. When the case was tried I merely resisted paying permanent alimony as there are no children, her health is good and her ability unimpaired.

The court decreed that there was evident inharmony, no grounds for divorce but no evidence of reconciliation. She got

a decree without alimony and feels that the law is unjust to women. She is again making a sufficient living. She is happy and so am I. Was the court wrong? She is still young and attractive enough to marry if she finds the right man. She firmly believes that I took enough from her life to warrant my paying her the rest of my days. I am convinced that I gave fully as much as I had agreed for she kept everything I had made and I had to start over again. Other men might have made a go of it. I still believe in suffrage and woman's right to choose her conditions, her happiness and enjoy her economic growth and freedom. If marital happiness is dependent on cave-man tactics, please excuse me. There are some happy homes where mental companionship counts more than physical attractions. We are not all ready to see it yet.

Sioux Falls, S. D.

K. T. M.

Notes and Comment

JUDGE TALLEY of General Sessions has decided that women are unfit to be jurors because "woman approaches the problem of life with her heart and not her head." Passing over the fact that out west women have been serving successfully as jurors from time to time during the past half century, we may point to the present disastrous condition of the world, and especially of Europe, as an illustration of what happens when governments approach the problems of life with the head alone, without taking the heart into council.

IN Uruguay a bill is soon to be introduced giving municipal suffrage and eligibility to women twenty years of age and upwards, on condition that they register (at special places of registration, to be opened for them), and fulfill the qualifications required of men. The bill provides that two years after the municipal suffrage law goes into effect, the women shall be admitted to full suffrage.

A. S. B.

Madeline McDowell Breckinridge

An Appreciation—By A. S. B.

MRS. DESHA BRECKINRIDGE, whose death has caused so much grief, was not only a distinguished suffragist, but a great citizen. The knowledge of a beautiful life like hers is among the world's treasures. It ought to be spread as far as the *Woman Citizen* can carry it.

Madeline McDowell came of illustrious ancestry. She was a great granddaughter of Henry Clay. Members of her family had held prominent posts in the pioneer days—two of them by George Washington's appointment. Her grandfather, William Adair McDowell, a famous physician, published in 1843 a book advocating the present method of treating tuberculosis. It was scouted then, but its conclusions are universally accepted now.

Born May 20, 1872 at Woodlake, Kentucky, she attended the University of Kentucky, finished her education at Miss Potter's school in Farmington, Connecticut, and married Desha Breckinridge November 17, 1898.

Kentucky's advanced child labor law is said to be largely a monument to her genius and energy. She took a leading part in securing the ten-hour law for women. She was active also in bringing about the juvenile court and compulsory education laws, said to be practically the first of the kind in the South. She got manual training into the Lexington public schools, and secured the giving of band concerts in the summer in the public parks.

She was President of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association from 1912 to 1915 and the membership rose from about 1,700 to more than 10,000. She was Second Vice-President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association 1913-1914, and

a member of the Board of Directors of the General Federation of Women's Clubs 1910-1912. She was Vice-President of the State Tuberculosis Commission, 1913-17; vice president of the Kentucky Child Labor Committee; member of the board of trustees of the Fayette County Tuberculosis Sanatorium; director of the Fayette County Public Health Nursing Association, Fayette County Associated Charities, president of the Lexington Civic League and one of the incorporators of the Community Service League.

IT was through her that the Public Health Nursing Association was established. A friend writes:

"She began at once on city officials enforcing and creating laws by which the West End of the city might be lighted and cleaned up. She changed the sewage plan and laid water pipes along the main streets and secured concrete walks and graded streets. She also planted shade trees along the sidewalks. Mrs. Breckinridge began working through the Civic League to establish a model school in Irishtown, giving liberally of her own means and stirring the interest of her family and friends until a sum was raised and the Abraham Lincoln School was started.

"Feature after feature was added—a community kitchen, a school library, evening recreation and organized team work in play." Another friend writes:

"The school became the center of social service for the district. Stationary tubs were built in the basement where the women could bring their laundry work, and for ten cents a week have soap and running water which did not have to be carried several blocks in small buckets; children had the privilege of a shower and a swim in the large pool in the basement. Last and best of all, she established an open air school for the anemic children, hoping by this means and the addition of a nutritious luncheon to build up their frail bodies. For several years this was continued, but the School Board felt they should more equally distribute the school funds and it was discontinued. This weighed upon her mind, and only a few minutes before the blow came which robbed her of any further power to do for others, she had called the principal of Lincoln School over the telephone and made an appointment to meet her to discuss ways and means of re-establishing the open air school.

While she was chairman of the Legislative Committee of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, school suffrage in an enlarged form was restored to the women of Kentucky largely through her efforts. Other bills which became laws during her chairmanship were the Pure Food, Child Labor, State Aid for Tuberculosis Sanatoria, Library Commission, Forestry.

The Blue Grass Tuberculosis Sanitarium, that she was influential in founding, has always been hampered for money. Often she went alone to the Legislature to plead for aid for it, but she spoke to deaf ears. It is doing an admirable work. There children are getting well who otherwise would not live to grow up. A friend writes: "Not only are their bodies being treated with fresh, pure air, and proper food, but a teacher-nurse is teaching their minds, so that they are not losing their schooling."

A fitting tribute to Mrs. Breckinridge, would be to help this work for which she cared so much.

Mrs. Breckinridge not only came of a distinguished Kentucky family but married into one. Her husband, a lawyer, was a son of Col. W. C. P. Breckinridge, and succeeded him as editor of the Lexington Leader.

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Mrs. Breckinridge for a time edited its Woman's Page, which under her guidance was a power for good, and as different as possible from the flimsy so-called women's pages of most papers.

She was a remarkable orator, with a heart-moving eloquence that often melted her hearers to tears. The sweetness of her soul breathed all around her, like the fragrance of a flower.

She was a true friend of the colored people. It was through her liberality and magnanimity, as President of the Civic League, that they had their share in every advance secured for the general good—in the park and playgrounds movement, and in the care given by the Associated Charities and the tuberculosis hospital. She obtained the first playground for colored children in Lexington and herself employed a teacher for it. In the National American Woman Suffrage Association her vote was always cast on the side of justice without regard to race.

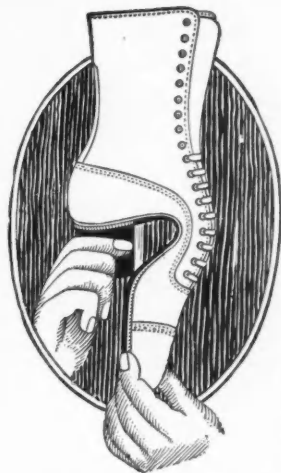
She was unanimously chosen to preside at the "Victory Dinner" which opened the American Women's Conference in Washington, D. C., in February, 1919, with Secretary of War Baker, Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Catherine Breshkovsky, Anna Howard Shaw and Mrs. Charles Robson of Canada for the other speakers; and she was fully equal to the great occasion. She was one of the notable figures at the American Women's Conference in Geneva. She was a warm advocate of the League of Nations. Shortly before her death she predicted that we should have the League yet. "But I want to die knowing that I voted for it in the first place," she added.

SHE passed away suddenly in the full prime of her usefulness. Her husband writes:

"After the noon hour she telephoned about Thanksgiving dinner, with the thought and desire to fill the last place the table would hold; and then again to know whether the children who would come would want dinner early that they might go to the football game. And then she went to get some things to give away, and God's finger touched her, and she is dead."

The sorrow was universal. The flag on the Federal Building in Lexington hung at half mast; all the street cars stopped running. The Lexington Leader published a special memorial supplement, with pages and pages of tributes from men and women of all ranks, paying tribute to her worth, and expressing their love and grief. They called her one of Kentucky's foremost citizens; some said the foremost. Her intelligence, her eloquence, her singular charm, her many-sided activities, above all, her great heart, were praised from every varied view-point. It was also noted that one factor of her success was that she was "a happy woman"—happy in her husband's love and understanding.

Her sister-in-law, Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, pays tribute to her fearlessness, her great power of work, and the great catholicity of her interests. "Nothing human was alien to her"—and she was therefore at home everywhere. It is impossible to think of her spirit ill at ease in the universe, unless there are tasks calling to be done that she cannot reach. Her work grew from neighborhood to city, to state, to nation, and to international effort. Geneva and the League of Nations were the emblems of a larger and more complex undertaking, differing only outwardly from Irishtown and the political machinery through which the dispossessed in the smaller area were finally to be enabled to enter into their inheritance. Had she lived to take up her tasks on the larger scale, she would but have been demanding for children and women and the powerless everywhere, the opportunities for richer living, and her presence in the international organization would have assured the realities of service as against the abstractions that have characterized the diplomacy of the past."



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The Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course

Inside Stories About the Federal Departments

THE great work which is being performed in the Division of Citizenship Training is that of stimulating the organization of communities so that they will develop the broadest and most effective contact with the womanhood of the land, with particular reference to those women who are coming into citizenship under the naturalization laws. The municipal forces are being urged to co-ordinate and centralize their efforts upon this work so that the public schools may function to their highest capacity.

This necessitates the extension of the public school activity beyond the public school building and into the homes of the foreign-born women of the entire land. It will also mean that as the communities enlist in this work to these ends they will gather into these class centers not only women who are of foreign birth, but those also who are American citizens. The Government has been carrying on this work since 1914, broadening and vitalizing its influence throughout the communities of the country. Over 3,000 communities responded to this appeal of the Government to organize such classes during the last year and undertook their organization. Thousands of other communities were appealed to. That the appeal of the Government in the year past has not been without most excellent results is being attested by the new communities that are daily being reported as taking favorable action in this matter.

The great problem is to be able to reach the woman who is of foreign birth and who is to take up the responsibility of suffrage; how to prepare her to comprehend her new estate as a full-fledged citizen, fully empowered with all of the sovereign rights of the American citizen; how to approach her in that spirit which will win her confidence and enlist her greatest enthusiasm to take hold of these new responsibilities as befits an American citizen. In many communities, through many organizations, this has been undertaken. The success has been characteristic of American effort when America seriously enters upon an undertaking. As in all social contacts, the spirit of womanhood is pronounced in this work, and that spirit is being extended to those eager women in a manner that is winning them to their best efforts. This is occurring in so many parts of the country that the foundation has been laid quite clearly as to method of approach and the duties which

The Nation's Plan for Americanization

By Raymond F. Crist

Director of Citizenship,
Bureau of Naturalization,
United States Department of Labor

THE Department of Labor is the last of the ten federal departments to be established. It was organized first with the Department of Commerce and separated in 1913. The services, boards and bureaus under its jurisdiction are:

Labor Adjustment Service.
United States Employment Service.
Bureau of Immigration.
Bureau of Naturalization.
Bureau of Labor Statistics.
Women's Bureau.
Children's Bureau.
Bureau of Industrial Housing and Transportation.
Working Conditions Service.
Information and Education Service.
Investigation and Inspection Service.
Training and Dilution Service.
National War Labor Board.
War Labor Policies Board.

the constituted educational authorities of each community must perform.

THAT this is true can probably be well illustrated by picturing a number of American families in a country where the people and language are both foreign to them. Would these American women respond to notices in the press of which they could read no words, inviting them to attend classes in public school buildings? If some would respond, what percentage would hesitate to do so? On the other hand, if women should go to them imbued with the true spirit of sympathy, offering to teach these women in their homes the language of this strange country, how many would reject such overtures? The latter method affords the way for the woman of foreign birth as well as the woman of native birth to form a lasting and intimate acquaintance and friendship. This is the method that is now recognized by those

who are actually and practically acquainted with the various schemes and plans which have been advanced from many quarters.

Different manifestations of the adoption of this method have already been witnessed. In one community a teacher was sent to call upon six new families in a foreign section each day for three days in the week and to offer her services in these homes to teach the women American things and the language of America. At the end of the third day forty-five women had been enrolled in eighteen homes. As the teacher was leaving the homes on the last day the results of her plan were becoming more fully observed. She had reached the women in their homes and urged them to invite their friends. As she left the classes other women were waiting in the hallways to urge the formation of classes in their homes in other parts of the section. Twenty-five teachers in all have been assigned to this work with the goal of a thousand women students in sight in these classes. So much for the efforts of the summer season just brought to an end.

An experience of one of these workers will be both interesting and illuminative of the environment in which women of foreign birth are held. This environment is not because of European traditions, but due solely to the environment of our language and customs into which these women of foreign birth are thrust when they arrive at their destinations in this country. The worker entered a home where three newly arrived immigrant women were living. Through the medium of an interpreter she endeavored to convey her intentions and purposes. The interpreter's response was that the women were entirely unfavorable to the overtures of the worker. The worker, nevertheless, remained and taught these women four or five words in the English language, dramatizing them and prevailing upon them to repeat these strange sounds. At once the light of understanding was shed upon them, and by every action, expression and word, although the words were in a foreign tongue, these women clearly showed their eagerness to have this relationship developed and broadened into an understanding by them of our language. The interpreter, it should be stated here, was the corner groceryman of whom these women would be compelled to make their domestic purchases.

(Continued on page 1010)

Married and American

THE bachelor maids, with their guest, sat at breakfast. They were lingering over their coffee, fortifying themselves for the day of intense activity which lay before them, each in a different field.

It was Mollie's day in the flat. She had arrived punctually, as usual, and already through the closed door could be heard the buzz of the vacuum cleaner—for bachelor maids are nothing, if not up to date in labor-saving devices.

Suddenly the whirr ceased. The door into the hall burst open, and Mollie stood before them, very plainly under the influence of some strong emotion. Her eyes shone with the excitement of one who, after long-deferred hope, has at last attained the desired goal.

Dramatically she waved her hand as she addressed her audience in turn. "Now I get you here—all you toggeder—I have something to say you. You, Miss Seymour, and you, Miss Martin—and you," motioning toward the guest—"I don't know how you call her—I want to say you all at same time.

"I don't want fuss made—but I want to say you, I'm married and now I'm American, just like you!"

HER voice rose as she proceeded, and it was evident that the word "American" and not the word "married," was the key to her emotion.

"Why, Mollie, how fine!" exclaimed Miss Seymour. "When did that happen?"

"Three weeks yet," said Mollie. "But I didn't say you before, till I say you and Miss Martin at same time. Now I don't want fuss made—but I'm married and I'm American."

"Well, we are certainly glad to hear this, Mollie," said Miss Martin earnestly, while the guest looked wonderingly from one to the other.

"But tell us, what does getting married have to do with being an American?"

"Why," said Mollie, "you see I am in this country fifteen—eighteen year, but I can't be American because I have husband in old country. I married when I fifteen, and my man much older than me, and then he bad to me. So I run away and come to America, so I can be free.

"First, I don't care if I ain't American. Then the war come, and I don't like to be foreigner—I want to be American. But they won't make papers for me, because my husband he is foreigner, and law say I am same as he."

"There it is again—that absurd law!" Miss Seymour ejaculated. "Why didn't you get a divorce?"

"Because I run away," Mollie answered, "and in my country law say I couldn't get divorce."

"Then how is it now, that you can marry again," Miss Martin interrupted.

"Oh," continued Mollie, "about a month yet, I have letter which tell that my husband he been married again—two—three year now."

"So that made you free, of course," said Miss Martin. "But who is the happy man, and how did he persuade you that it would pay you to try marriage a second time? I thought you didn't like men, and besides, you are making such good wages, and can take care of yourself so well. What is your name now?"

"My name is Jensen," said Mollie. "I know that man long time now, and I know he's all right, but I don't care much about getting married, till he say he's American, and if I marry him I'll be American, too.

"Then I tink, American women can vote now, and I want to vote. So I say 'yes' to that man, and now I'm married, and I'm American, and I can vote, just like you! But I don't want fuss made—"

HESTER CODDINGTON.

For State Censorship

(Continued from page 998)

times a year ahead. For the most part he must make his selection from lists only. He does not see the film and he must take largely what the producers send him—the bad with the good. If he tries to put on only a certain quality of film, he must lose on the inferior ones for which he has to pay although he does not show them. He is also forced to compete with the less scrupulous manager near at hand. Or if he has advertised the film and then takes it off at the request of the committee, he soon finds his advertising loses its drawing quality. Mrs. Chapman believes that even an exhibitor "who has been in the habit of running a poorer class of pictures could be educated by the better class of people attending his theatre and commending the good with an occasional criticism of the other kind." But, according to the industry's printed statement, the exhibitors believe that the salacious pictures pay better because they attract the curiosity seeker and the regular patrons come anyway. While the women who are improving the good are slowly educating the exhibitor to a higher standard, his semi-weekly program of vile films are educating thousands of young people as well as newly arrived citizens who get their impression of America through this most potent means of visual education. While we are Americanizing the newcomers to our shores the motion pictures are "Americanizing" them, too, in methods of crime, in habits of prostitution and other vice, in false standards of home life and in the vulgarities of nasty comedy. What a curious conception of American life they must get. One man of authority who for four years has watched the stream of new films passing through a legalized state board of censors estimates that 75 per cent. of all the films are cheap melodrama—crime serial or sex drama; 15 to 20 per cent. are of the slap-stick comedy and only 5 per cent. to 10 per cent. have any educational quality or good dramatic value.

THE legal representative of five of the leading producers of the country testified before Congress in 1916 that "the production of vicious pictures is constantly increasing—and if the industry is to endure, if decent people are to stay in the business, this cancer must be cut out."** They also agreed that in order to accomplish this it would be necessary to have a preview of every film.

The question is one of method only. Which do you prefer—a public official with proper assistance authorized by the people of the state through legislative action and responsible to them with legal authority to preview every film in accordance with a state minimum standard of decency or a private group outside your state responsible to no one except the industry which it attempts to control? Which is in greater accord with our democratic principles of self-government?

The majority of the people of Massachusetts have decided that they prefer authorized governmental control and they have spoken in no uncertain tone through 402 state-wide and local organizations, including the Massachusetts League of Women Voters and the Boston League of Women Voters, the 120,000 women of the Federation of Women's Clubs, the League of Catholic Women, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Federation of Protestant Churches, and the State Grange. Shall the will of the people of each state for public welfare or the purely commercial interest of a nation wide industry prevail? That depends not on scattered effort of individual women, but on the united action of both men and women to direct this great potential power of education for good instead of evil.

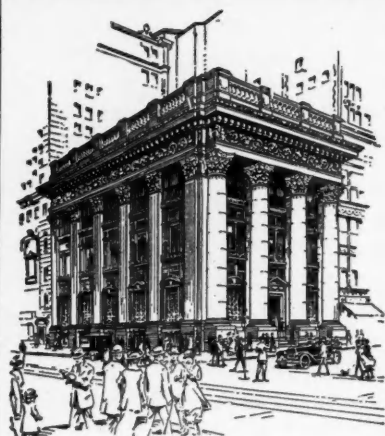
AMY WOODS, Executive Secretary,
State Committee on Motion Pictures,
46 Cornhill, Boston, Mass.

Higher Civics

SUCH august groups as the Association of American Colleges and the Council of Church Boards of Education, at a recent conference in New York City, have advocated training for citizenship in colleges and universities.

Dr. George F. Cook, President of the Pressler Foundation, and a specialist in higher education in the United States Bureau of Education, urged the need of more training in this branch. He said that a curriculum has been prepared for citizenship training in the secondary schools, but no organized attempt has been made to introduce the special training in the institutions of higher learning. He said that in some of the liberal arts and engineering institutions attention is paid to the subject, but not universally. He recommended a national curriculum for the higher institutions.

**Report from Hon. D. M. Hughes, Chairman Committee on Education, House of Representatives of the Sixty-fourth Congress H. R. 15462.



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Around the Map

Atlanta Conference

MRS. MAUD WOOD PARK, Washington, D. C., Chairman of the National League of Women Voters, was one of the principal speakers at the southern conference of the League held in Atlanta, Ga., February 8 and 9. Mrs. Park has been working continuously for the passage of the Sheppard-Towner "Baby" Bill.

On her departure from Washington, she said: "It is difficult to leave Washington when the passage of the measure in which the women of the country are so much interested is jeopardized by the traditional legislative 'jam' which confronts the Congress. However, we know the strength of the work we are able to do in behalf of the political education of women and the furthering of improved legislation depends largely on the extent of our organization throughout the country. We appreciate this opportunity of meeting with the women of the South. In a year's time we have leagues in every state but our goal is far from accomplished. We hope to see local organizations which will serve as non-partisan civic centers in every city and town in the near future."

In her address before the conference on Tuesday afternoon, Mrs. Park gave the present status of the Sheppard-Towner Bill and other legislation endorsed by the League. She spoke Wednesday evening on "Co-operation," outlining the work of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee.

A large part of the program was devoted to

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citizenship work and discussion of the ways in which the League may be made most effective for good government. Special attention was also given to the work of the standing committees, including Child Welfare, Women in Industry, Social Hygiene and Unification of Laws.

Members of the Board of Directors of the League who were present and took part in the program were Mrs. George Gellhorn, St. Louis, Mo., Vice Chairman of the League; Mrs. Julian B. Salley, Aiken, S. C., Director of the Third Region; Mrs. Solon Jacobs, Birmingham, Ala., Secretary; Mrs. Richard Edwards, Peru, Indiana, Treasurer; Miss Katharine Ludington, Hartford, Conn.; Mrs. James Paige, Minneapolis, Minn., and Miss Mary McDowell, Chicago, Ill., Chairman of the Committee on Women in Industry.

"The most inspiring meeting the League of Women Voters has ever held" is the way Mrs. Richard Edwards, Peru, Indiana, Treasurer of the League characterizes this Southern Regional Conference.

Mrs. Edwards reports that the Southern Conference besides being one of the most enthusiastic was one of the largest of all the regional gatherings which have been held. "The way in which Southern women are handling their problems as shown in this conference convinces us more than ever of the value of organizing along sectional lines," she said.

So much interest was aroused by the Conference and the speakers proved so popular that at the close of the Atlanta sessions members of the National Board of Directors were called into neighboring states to speak before state and local leagues and other public meetings before returning to their homes. Mrs. Maud Wood Park, Chairman, and Mrs. James Paige, Minneapolis, Minn., Director of the Fifth Region, went from Atlanta to Columbia, S. C., to address the joint session of the Legislature on the Age of Consent Bill now before that body.

Two-Tongued Americanism

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL HARRY S. BOWMAN of Santa Fe, New Mexico, is reported to have ruled recently that the women of his state cannot serve on juries and are not eligible for office.

According to the Santa Fé *New Mexican*, the first step towards doing away with the present inequality of women was taken on January 12, when Senator E. R. Wright introduced a joint resolution amending the section of the constitution which bars women from holding state office.

The amendment provides that "every citizen of the state" may hold public office and that the right shall not be "abridged by sex."

With Women Voters

This was one part of the legislation approved and advocated by the Governor in his message.

Few people perhaps realize how bi-lingual is the New Mexican Legislature as well as the New Mexican electorate.

Through the courtesy of Mrs. Gerald Cassidy, chairman of the Women's Executive Committee of the Santa Fe County Fusion Committee, the *Woman Citizen* has a copy of the pre-election leaflet, published for the information of the new women voters of this border state. It is printed in both Spanish and English but its sentiments are plain United States.

Women's Welfare Bills

To the Editor of the *WOMAN CITIZEN*:

IN this week's issue of the *Woman Citizen* is published a letter signed by Mrs. Frank C. Vanderlip, Mary Garrett Hay and forty other delegates to convention of League of Women Voters in which they claim the working woman themselves initiated the welfare bills!

I challenge that statement as false.

I ask them to prove that one of the (at least) 2,300 women who lost their jobs paying weekly \$70,000 through the enactment of the iniquitous Lockwood-Caulfield bill, asked for that bill.

The B. R. T. women have spent \$1,700 fighting this bill and only won an amendment.

I challenge their statement as false, that the women elevator operators asked them for the Sammis Elevator bill.

Kindly publish this letter in the *Woman Citizen*.
MARY A. MURRAY.

President, B. R. T. Women's Equal Opportunity League.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

To the Editor of the *WOMAN CITIZEN*:

IN answer to the above letter we would like to make the following statement:

Is it not true that the Union of the Amalgamated Street Car Workers was in favor of the Lockwood-Caulfield bill and did it not represent the women as well as the men?

As the women elevator operators did not belong to any organization it would have been extremely difficult for them to express themselves in an organized manner on the elevator bill. However, many women consulted, complained bitterly of the long hours and the conditions under which many of them were working. This bill was sponsored by the Women's Trade Union League and the Consumers' League, two organizations that have for years made a study of conditions of women in industry.

Is it not true that a B. R. T. official made the

statement that bill or no bill the B. R. T. would not employ women as conductors once the war ended?

It is strange that we are still hearing the argument repeated over and over again that working women do not want any kind of protective legislation when at a conference held in Albany in January which was composed exclusively of working women and at which there were delegates representing about thirty organizations from at least ten different cities and these delegates representing large groups of working women, the eight hour day and minimum wage bills were unanimously endorsed. And this is not by any means the first time that this has happened. We will be ready to believe that working women do not want protective legislation when large representative groups of working women such as this one can be gathered and will go on record as opposed to all form of protective legislation for women working in factories, shops and stores. MAUD SWARTZ,

Sec. Women's Trade Union League.

New York.

In Vermont

THE entire National League of Women Voters has lost a valuable executive through the resignation of Mrs. Lillian H. Olzendam from the chairmanship of the Vermont League. Mrs. Olzendam who has given four years to intensive suffrage work in her state is now withdrawing to give her undivided attention to something else. She said: "I have other plans and cannot do both kinds of work. I cannot serve two masters, as it were, but must devote my time to whatever work I do without any divided allegiance. I think that it is better for me to resign as chairman of the League."

Mrs. Olzendam was chairman during the strenuous and dramatic struggle for Vermont's ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. She planned the visit of Vermont women to the State House and their request to Governor Clement for support of the federal suffrage amendment.

She was also the representative from Vermont in the demonstration of the forty-seven states which appealed to Governor Holcomb for Connecticut's support. After the suffrage association was disbanded, Mrs. Olzendam saw the women of her state lined up in their new relation as woman voters to the National League of Women Voters, and became the first chairman of its state branch.

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The Book Stall

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Views and Reviews from the Standpoint of International Suffragists

BRIEF mention is here made of the *Report of the Eighth Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance*, held in Geneva, Switzerland, last June, which is now published and may be had from the International's headquarters at 11 Adam Street, Adelphi, London, or at the National American Woman Suffrage Association, 171 Madison Avenue, New York City. Price, 4 shillings, or \$1.00.

The book contains a complete record of the actions of the Congress. It contains also the most important resolutions passed, and these are printed in English, French and German.

It includes the programme of women's rights, previously published in the *Citizen*, resolutions on the League of Nations, prostitution and venereal disease and the present economic crisis.

Of the reports presented to the Congress by auxiliary societies, those from Czecho-Slovakia, Iceland and the Scandinavian countries, printed in English, are specially interesting. A complete summary of suffrage for women in newly enfranchised countries is given in tabulated form. There are also tables of women's electoral rights, her status of eligibility, the numbers in the electorate, etc.

THE direct method of dealing with social questions is one which the Scandinavian countries do not hesitate to use. Legislation governing illegitimacy has gone far in these countries and now the new Swedish law on venereal diseases touches with equal frankness the question of the single standard of morals.

Among several pamphlets, recently published by the International Woman Suffrage Alliance and received at the *Woman Citizen* office, is one containing two addresses given at the Geneva Congress: *The Necessity for an Equal Moral Standard in Combating Venereal Disease*, by Miss Neilans, and a report of the *New Swedish Law*, written by Dr. Alma Sundqvist.

In Miss Neilans' speech she has pointed out that the remedy for the problem of prostitution is a moral and an educational one; that a legislation which regulates merely throws the burden back upon women, because it is always women—never men—who are regulated.

"My first point," said Miss Neilans, "is that an immoral woman is no greater danger to society than an immoral man. A diseased prostitute by herself is practically harmless; the danger to society lies in the fact that men seek

her in spite of the risk of taking her disease back to clean women and children.

"The habitual prostitute is the inevitable product of the double standard of morals. Women cannot be chaste if large numbers of men are occasionally unchaste. Under a double standard the chastity of the majority of women is paid for by the creation of habitual prostitutes.

"The problem of prostitution is a subject which will more and more come to the front, and upon which it is vitally necessary women of all countries should be well informed.

"The old regulation system is condemned everywhere. Medically, it is acknowledged useless. (See Report of Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases, 1916.)

"The present danger is that a new and in some respects a worse form of regulation is being promoted in many countries which, under the guise of solicitude for health and morality, may give us back all the evils of regulation in a form which appears on the surface to be a real attempt to promote better morals.

"Women must guard against being induced to support this new form of regulation. The old regulation attempted to make vice safe for men; it recognized the inevitability of men's promiscuity and made it a tolerated institution with Government facilities. The new regulation condemns prostitution in women because it sees that prostitution is the breeding ground of venereal disease, but it still believes that it is impossible to prevent the prostitution of men, and so all attack is against the women who live, or may be suspected of living, immorally.

"The distinguishing signs of the new regulation are:

"1. Strict laws against venereal disease.

"2. Arrest and medical examination of women suspected of loose living, or denounced by men, or found by street raids.

"3. Compulsory quarantine of women, often without any trial, for as long as the health authorities think fit.

"4. Compulsory detention of women in

prison or reformatories for long periods.

"5. Side by side with this a public propaganda for providing men with prophylaxis at the public expense.

"The central fact upon which all regulation rests is the compulsory medical examination of women alleged to be immoral or diseased.

"Fight the compulsory examination. If you prevent that you prevent all the rest.

Immorality cannot be fought by police. The real cause of prostitution is wrong ideas. Wrong ideas must be replaced by right ideas. Women have to change the whole of the old bad traditions. Men must understand that female chastity (and therefore freedom from venereal disease) is only possible if men also are chaste. The compulsory examination and attempted compulsory rescue of women will never teach them that. It is only another form of making vice safe for men.

"If you punish women for immorality and put all the blame of disease on women, you are helping to teach young boys and men that you believe in a double standard. The only way to educate towards a single standard is to act upon it—in medical matters, in law and in administration, and in the expression of public opinion.

"Challenge all inequality. Nothing is so educative, nothing makes theories so alive as constant discussion and argument about them.

"Justice is more than morality. In short justice is morality.

THE New Swedish Law passed in 1918 and in force since the beginning of 1919 has the following features:

"Registration of prostitutes is not allowed. Everybody suffering from a venereal disease must submit to due medical treatment and observe the prescriptions of the physician concerning treatment and prevention of infection. Examination, treatment and all remedies are free to all. Examination and treatment are made by certain physicians: specialists paid by the State. A sufficient number of physicians are to be appointed, according to the population and where more than one physician is needed at least one of them shall be a woman. Office hours shall be fixed so that they are convenient for the public and polyclinics must be arranged in such a way that nobody ought to be or to feel compromised by coming there. Every patient gets a leaflet about treatment enjoining carefulness about infecting others. Patients who do not follow the prescriptions or the advice of the physician, or who do not come back for treatment or for necessary repeated examinations, are to be reported to a special

physician—the so-called inspector of health—who may compel them to go into a hospital.

"Every physician must ask every patient for the source of infection, whose name and address are to be reported to the inspector of health, who can force the reported person to examination and in case of disease to treatment. If the reported persons are regarded as especially dangerous as carriers of infection; they may be compelled to enter hospitals. Anybody who knows or suspects himself of suffering from venereal disease and who nevertheless exposes others to infection, is guilty and may be condemned to a fine or imprisonment not exceeding two years. In cases of legal proceedings for certain offences of sexual character, examination and due treatment shall be made.

"The penalty for procurers and men who live on prostitutes has been much increased, but there is no penalty for solicitation. As to marriage, everybody in Sweden, men or women, must, before getting a licence to marry, sign a declaration that he or she is not aware of suffering from any venereal disease. If a physician knows that a patient of his, still being infectious, is going to marry, the physician has to prevent the marriage, by a report to the local authorities.

"Concerning education, this law says: The Government must provide for public information about the nature and infections of venereal diseases, about means to prevent infection, and about the duty of all infected persons to submit to medical treatment. To effect this, the Government has formed a Commission for public information about these matters."

Minimum Wage Laws

THREE new pamphlets of the National Consumers' League are its Ten Years' Program, and two minimum wage pamphlets. One contains excerpts from employers' statements on the benefits of the minimum wage to employer and worker. The other, *American Minimum Wage Laws at Work*, by Dorothy W. Douglas, is a reprint from the *American Economic Review*. Mrs. Douglas points out what has long been apparent to observers of the minimum wage, that experience under our fifteen state laws does not furnish us much authoritative information as to whether the American minimum wage has attained the accepted ideal that "a fair wage is a living wage," for "only three states have in operation any rulings of wide application that the scientific student of minimum standards could term at all adequate. Eight have a series of substandard rulings, and the remaining four have none at all."

The review, which outlines the provisions of the various state laws and the concrete problems of minimum wage legislation, concludes that the general needs in minimum wage legislation in the United States are: (1) a real living standard; (2) a more flexible standard; and (3) centralization of administrative responsibility.

The National Consumers' League's program for 1920-1930 is based upon its pronounced purpose of "awakening responsibility . . . in behalf of enlightened standards for workers and honest products for all."

The Second Thoughts of Governor Miller

GOVERNOR NATHAN L. MILLER of New York addressed a banquet of the League of Women Voters in Albany on January 26th. An account of that speech was carried in the *Woman Citizen* of February 5th. The address was taken down by several stenographers and sent out to the press. Editorial comment of many newspapers indicate that editors generally interpreted this speech in exactly the same way as the members of the League of Women Voters who were present.

What the Governor said to the League of Women Voters:

ALBANY, Jan. 27.—Governor Miller told the members of the New York State League of Women Voters that an organization such as theirs was a menace to American institutions.

"I do think," said the Governor, "that there is no proper place for a league of women voters, precisely as I should say that there was no place for a league of men voters. And I have a very firm conviction that any such organization which seeks to exert political power is a menace to our institutions, unless it is organized as a political party."

"When I was invited to speak to you," he said, "I said very frankly that I entertained some views which were different from yours and that I could not appear by coming here to support something which I did not believe in and that if I were to come at all it would have to be under the understanding that I should talk to you very frankly and precisely what I think.

"I said that any body, not organized as a political party, which seeks to exert political influence, is a menace. It is a strong statement.

"Our institutions were so framed that party government is essential to their perpetuity, and a two-party system, if our representative system is to endure, is necessary.

"The fundamental theory of our Government is the rule of the majority, and only through a political party representing the majority or as near the majority as that may be possible can you secure an expression of the will of the people, and, therefore, it is that under our system of government the two-party system is essential.

"My next proposition is that, if you have the influence you ought to have, if you are to exert the influence that your ability and your standing in the community entitles you to exercise, you must do it through the medium of a political party.

"Now the only way you can have responsible government is through a party. A party has something to work for; and the something to work for, if it is properly organized, is the success of the principles to which it is devoted.

"It may be that the things you stand for," the Governor told the women, "are in the public interest, but you are not the judges of that. I have heard it said that you are not partisan. But you cannot be non-partisan and seek to exert political power."

What the Governor tells Mrs. Vanderlip that he said:

Governor Miller from his sick bed sent a letter to Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip, President of the New York State League of Women Voters, in which he told her that some of the things he had said in his speech delivered at a dinner of the league held here on Jan. 27 had apparently been misunderstood.

State of New York.
Executive Chamber.

Albany, Feb. 8, 1921.

To Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip, President New York State League of Women Voters, 37 West Thirty-ninth Street, New York City.

Dear Mrs. Vanderlip—Illness has prevented an earlier reply to the letter of Jan. 28, 1921, addressed to me by yourself and other enrolled Republicans of the League of Women Voters.

It is evident from your letter that I failed to make myself understood on the occasion of your banquet on the 27th.

I do not deny your "right to work as a group outside the political party for political measures."

I do not condemn non-partisan groups.

In criticising the exertion of political power by such groups, I did not refer to the right of petition or the undoubted right to favor or oppose measures or candidates. I thought I made it plain, at any rate I now wish to make it plain, that I referred only to the use of the voting power of such groups as groups to cajole or coerce, to reward or punish public officials. My objection to that is that it tends to substitute minority for majority rule, irresponsible for responsible government, group or class interest for the public welfare.

All groups which use group voting power to impose their wills on others are dangerous to the extent of their ability to control by such methods.

I have not questioned the honesty of your motives. Indeed, I have great respect for the women who are active in your organization.

I deplore the continuance of sex distinctions in the discharge of political obligations, and I consider that women will accomplish more by exerting their influence within the party organization of their choice than by acting independently, but I criticise no one for holding a different view.

If you will re-examine the questions asked at the conclusion of your letter I am sure that you will agree with me that they answer themselves.

Very sincerely yours,

NATHAN L. MILLER.

The Governor's letter was in response to a letter of protest signed by a number of prominent Republican women affiliated with the league, which was sent to him the day after his speech was delivered.

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The Nation's Plan for Americanization

(Continued from page 1004)

This experience suggests the experience of another, also a teacher of foreign women in their homes. The women students had learned enough of the language and had welcomed the teacher so often that an exchange of confidences occurred as the usual order of things. The foreign woman told of the difficulties of living and of the high cost necessary to live. Her son was at that time receiving six dollars a day and her husband eight dollars in a large industrial concern in the town where they lived. Cautious and sympathetic inquiry by the teacher finally brought forth the account book with the corner groceryman. Reading from this list of household supplies disclosed to the teacher the names of articles written in the list of actual purchases, the nature of which the housewife was wholly unfamiliar with and which she had not bought. For months this practice had been carried on by the grocer. The greatest leak in the domestic finances was stopped by this contact. Did the corner groceryman interpret deliberately misrepresent the mission of the worker in his talk to those newly arrived immigrant women?

The public schools also should reorganize their daily contacts with the children of foreign birth. They should organize classes to teach the children to speak English, bringing into these classes children of all ages for the special training to fit them to enter the classes for which their former education and training qualify them.

CLASSES in factories where women are working are being formed, and in these classes the message of America is reaching those for whom it was spiritually intended, but which economic conditions would automatically and relentlessly prevent.

At the present time the Government is only authorized to promote specifically the organization of classes in public schools to teach the foreigner who is a candidate for citizenship. The Congress has wisely legislated by placing this authority with the Bureau of Naturalization. Under the same plan by which Congress legislated to place certain educational promotion work with the Department of Agriculture, because of its exclusive governmental contacts with the farming population of the country, so Congress, again acting fundamentally, placed this educational authority with the Bureau of Naturalization. This bureau has a contact with over a million foreigners on their way annually to the goal of American citizenship. Under this legislative authority the public school machinery of the entire United States, working in thousands of communities, has been linked with the Government and is now functioning through the Division of Citizenship Training of this bureau in the stimulation of the local municipal consciousness to the organization of

classes for adults. While the urge of the Government is as the present law limits it, that is, to the organization of classes to teach those who are coming into citizenship the responsibilities soon to be theirs, the machinery of the public schools is set now for the teaching of the entire adult body of the country embraced within the field of illiteracy.

THE plans for the next months are to increase the number of class organizations in new places. Under the inspiration of this office classes were established in railroad camps, logging camps, mining camps, rural communities in individual homes on farms, and in cities and towns, during the past year, for the purpose of bringing the message of citizenship and the medium of our language to these new national assets. Classes have been organized in areas where the thought of the development of schooling forces had never journeyed; on the plains and in the forest fastnesses, in railroad shops, in factories, and, most of all, in increasing numbers, in the homes where the women of foreign birth are almost literally cloistered. All branches of public organizations are supporting, consciously and subconsciously, this work.

Congress, realizing that the public school forces have been co-ordinated by this branch of the Federal Government, has in contemplation legislation to broaden the scope and increase the efficiency, both of the local public school and of this branch of the Federal Government, in their joint efforts. This legislation is pending before the House of Representatives, and upon this point I suggest, as this is purely legislative matter and not administrative, that full information regarding this may be obtained from the Chairman of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization of the House of Representatives.

I trust that these events forecast the immence of the time when the hope of the immortal Lincoln may be realized: "I hope the time may come when our country shall guarantee to all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life."

THE Council of Jewish Women is just now centering attention on the immigration question. At Baltimore, San Francisco and Denver social effort in America for the assimilation of the immigrant has been featured at recent meetings of local sections.

IN West Virginia's January elections, four women have been elected to municipal offices. Mrs. Agnes Duffy and Mrs. C. Wright, Democrats, are now members of the Richwood City Council, and Mrs. Kate B. Frame of the Sutton Council. Mrs. B. P. Hall is a school commissioner.

In this Number
of the
WOMAN CITIZEN

**A PLEA FOR
STATE CENSORSHIP
OF
THE MOVIES**

*This is the opposite point of view
from that presented in last week's
issue.*

In following numbers, other articles will be published giving the opinions of those who want to see better motion picture plays, but who do not all agree as to what constitutes the best public oversight of this great enterprise.

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See review on page 1008

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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

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February 26, 1921



HERE'S WISHING YOU WELL!

MRS. CATT'S SUGGESTION TO AID STARVING CHINESE

THAT suggestion of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt's for keeping alive some, at any rate, of the 15,000,000 Chinese who have reached the starvation point is worth taking up. In view of the Lenten season, Mrs. Catt suggests killing two birds with one stone by saving a Chinese life and observing Lent at the same time.

She suggests that every household in America that is even moderately well-to-do could with profit deny itself some article of diet or even some little table delicacy during Lent and turn over the equivalent in money week by week to the American Committee for China Famine Fund. The very least that an individual would save day by day by this small act of self denial, it is pointed out, would keep a Chinese in comparative opulence for twenty-four hours. Reliable estimates show that a Chinese can get all the nourishment he needs for three cents a day, which is, at a guess, about the cost of the amount of Worcestershire sauce that one pours over a lamb chop. It would not be at all a bad Lenten exercise for such as are addicted to the sauce habit to try substituting for the titillation of the palate induced by the piquant flavor of a favorite sauce the glow of satisfaction at the knowledge that by sparing the condiment one was saving a life.

This is one way of helping the unfortunate people in China who are starving to death at the rate of 10,000 a day. There are plenty of other ways, the obvious one being to send a check to the American Committee for China Famine Fund, of which Thomas W. Lamont is chairman. One thing is certain. If a ghastly calamity is to be averted America has got to take the greatest share in averting it. She should do so. She has long been recognized and has recognized herself as China's best friend. China is a sister republic, and is not only a good friend but a good customer to this country. As time goes on and stable conditions of government come about, China will be a better customer than ever, perhaps the best we shall have. The United States Chamber of Commerce was only stating the literal truth when, in a recent manifesto addressed to its 27,000 members, appealing for help for China, it said that "both humanity and self-interest require that we do our utmost to avert the greatest calamity in recorded history."

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THE WOMAN CITIZEN

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in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the
cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

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Vol. V New Style

FEBRUARY 26, 1921

No. 39

The Truth About The Black Troops On the Rhine

will be given in an article by
MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

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of
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of the Association.

The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME V

FEBRUARY 26, 1921

NUMBER 39

It is not to be understood that the WOMAN CITIZEN gives editorial endorsement to the opinions expressed in articles signed with name, initials, or pseudonym. Such articles may be at dagger's point with the editorial commitment, or in exact accord with it. They are printed because they seem worth printing and not because of any agreement in their expressed opinions. The editors speak for the magazine in the editorial pages.

PRESIDENT-ELECT HARDING'S CABINET is, as no Cabinet ever was before, a matter of direct interest to women. In the selection of Charles Evans Hughes as Secretary of State literally everybody seems to find cause for satisfaction. Likewise the inclusion of Mr. Hoover in the Cabinet, as Secretary of Commerce, has been almost prayerfully awaited. As Postmaster-General, Mr. Will Hays should have full scope for the expression of the organizing abilities that made him famous at the head of the Republican campaign committee. Henry Wallace of Iowa, the choice for Secretary of Agriculture, is accounted another "strong man," and while ex-Senator Weeks of Massachusetts would never be *persona grata* to the majority of women because of his hostility to suffrage as part of his reactionaryism, he is a man of mental capacity. Albert B. Fall of New Mexico may need introduction to the woman voter as Secretary of the Interior, but he was no stranger in the suffrage struggle and is considered to bring appreciable qualifications to his Cabinet post. At this writing the Labor portfolio seems likely to go to James J. Davis, a former Union man, of Pennsylvania and Illinois, while Andrew Mellon, also of Pennsylvania, of a family of reputed vast wealth, will have the Treasury portfolio. Edwin Denby, slated for the Navy portfolio, has been in Congress and scores for his position by having been an enlisted man in the Navy and the Marine Corps. Only in the choice of Harry M. Daugherty as Attorney-General has Mr. Harding allowed political considerations to outweigh considerations of ability in the Cabinet lineup. Mr. Daugherty's selection has sent up a volume of protest equal in strength to the approbation resultant upon the choice of Hughes and Hoover. Mr. Daugherty is considered to qualify as a politician and as nothing else.

WOMEN are watching with eager eyes the efforts to get the great powers to agree upon a mutual reduction of armaments. The futility of their constant race to outdo one another in providing new and more deadly means of destruction is well illustrated in some remarks made by U. S. Representative Kelley of Michigan in a recent debate. He said of air-craft:

"So far, the air is only an additional weapon, and has not displaced anything. In fact, no weapon of warfare ever seems to displace any other weapon. It just makes one more. When we got the submarine we thought we had everything else put out of business; but not so. We just have the submarine besides. When we got the destroyer, with torpedo range constantly increasing, it was then asserted that the battleship days were over. But there is always some sort of protection which genius will find to stop the weapon that we think is going to do the damage. I was impressed with this idea down at Indianapolis, where I have been many times. They have a place down there where they test out armor plate and shells. The test for the shell is to

be able to go through the best armor plate that is made, and the test for the armor plate is to stop the best shell that is made. So you see you always get something to head the other thing off."

We all go on spending billions in the hope of evolving something that will enable us to crush any other nation, and invariably something else is evolved that proves an offset to it. It would be better to come to an agreement for a mutual reduction.

HAVING educated men into a realization that woman suffrage would not break up the home, desex women, ruin the world and change the color of their wives' eyes, it now devolves upon women to prove that jury duty will not break up, etc. All over the country the old arguments against woman suffrage are being trotted out against women on juries. How hard the old Adam dies! Judges who distinguished themselves as suffragists are afraid of women in the jury box, women being the emotional sex, you know. No, you don't know, at least, not after you have once seen twelve good men and true reduced to the last stage of sentimental bathos by the soft and seductive and tearful woman criminal. Women should be eligible to jury duty in every state in the union, not because jury service is a personal privilege but because it is a social duty.

WE are beguiled by a great financial institution which sends us a letter beginning "Dear Miss—" to call our particular attention to its pamphlet entitled "What Every Foresighted Business Man Should Know."

It is an advanced financial institution which does well by women. It, at least partly, recognizes that there is no sex in money and is as anxious to use women's money as men's. We don't want to be captious but why doesn't it bring its literature up to date? We are no man. And if women are out in the business world in sufficient numbers to make them non-negligible by business men why not admit it on the face of the business approach?

WOMEN keep trying out journalistic ventures on their own in the hope of getting on to the printed page life as it is lived outside of the editorial sanctums of women's magazines. The latest evidence comes from Norway, where a daily newspaper for women is being launched. In discussing the project the editor voices the old discontent with the achieved product:

"There are lots of magazines devoted to the special interests of women, but they are magazines and not dailies, and they are frequently controlled by men. The only connection men will have with *Norges Kvinder* is that they may read it."

THE tendency to honor the suffrage pioneers is spreading. The Boston Public Library has possessed for many years a beautiful bust of Lucy Stone, made by Anne Whitney, and presented to the library by Mrs. Judith W. Smith. During the days of the unpopularity of the cause, it stood in an upper room where comparatively few persons saw it. Lately it has been brought downstairs, and it now adorns the main reading room, where the suffragists look at it with much satisfaction.

The Week in Congress

From the Woman Citizen's Washington Bureau

Washington, D. C., February 21, 1921.

CHANGES of vital interest to the country in the conduct of national elections and in the inauguration have been proposed by members of the present Congress. But in the absence of any disposition to push for action in the present session there is more than a suggestion that affairs may be permitted to jog on as before until another national election again makes evident the need for reform.

One of the pending bills was introduced by Senator Ashurst of Arizona and provides that the terms of the President and Vice-President shall begin on the third Monday in January instead of the fourth of March following the elections and that the terms of members of Congress shall begin on the first Monday in January instead of the fourth of March.

Senator Ashurst claims for his bill that "it would do away with the waste of time in the short session of Congress at the close of each administration and would permit any incoming administration to put into immediate effect its change in policies."

In the House there is pending a bill introduced by Representative Summers of Texas to abolish the sending of the electoral vote by messengers to Washington and the printing of the official returns. Mr. Summers calls attention to the fact that "twenty-five cents per mile is allowed each electoral messenger on an expense account and that this year the cost of printing the official returns will amount to \$2500."

Senator Johnson of California has been for some weeks investigating the legal aspects of his proposed bill for a presidential preferential primary to give the voters of the nation an opportunity to declare their wishes for presidential candidates. Senator Johnson has indicated his intention of drawing a bill to this effect as soon as he is certain of the necessary legal procedure.

THE attention of all Washington is of course turned toward the inauguration on March 4. No single phase has attracted more interest than the plans for a shelter for the President while he stands on the Capitol steps to take the oath of office. A wooden canopy will protect Mr. Harding, since it has been decided to install over his head a machine to project his voice out to the waiting thousands on the plaza who otherwise would hear no word of the inaugural address.

The records of previous inaugurations all emphasize the anxiety which has gripped the city over the possible exposure of each incoming President to the rain and snow. The state of the weather is carefully set down in each account and when the chronicler has been able to state that the sun shone, a burst of gratitude has demonstrated his relief that the President had been spared possible ill effects from cold and dampness.

Washington borrowed three thousand dollars to make his journey northward to the first inauguration in New York City on April 30, 1789, according to some historians, and he has the distinction of making the briefest inaugural address, only 134 words. The second inauguration of Washington and the inauguration of John Adams took place in Philadelphia. Thomas Jefferson was the first president to be inaugurated in Washington. Senator John Sharp Williams of Mississippi takes issue with some of the historians of that day who relate with gusto how the statesman with simple ideas rode by himself to the Capitol and tied his horse to the palings. Senator Williams says, "This was not true for three reasons: First, because the distance was too short to make it necessary to have his horse; and, secondly, because,

from the best information I can get, there was no fence there at that time; and, third, because a good horseman—and Jefferson was about the best—would not hitch his horse to a fence if he could find a swinging limb or even a hitching post under a shed. After Jefferson had taken the oath he went back to his boarding house, taking his old seat, and declining amid laughing protest to go to the head of the table. He stayed there several days before he went to Monticello. He rode meantime freely and unattended around Washington. Afterwards, when President, if he wanted to see a Senator or a Member of Congress, he rode up to the Capitol and saw him, hitching his horse under one of the construction sheds on the uncompleted House wing side of the Capitol; hence, perhaps by confusion, the horse was given him at the inauguration."

WHEN James Monroe was inaugurated on March 4, 1817, the White House was in ruins from the visit three years before of the British troops and after the inauguration the President and his family went to the Octagon House at New York avenue and Eighteenth street, which served as the presidential mansion. Historians tell of John Quincy Adams that he wore to his inauguration on March 4, 1825, "a suit of plain black cloth made wholly of American wool and American manufacture."

Martin Van Buren rode to his inauguration in 1837 seated in "an elegant phaeton constructed of oak from the original timber of the frigate Constitution," drawn by the four carriage horses of the retiring president, Andrew Jackson. The multitude which thronged the White House grounds later to offer congratulations was said to be "a promiscuous one and the reception lacked order and decorum." William Henry Harrison rode horseback to his inauguration on March 4, 1841 and when Harrison died during his term the vice-president, John Tyler, took his oath before William Crauch, chief judge of the circuit court of the District of Columbia and since Congress was not in session there was no event at the Capitol itself. James K. Polk suffered from one of the particularly bad weather inaugurations on March 4, 1845. Abraham Lincoln participated in a distinctly novel feature in his inauguration. After he took the oath he kissed each one of the thirty-four young ladies representing the thirty-four states then in the union. On his second inauguration the Capitol was surrounded by the rebel army and a feature of the procession was a working model of the original Monitor, made at the Navy Yard and manned by seamen and naval apprentices who fired salutes from its turret at intervals during the procession. When Andrew Johnson took the oath, after Lincoln's death, it was at the Kirkwood Hotel, now a department store at Twelfth street and Pennsylvania avenue.

ABITTER, cold day greeted the inauguration of Ulysses S. Grant on March 4, 1873, and historians tell of the temporary unheated building where those who had paid twenty dollars apiece for inaugural ball tickets shivered in their wraps, deserted the champagne and punch for coffee and were driven out by the cold before midnight.

When the time came for the inauguration of Rutherford B. Hayes in 1877 it was the third occasion since the constitution was adopted of an inauguration falling on Sunday. So while there were the usual ceremonies on Monday, the new President actually had taken a secret oath on the preceding Saturday evening at the White House, the precaution all unknown to the guests who were then assembling there for a dinner party.

(Continued on page 1023)

Putting It Up to the Department of Education

By a New Hampshire Advocate of State Censorship of Motion Pictures

MORE than passing interest has been aroused in New Hampshire over an effort to secure state censorship of moving pictures. House Bill No. 243 introduced in the New Hampshire Legislature in January provides that the responsibility of censorship shall be carried on by "The Commissioner of Education or any deputy in the Department of Education acting under said Commissioner." To those who are familiar with the standards of the newly created Board of Education in New Hampshire, it is recognized at once that the censorship in this department would be carried on in a high grade, conscientious manner. Already two hearings have been held before the House Judiciary Committee and the supporters were legion, including representatives from the following state organizations: the headmaster of the State Grange; New Hampshire Federation of Women's Clubs; the League of Women Voters; Parent-Teachers' Association; the W. C. T. U.; the presidents of several clubs; members of the Legislature; ministers representing their community organizations; a noted mental specialist who served for 37 years at the head of our State Hospital for the Insane; representatives from the State Board of Charities and Correction, and social workers.

At the two hearings on the bill the exhibitors who opposed censorship were in attendance in round numbers, and presented the hackneyed argument that has always been produced against an effort for censorship, namely, that it would put the small houses out of commission, and that they would readily join in an effort to secure federal censorship, and recommended in a greater or less degree the advisability of attempting municipal censorship, wherever a campaign has been on. Another line of attack from the exhibitors is from the angle of its being un-American to attempt censorship. I quote the following from a speech delivered in Plymouth, Massachusetts, on December 22d, 1919, by a former distinguished United States Senator: "If organizations will not voluntarily discharge their moral duties to society, then those moral duties must be made legal obligations; and as such, enforced by all the power of society."

WHEREVER a campaign has been on in behalf of state censorship these objections from the point of exhibitors have been in evidence. We have only to turn to the records of the four states, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Maryland and Kansas, now provided with a law for state censorship, to prove that many of the arguments of those opposed are absolutely without foundation.

Governor Sproul of Pennsylvania has said: "After an experience of several years Pennsylvania would not consider being without a censorship of moving pictures." From a report of the Ohio Board of Censorship the following: "Censorship of motion pictures not only assures cleaner pictures for the state, but also assures a larger patronage. The motion picture men of Ohio are strongly in favor of state censorship, and frankly say their business is better because hundreds of people who refused to attend picture shows formerly are regular patrons now and bring their children with them. No exhibitor of films in this state will claim that their business has been hurt by censorship, and whenever an attempt has been made by producing companies to repeal our law, the motion picture men have stood solidly in favor of censorship. There has been no increase in the charges or admission to motion picture houses, nor have the managers of theatres had to pay more for their films. Censorship has not put any burden of expense on the state, the managers of theatres nor the patrons, but the producing companies have had to pay the censorship fee. The number of theatres has increased 300 since we have had state censorship." One of the leading exhibitors in Ohio

states, "You will have to show me something better than state censorship before I will do anything to repeal the law in Ohio." The record from Kansas is as follows: "The State of Kansas also passed a censorship act, prohibiting the exhibition of any motion picture film unless it had first been submitted to and approved by the Superintendent of Public Instruction." The official report from the State Board of Censorship in Maryland states, "The work of the Board has been conscientiously and painstakingly done, and the fact that Maryland censored prints are greatly in demand in the neighboring states where there is no legal censorship is conclusive evidence of the value of the work done by the Board." The chairman of the Board further states, "I firmly believe that the work of our Board is contributing, and will continue to contribute, to the quality of our citizenship by establishing right principles of life and the approval of high ideals through the educational medium of the motion picture."

OUTSIDE of the states and within the province of Canada we find such reports as this: "All of Canada is working successfully under provincial censorship. Ontario has had governmental censorship for eight years. All the films go there first and she practically sets the standards for the other provinces. At first, 75 per cent of the films which came before the board required some form of elimination, now only 40 per cent need change."

A bill has also been introduced in the New Hampshire Legislature to regulate the use of billboards in connection with moving pictures. It would seem from my observation of the movie advertising in the newspapers, and the display of startling advertising in front of moving picture theatres, that the inventor of the press and the original genius of art in the realm of illustration would turn over in their graves if they could see the material that is being produced these days to attract the masses who have helped to contribute \$900,000,000 to the moving picture houses in the United States during the last year.

It is my belief that bills for state censorship are being presented before the legislative bodies of at least 25 states. Is it too much to hope that a provision for state censorship may be secured in many of these states this year?

Rhode Island Also Speaks

THE Rhode Island State Federation of Women's Clubs hereby puts itself on record as endorsing state censorship of motion pictures.

The time has come when right thinking women (especially mothers) are fully realizing that many of the pictures shown today are lowering the morals and ideals of our young people. Not long ago an eight-year-old girl asked her mother after visiting a picture house, why it was that in all pictures men and their wives quarreled. A school teacher in Rhode Island tells of a fourteen-year-old pupil who frequents picture houses and says she tries to be like the stars in the pictures. If our children are taking from moving pictures their ideals surely there must be a great change in the character of some of our pictures else the present generation will become undesirable mothers and fathers.

It is certainly refreshing to witness a moving picture which uplifts and makes one feel that life is after all a wonderful experience. As Americans we have an important part to play in the history of the world, and we must stand for cleanness and right thinking.

As club women let us do all we can to secure pictures which are not a menace to our children.

NANNIE B. GIBSON,
President Rhode Island State Federation of Women's Clubs.

Get Together—Let's Go!

*Here Is a Tool With Which to Work for Better Movies
Presented By*

The National Motion Picture League

THE National Motion Picture League, with headquarters at 381 Fourth Avenue, New York City, is an organization which exists for the betterment of motion picture standards.

Its president is Mrs. Adele F. Woodard. Its two vice-presidents are Daniel Carter Beard, President of the Boy Scouts of America, and Dr. William L. Ettinger, Superintendent of New York City schools. Dr. Lee K. Frankel of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. is its Treasurer.

Among its prominent directors and executive officers are: Miss Bessie Locke, of the National Kindergarten Association; Dr. Ernest L. Crandall, director of lectures and visual instruction of the New York City Board of Education; Mr. George Gordon Battle, Professor William H. Dudley of the University of Wisconsin, members of the Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teachers' Association from various states.

Among its sponsors on the Chicago Auxiliary are: Miss Mary McDowell of the National League of Women Voters, Miss Harriet E. Vittum, Dr. Peter A. Mortenson, Superintendent Chicago Public Schools.

Its activities are given in the text of this article which is furnished by its president.—EDS.

THE motion picture as a medium of expression extends several advantages to society which make it a worth-while institution, deserving our support.

In the first place, it is a much-needed community force, especially in our present day, when many forces tend to disintegrate community life. To the individual, the motion picture affords rest, recreation, and amusement, all of which are essentials, especially in these days of severe nerve strain. To children and young people, the movie assists in education and character-building. The screen also speaks with authority to illiterate adults whose ideas of life depend largely upon environment. Educators need the motion picture to assist in giving their pupils accurate concepts.

The movies are worth saving. They have been permitted to become a menace to our welfare, partly because people with the public interest at heart, have not seen their true value. The world needs the motion picture. We should not attempt to overthrow it. Of course, the present-day movie, generally speaking, cannot and will not be tolerated. The power for evil which the movie has been exerting, must be broken. Some of the evil effects of many of our motion pictures of today are indicated by the following extract from a letter written by Dr. Earle Edward Eubank, Dean of the Young Men's Christian Association College:

"Screen actors have prestige with the majority of those who flock to see them. They are admired by an ever-growing throng of enthusiastic followers, many of whom envy their distinction as well, with an uncritical admiration which does not distinguish even when the character portrayed is ridiculous below a point of real humor or decency, or is guilty of conduct which is immoral; and the demoralizing effect of the conduct itself is overlooked by reason of the fact that the actor is esteemed.

"Any suggestion, whether harmful or otherwise, is given immense weight when depicted upon the screen simply from the fact that it is depicted. A vastly increased influence is added by the impressive way in which the master-producers of the movie world have learned to present the story. A commonplace idea becomes massive when given the setting which modern film-art knows how to effect.

"The incredible extent which the picture business has attained makes possible an endless chain of film programs, and so the same

ideas and suggestions are reiterated in a host of varying ways. Such volume and duration of suggestion must in course of time make an impression upon the hardest stone. Moreover, this weight of suggestion comes at the time when the mind is unoccupied by other things and so does not have to fight for a place of occupancy in the mind.

"The foregoing considerations are applicable to all ages, but they have peculiar applicability in the case of the child; for it is in childhood that the mind is at its height of uncritical suggestibility."

MISS EDNA DEAN BAKER, President of the National Kindergarten College, also gives the psychological reaction as follows:

"While any portrayal of life that is honest must include shadows, must show an occasional eclipse of the sun, and must echo the thunders of some storm, yet these darker strains should be suggested only. The depicting in movement, color, form, and with musical accompaniment of the revolting details of murder, drunkenness and lust, makes an indelible impression upon the observer, and their suggestibility is decidedly more powerful than the same details read in a newspaper or book.

"The Motion Picture should seek to give innocent pleasure, to develop a clean sense of humor, to afford a recreation that vitalizes instead of debilitates, that truly recreates, lifting life to higher levels of thinking, feeling and doing."

If we destroy one evil, therefore, we must build good in its place; Nature abhors a vacuum, and if we do not fill the vacancy with good, another evil, and often a worse evil, will flow in.

If we destroy the saloon, what then? We must supply a substitute. Perhaps that is one reason why prohibition is succeeding better than some of us expected. Those who are thinking of public welfare are busy supplying substitutes, by way of recreation, for the saloon. Degrading movies, and the sensuous dancing which are weakening the moral fiber of our young people, must be prohibited, but what is there to substitute? This is a chief concern of thinking people all over the country.

The National Motion Picture League is a welfare institution organized for the purpose of pointing out a substitute for the harmful movie. The substitute which the League proposes is "Good Movies"—not goody-good movies, for they cause a hatred of good, which is as harmful as a love of evil—but clean, clever, wholesome movies which make one laugh and chuckle and wonder and relax and grow and hope and enthuse.

From a psychological standpoint, there is no place for a negative morbid melodrama or a stupid, vulgar slapstick which makes one ashamed to face one's friends after the show. Those producers who are intelligently studying their audiences are discovering that the decent, wholesome show is actually drawing the crowds, and their old theory of giving the public views of vice and depravity because they think the public wants them, has been worn threadbare and proved a mistake.

The public wants decency. This is proved every day. The theaters which are playing to the best houses are those which play the stars whose general line of pictures is clever and wholesome.

People of this age seek cleverness and efficiency, and I dare say that it is the cleverness in the crime pictures that appeals rather than the displaying of criminal detail. In fact, the detail of crime is a handicap to the sale of a picture. The same amount of cleverness manifested in a wholesome picture brings better box-office receipts every time.

The clever wholesome picture is receiving the support of the

(Continued on page 1029)

Is the Movie an Art or a Trade?

By Miriam Weiss

IT seems to me that both proponents in the *Woman Citizen's* forum discussion on motion pictures miss two points which are vital. They are really haranguing away about the same thing. They both want censorship. One wants it by a voluntary, public criticism of the motion picture as it is—forgetting how inarticulate, how unanalytical, the ordinary citizen is, his vocabulary being usually limited to two extremes, "great" and "rotten." He can no more point out to the theatre manager the real fault with the film he saw last night, than he can tell the grocer the scientific difference between two kinds of flour.

It is disingenuous for the motion picture people to claim that their audiences like loose, or bad, films. They don't. People generally are just inexpressive. They go away from the theatre bored and disappointed; stay away for awhile, and then "take a chance" on another program when it is convenient to go. Making the audience the censor is totally unfair. The ordinary citizen doesn't want to sweat for his recreations at the end of a perfect day of sweating for his bread and cheese. Besides *he doesn't know what is the matter.*

Neither is the paid state-wide censor going to help matters. He will presumably be a man, with a reformer's attitude towards the movies. He will not be popular with his state unless he censors a great deal, won't seem to earn his salary, in fact. So he will censor lavishly. He will naturally wage a holy war, mainly on a moral basis, and will thus make the fundamental error in the movies worse than it is. The alternative will be dull, improving pictures which will limit the trade as a trade, and discourage the screen as a fine art. For here is the crux of the matter. The photoplay has got to clean itself up. It has got to free itself from commercialism. It is not yet an art but it should become one; for many of its present faults are the faults of atrociously bad taste.

Often when the audience is shocked and disheartened with a film from which it had expected better things, the point of blame is not moral, but artistic. The kind of things the movies present as funny are the same as those Jerome K. Jerome found in comic supplements. "They reduce humor to the level of the meanest intelligence."

ONE of the reasons why the motion picture is not yet a fine art, is the same reason which makes it a moral and social menace, although there is a ground reason for its lack of artistry that lies within itself. Of that later. The motion picture theatre business is frankly and baldly a money-making affair which can now afford to snap its fingers at both art and morals. No one has, as yet, put the same kind of sacrifice of personal well-being for art's sake into the making of a perfect scenario that countless generations of men and women have put into the creation of a perfect drama, or poem, or piece of music or sculpture. Who starves in a garret that the perfect photoplay may live? Movie actors now roll in limousines, who once could not have bought a barrow to cart their effects from one "legitimate" stage to another. The whole business has need of some other standard than that of commercial prosperity before it is going to be any better at all.

There are, fortunately, even now a few producers who begin to see that the movie has a new hope ahead of it as an art competing with drama and music. The president of the National Board of Review made a plea recently for better art standards. But both he and the producers are overlooking the two most essential things for making it an art. They think if the public

will only let them alone to work out their own problem their own way, they will come at a solution. As a matter of fact they won't come at a solution in a thousand years along the path they are going.

They must raise the screen out of the mire of a mere trade, a mere industry—the *third* greatest industry, they boast, and make it a fine art. And they must accept the limitations of the screen.

The moving picture has some of the same limitations as the opera. One appeals primarily to the ear, the other wholly to the eye. It is not possible within the scope of music to maintain the same high point of verisimilitude as in the spoken drama. Some operas—even Wagner operas—have been most grotesque when they have attempted to do more than is possible.

The screen picture does not convey emotion well. It vulgarizes such emotions as passionate love and tragic sorrow. It adopts a set of ineffective symbols, in which the man actor narrows his eyes, twists his mouth, or doubles his fists and thrusts out his chin, and the girl actor flings her eyes wide and pants her chest like a bellows. After a short time the most casual movie goer has seen about all that the human face and form can say through the camera, even of the grosser emotions. The subtler emotions are never registered at all. This is demonstrated in plays taken from the legitimate stage in which accomplished actors are seen reduced to the bald symbolism of the screen film.

In the meanwhile a whole field of rhythmic motion, capable of creating its own set of values, is sacrificed to the present ugly imitative scenario. An extreme example of this may be seen in the grateful appreciation of photoplay settings when the motion of the wind in the foliage, the fluttering of banners, the rushing of horses, gives more joy to the audience than the plot itself. And as to the emotional capacities of the folk dance, are they not written into the life of every race?

What Vachel Lindsey in his book on the future of the picture play calls its architectonic possibilities, its mastery of structure and form, and its power to create a great symbolic field of its own are overlooked for the banalities of overstressed emotion, and distortions of the human face.

TO sum up. The motion picture should clean itself from its present commercial low-mindedness, and to do this the scenario writer, producer, distributor and theatre manager must themselves be made responsible to the public. Second, the movie must choose one of two paths—the path to an artistic creative plane of its own, or its present shambling, vulgar pathways, which will subject it to increasing attacks from a sensitive and critical public.

Movie License

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE'S amazing experience in the filming of his book, "In the Heart of a Fool," fits into our movie symposium just here with telling effect. This was what happened to him, as told in the noted author's own language:

"I had nothing to do with the filming of it. I wrote a book which had an entirely different story. I sold the movie rights of the book to the outfit that made the picture. Under the court decision when I sell the movie right I sell the right to change the plot. They changed the plot and made it a nasty sex thing."

To a western woman critic who called the picture the worst she ever saw, he wrote: "I am just as much ashamed of it as you can be, but I have no rights in the court. I thank you very much for your frankness in the matter."

Armenia's Representative to Japan

OF all the women brought by the recent course of history to occupy posts of importance in the political field, none is more worthy of note than Mrs. Diana Agabeg Aparcar of Yokohama, Japan, who has been made representative of the Armenian Republic there. That oriental Armenia's first representative to oriental Japan should be a woman is in itself an event of much significance. It is all the more fortunate, therefore, that the personality of that woman should accord so well both with the distinction of the occasion and with the opportunity for usefulness which it offers.

There is a certain inevitableness to the appointment. No one could have been found so appropriate as she, no one whose patriotism and past services are of a higher order. And yet her very suitability might well serve as a matter for surprise; for her lot in life has been cast in regions remote from the home of her ancestors, and her intense interest in and labors for the Armenian cause now and in the past are a remarkable illustration of the persistence of racial and nationalistic feeling under circumstances lacking in the usual incentives.

She was born in Calcutta of Armenian parents, who were themselves born in India. Her native language was English. From her mother she learned the Armenian alphabet. For the rest—in the reading and writing of the language—she is mostly self-taught.

Early in life she married, her husband being the son of a family noted for its commercial activities. It had, and still has, establishments all over the East—in India, China, Java and Japan; and after a time to Japan Mr. and Mrs. Aparcar went. Thus was



MRS. APCAR

she still further isolated from people of her own race. This was thirty years ago. Rarely then in Yokohama, where they lived, did she ever see an Armenian outside of her own family circle. Even to-day the permanent Armenian population of Yokohama numbers only thirteen persons.

But, none the less, through all these years of separation, Mrs. Aparcar's heart and mind were busy with the concerns of her people. She had no time, however, for sustained public effort on their behalf. She had children to care for and, after fifteen years, her husband died and upon her fell the responsibility of carrying on his business. His employees and many of his business connections were Japanese, and it was a difficult situation to meet; but she overcame the difficulties and succeeded in the work and, more than that, she enjoyed it!

With the Adana massacres of 1909 came another acute phase of the so-called "Armenian Question," and it was at this time that she began her noble and indefatigable public work. There at her distant post of duty she wrote short, pithy books, pamphlets and leaflets, and, at her own expense, flooded them upon the world. There, and all without secretarial aid, she conducted a steady and voluminous correspondence with the press of the Orient and with men of influence everywhere.

MRS. APCAR is a mystic, a thoroughly matter-of-fact one—the only kind worth being. She is a devoted daughter of the old Armenian church, and her faith in God is vivid, pervasive, unshakable. She invokes him frequently in her writings, as the Jews invoked Jehovah in the long ago. Indeed there is much of the Deborah about her. She is intensely ethical in her outlook, writes with volcanic heat, and is a master of invective. She would overcome the citadels of cruelty and injustice, not by roundabout methods, but by open and immediate attack.

But combined with these dramatic qualities she possesses a large and solid grasp of the realities of the modern world and the ability to present these logically. No aspect of the international situation is so subtle or so disguised as to escape her detection. And in Armenian politics she is likewise admirable; and especially useful in that she is both single and many-minded. The sundering in the past of the Armenian territory and people by three Powers has not been without its sad and perplexing consequences; but, rare virtue, she has the ability always to see her people and her country not only steadily and whole but from every angle of their component parts. Marvelously she keeps in touch with the Russian, the Turkish, the Persian aspects, understands each, allows for all, scolds and warns when she disagrees, but synthesizes them warmly and constructively into her own single-souled and practical vision.

What she accomplished for the Armenian refugees as they streamed out of Siberia, after the revolution in Russia, to the number of several thousand, either penniless or virtually so because of the depreciated rouble, and sick, hungry and heartbroken, can never be estimated. Some financial assistance came to her from Armenian sources in Russia and America; some from the Red Cross and the Near East Relief. But as these refugees had broken bounds, as it were, by refusing to remain longer inactive in the camps at Vladivostok, they were technically beyond the scope of any organized benevolence. And they were desperately eager to get to Egypt and then home again, or to reach America. It was an appalling situation.

And there at the port of Yokohama this woman stood, the

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It protects the mattress and adds to its life. Made of bleached Muslin padded with white wadding—wash easily—dry light and fluffy as new.

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symbol of Armenia and of maternity to these stricken wanderers. There she stood, greeting and claiming kindred with the stranger, harboring the harborless, healing the sick—literally, with her own hands—assisting at the births, comforting the sorrowful, counseling the doubtful, attending to the pressing matter of transportation, and pausing every now and then to make a wedding cake and to give young men and women in marriage—"Mother Apar," as the refugees very fittingly called her! Well has she earned the honor conferred upon her since by the new Republic and wisely will she meet the difficulties that are before her.

BERTHA SULLIVAN PAPAZIAN.

The Price Armenia Paid

THE following article by Mrs. Apar, published in the *Japan Gazette* of Yokohama, bears its own message:

"The Canadian delegate to the League of Nations Conference has stated (as published in a telegraphic despatch in the *Gazette*): 'Fifty thousand Canadians are under the sod in France, which was the price that Canada has already paid for European statesmanship.'

"Allow me to make a brief statement of the price that Armenia has paid for European statesmanship, calculating only since July, 1914.

"One hundred thousand made meat for German cannon on the battlefields of Poland and East Prussia.

"One hundred thousand and more have been buried under the sod in the Caucasus, and in Northern Armenia.

"They have perished in Mesopotamia, in the Dardanelles, in Gallipoli and on the battlefields of France.

"Tens of thousands have perished fighting in Turkish Armenia and North-Western Persia.

"Caravans of tens of thousands of women and children have been driven under the lash, kicks and blows of Turkish gendarmes, naked, famished, panting and fainting with thirst along the banks of the Euphrates, to perish of hunger, homelessness and exhaustion in desert places.

"Tens of thousands of children have been buried alive. Women crucified and tortured to death. Men murdered with frightful tortures, so fearful and horrible as could not be described.

"Two hundred thousand women and girls still remain enslaved in Turkish harems in a slavery the most abhorrent and cruel.

"Five hundred thousand refugees eking out a miserable existence.

"Two hundred thousand orphans deprived of parents and homes and supported by Charity.

"Since the signing of the Armistice thirty-five thousand defenceless refugees massacred in Cilicia, the southernmost province of Armenia on the Mediterranean coast.

"War still going on in Northern Armenia, and brave men being buried under the sod in their gallant attempt to defend their freedom.

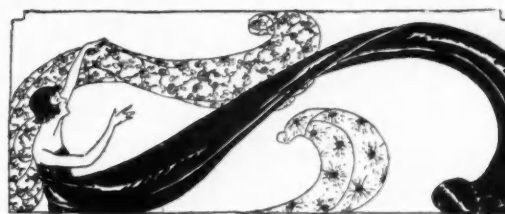
The Week in Congress

(Continued from page 1018)

James A. Garfield is said to have turned after making his inaugural address on March 4, 1881, and kissed his mother and then his wife. After Garfield was assassinated, dying on September 19, 1881, the oath was taken by Chester A. Arthur at 2:15 on that morning in his New York City home with Judge J. R. Brady of the New York Supreme Court administering it. Two days later the oath was again administered in Washington by the chief justice of the Supreme Court.

Grover Cleveland at his first inauguration borrowed an umbrella from Secretary Fairchild as the carriage rolled out of the White House gates in the pouring rain. "We are honest folks, we will bring it back," he called out, but the historian does not tell whether he did.

MARJORIE SHULER.



Spring Silks

FOR LENTEN SEWING

THE new Spring Silks are so beautifully adapted to the Easter styles in Frocks that the lovely weaves, new designs and colorings displayed in our Silk Section, have a special significance for the woman who designs or makes her own dresses.

Canton Crepes
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A very flower garden of glorious colors and softly draping, lustrous textures, forecasts the Easter pageant of new Frocks. Every charming line of the new silhouette is a temptation to the home dressmaker to express her own individuality in her Easter Frock.

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The Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course Schools for Women Voters

Teaching Civics by Direct Methods

AS soon as the door closed upon the woman's first visit to the polls, another opened even more widely inviting women voters to follow up the officials, their votes had helped elect, to see if they were truly and faithfully represented. Doubtless this change was enacted everywhere, but it was left to Massachusetts women to adopt a unique method of learning how to do their follow up work. Perhaps it happened to them because in the quaint language of the Constitution of the Commonwealth, Massachusetts voters are charged specifically with this responsibility. Article 5 of the Constitution states, "the several magistrates and officers of government, vested with authority whether legislative, executive, or judicial, are their substitutes and agents, and are at all times accountable to them," ("them" is by reference to context, the voters.)

Whatever the impulse, the statement that a mock legislature would be organized by the Massachusetts League of Women Voters instantly brought an influx of women eager to be members and take part in this experiment, and thus learn how to follow the doings of their substitutes and agents.

THESE "Mawsh" members were organized into a legislative chamber corresponding with the lower house of the General Court. Care was taken to be faithful even in minor details, officials were chosen, committees formed, seats allotted and drawn, petitions and bills presented. At each session the calendar containing the "Orders of the Day" was prepared and the clerk kept a correct Journal of the House.

After the organization was complete the speaker elect of the real Legislature, Mr. B. Loring Young, reviewed the structure and found it good.

Mrs. Hilda Hedstrom Quirk, who was elected Speaker of the House, had had legislative experience in special work done for the organizations promoting the passage of a Motion Picture Censorship Bill, the Civic Director, Mrs. True Worthy White and Mrs. Claude U. Gilson, Special Citizenship Lecturer, studied the ways of law makers, a teacher of Parliamentary Law gave her contribution and with an ardent "all together" spirit, the experiment was carried on until results might be measured in terms of actual understanding of the intricate not to say devious ways of law making.

Would the members be merely audience or

THE Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course holds up its articles on the federal departments to interpolate some information on the practical side and show how Leagues of Women Voters in various states are conducting schools of citizenship.

The next regular article in the series will be a comprehensive one on the Woman's Bureau by Mary Anderson, chief of the bureau.

would they be legislators? Would it be a club meeting or the "perpetual clamor" that shows that the house is doing business?

Significantly the group almost from the start lost their air of attentive listening and became active participators, eager to gain a point, sharp in criticism, alertly watchful, and altogether disregarded the proprieties of ordinary assemblies. They were law makers not information seekers. Debates on the bills, those chosen were largely the actual measures filed for consideration at the next Mass. Legislative Session, while spirited and intelligent, showed no trace of the type of academic preparation usually seen in "a paper."

The experiment proved beyond doubt that this method is very valuable, perhaps the most valuable way to interest adults in government and initiate them into the whys and wherefores that create the mysteries by which actual law makers are perpetually screened from the criticism of their constituents.

Knowledge, tact and audacity are necessary to leadership, but given these qualities the Massachusetts League's American Citizenship Committee is convinced of the paramount value of this method.

MARTHA E. D. WHITE.

"ENTHUSIASTIC interest" well characterized the atmosphere of the classroom of the Women Voters School of Citizenship in its two weeks' session in Chicago.

Before the course started there had been conjecture as to the probable attendance, due to the extensive program of lectures and class conferences in Civics and Citizenship that had been planned, but the first day relieved all doubt as to the success of this course. The

fact that the school was announced as a training for instruction in civics and citizenship determined to a great extent the type of student that has been attracted to this work, or it may be that the present need for intelligent instruction in citizenship was a determining factor. In any case, the group assembled for this study course was distinctly alert and experienced in active civic work, among the enrollment being doctors, civic directors, welfare workers and advanced students, not only from Chicago, but from other cities even as far distant as Los Angeles. Examinations, which came the last day of the course, were effective in keeping the attendance record unusually high. The enrollment increased each day. Examinations modelled on the lines of county civil service requirements covered the lectures of the course as well as the earlier preparation and former experience of each applicant. Diplomas were awarded and organizers for field citizenship school will be selected.

KEEN interest in the course was stimulated, not only by the unusual group of speakers, but also by the progressive arrangement of the lectures, unfolding subjects in a logical, step-by-step way, and punctuated by personal experience talks and reviews of actual work done by well known workers. Among the speakers were:

James A. James, Dean of the Graduate School, Northwestern University; Leonard Dupee White, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago; William E. Dodd, Professor of American History, University of Chicago; Charles E. Merriam, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago; Robert E. Hieronymus, Community Advisor, University of Illinois; Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi, Free Synagogue of New York; Rev. Frederic Siedenburg, Dean of Sociology Department, Loyola University; Delton Thomas Howard, Assistant Professor of Psychology, Northwestern University; Jeanette Rankin, Journalist, ex-Congresswoman from Montana; Catherine Waugh McCulloch, Chairman National League of Women Voters' Committee on Unification of Laws Concerning Women; Mary E. McDowell, Head of University of Chicago Settlement, Chairman National League of Women Voters' Committee on Women in Industry; Victor Yarros, Journalist, Publicist.

The course in Structure of Government given by Mr. Yarrow was the same as that given by him in twenty-two lectures seven successive years before the School of Civics and Philanthropy.

At the instance of the Minnesota League of Women Voters the University of Minnesota through its general Extension Division, in pursuance of its settled policy to make the facilities of the faculty, libraries, and laboratories available in every possible way to the people of the state, organized a short and intensive course in Local Government. This course was offered to the women of Minnesota during the last week in January. There were three periods of work each afternoon and periods each evening. The afternoon lectures were given in the Auditorium of the Law Building on the Main University Campus and the evening lectures in the Unitarian Church.

The range of subjects covered was of the keenest interest to women about to enter for the first time upon a municipal elections campaign. The best men available in the University were chosen to present various subjects including government of towns and villages; sanitation of towns and cities; state and local finance; state, county, and town road systems; structure and functions of courts, local school system of Minnesota, school finance, municipal budget making; the co-operative theory; town and city planning.

During the course the school was adjourned for one day to sit in at a session of the Legislature where the galleries of House and Senate were reserved for the occasion.

THE League of Women Voters in Nashville, Tennessee, is aroused to resistance of the fact that the city's new charter provides for no women office-holders. The women are claiming that since they are now voters, as well as taxpayers, they should be given representation in the city government.

At a meeting of the City League, a resolution was passed declaring that a committee of private citizens has named fifteen men to represent the citizens of Nashville under the proposed new charter; that in the selection of this committee and in the naming of the council, the women citizenship of the city has been completely ignored, and that since the responsibilities as advocates of good government and as taxpayers rest equally upon men and women, it is resolved that a vigorous protest be entered "against the undemocratic and unfair procedure," and that copies of the resolution be sent to the members of the Davidson delegation.

Motion Picture Censorship Forum

If Packers, Why Not Movies?

To the Editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN:

THE unsigned article contributed at your request by an advertising manager of a moving picture distributing firm is full of loosely framed misstatements and half truths that may readily influence people who have not studied the matter carefully.

The Massachusetts state committee on motion pictures, has the endorsement of such organizations as the Massachusetts State Federation of Women's Clubs, Massachusetts League of Women Voters, Massachusetts Civic League, Catholic Women's Council of Massachusetts, Federated Churches of Massachusetts, Massachusetts Girl Scouts, Massachusetts Parent Teachers' Association, Massachusetts State Grange, Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts and so on through over 400 organizations and nearly 5,000 individual signature cards.

Your unnamed contributor states that the industry is the third largest in the country. This is probably the explanation of the fact that in 1920 when the Censorship Bill passed both the House and the Senate with a large majority, it was quite impossible to get printed in any daily papers, save the *Christian Science Monitor*, one word in favor of the bill, and yet when ex-Governor Coolidge vetoed the bill on a technicality all the papers ran it on their front page with large headlines.

YOU as a publication have waged a good fight for the regulation of the meat packers giving much space to the discussion of the Kenyon-Kendrick bill and later to the Gronna bill; and why I ask you if it is legitimate to wish to regulate and control our food supplies, is it not equally proper for us to wish and demand the right to control the amusements which are shaping the lives of our people either well or ill?

Do you know that in England they are protesting and refusing admittance to many of the American films as being unfit for decent people to see? Do you know that censorship is in force in Canada? One of the men who was sent from New York last winter to defeat our bill said at a public meeting:

"We aim to give the children what they want, not what their parents wish them to see." Shall we then abolish our school committees and our school superintendents that the children of America may study what and when they will?

Your contributor says, influence through the box office, but he fails to say that a protest made after a film is shown is like shutting the barn door after the escape of the horse. To

again quote from your anonymous contributor—"Censorship creates fat jobs for politicians and you pay for it." As a matter of fact, all expenses, including salaries, are paid by the fees charged the producers for viewing the films—hence all the protests against censorship and the explanation of the fact that the moving picture men were willing to expend in Massachusetts the sum of \$65,000 to defeat the bill last year.

MARTHA HELEN ELLIOTT.

Cambridge, Mass.

Choosing What to See

To the Editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN:

A WRITER in your paper is quoted as saying that we can choose our motion pictures. That may be true to a certain extent, but so many of us have found that when we think we have chosen a picture we feel sure is all right, there are others shown that are far from good.

In a movement for the production of better films, what would you suggest as the way to effect such a reform? Some of us, at the suggestion of our Pastor, have written letters of protest to some of the moving-picture managers here, but can we not go further than that, and send our protests to the distributors, or the producers?

If not encroaching too much on your valuable time, I would be glad to have you inform me who are the producers of clean, well-directed, and intelligent pictures. I have been boycotting the movies because of unfit pictures, and so am not familiar with the names of the best producers.

Do you think a proper movie censorship would solve the problem as effectually as a universal protest from organizations of women? As I said before, even if we choose one of these clean pictures for our children to see, we never know what kind of a comedy is to follow, or so-called educational film.

Seattle, Wash. NENA M. FAULKNER.

IN this number of the *Woman Citizen* space is given to the program of an association made up of interested citizens who have volunteered first aid to the movie puzzle. They are endeavoring to cooperate with the schools of the country on a non-censorship basis. Their plan, roughly speaking, is to provide the public with information as to what plays are good and how they can be procured. They expect a watchful public to do the rest.

This is one suggested method to relieve the situation. Others are pouring into the *Citizen* office in every mail.—Ed.

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With Our Contributing Editors

To the Editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN:

IN the Nov. 20th issue of the *Woman Citizen*, Gilbert E. Roe of New York City took me to task for asking Alice Stone Blackwell to state her authority for some of the statements she made in her article on the Espionage Act and the prosecutions thereunder. Mr. Roe in his article proposes to summarize the entire testimony and give his, of course unmistakable, judgment in each conviction under the Espionage Act within the compass of four sentences. Take for example the O'Hare case. He says:

"In the O'Hare case, Department Bulletin No. 49, the defendant was accused of saying in a speech that anyone who enlisted for service in France would be used for fertilizer and that it was all he was good for."

In the Attorney General's Report for 1918 on page 49 I find this:

United States vs. Kate Richard O'Hare, District of North Dakota,—Defendant, formerly international secretary of the Socialist Party for the United States, and a leading figure in the anti-war wing, had promoted the passage of the anti-war resolution at the St. Louis meeting of the executive committee of the Socialist Party just preceding the passage of the selective service act. Thereafter she delivered a number of speeches against this act, going so far as to advocate mass opposition to the draft. She was convicted and the judgment has been affirmed by the circuit court of appeals."

Mr. Roe further says:

"Mr. Bartelt demands the name of the case or cases 'in which the court instructed the jury

or the court interpreted the Espionage Act to mean that under it one could be convicted for merely expressing his opinion about the war."

And what is Mr. Roe's answer?

"As well might one call upon King Canute to admit that his statute provided for cruel, barbarous and inhuman punishment. He would still insist that his law was a Christian law and provided only for 'gentlemen punishment,' etc."

Such information, if true, is interesting as an historical fact and serves its purpose in his article for drawing attention from the question at issue, but it certainly does not answer the question.

If Alice Stone Blackwell's statement, "The rule was definitely established that it was a legal offense to express disapproval of the war," is true, then you, Mr. Roe, a lawyer and one who has defended a number prosecuted under the Espionage Act ought to be able to give the name of the case, the volume, the page and the language of the court. However, you, too choose to evade the question and attempt to prejudice the readers of the *Woman Citizen* against American courts and juries by exhuming an historical cadaver,—splendid logic from one who condemns federal juries in the following language:

"In other words, the protection of a written constitution is swept aside and for it is substituted the caprice or whim of a jury controlled by the passions of war."

The burden of Mr. Roe's article and of the arguments of those who defend those prosecuted under Espionage Act is this: "These men were merely expressing their opinions about the war."

I suppose if some one would call Mr. Roe an infamous falsifier, a cheat or a thief, of course Mr. Roe could not and would not protest, for such person was merely expressing his opinion of Mr. Roe's character and therefore such utterance is protected by the Federal and state constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and of the press.

ARTHUR H. BARTLET.

Milwaukee, Wis.

Civil Service

To the Editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN:

WHEN Mary McDowell of Chicago wrote you about the appointment of Harriett Reid of Springfield, Illinois, as an arbitrator under the Industrial Commission, she had plenty of cause to believe it to be true but as a matter of fact there was more delay, more telegrams to the Governor and finally the belated appointment December 23rd. Even then the Commissioners assured Miss Reid that they still continued to believe any woman unsuited to such a place but would bow to the provisions of the law.

Here now comes another case where the law is against us. These facts were given me by

Dr. Mary McEwen and Dr. Bertha Van Hoesen of high standing in the profession.

The Cook County Hospital is the second largest on the continent and positions there as internes are eagerly desired by ambitious medical people. Recently an examination in obstetrics resulted in a woman having the highest grade. Did she secure the coveted post? She did not. The place went to a man with a ten per cent lower grade. He had been in the army and the "military precedence" provision pushed him up.

Whatever his army experience may have taught him, it certainly gave him no obstetrical experience.

Who dare ask for a change in the law so that the person best prepared for specific work does this public work?

CATHERINE WAUGH McCULLOCH.

Chicago, Illinois.

Mere Theorists Such as Chemists

To the Editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN:

THE *Woman Citizen* of December 11th contained an article entitled, "Are the Days of 1906 to Come Again?" in which are reproduced various quotations from press dispatches of the year 1906 which place the packers in the light of having opposed legislation then pending in the interest of improved sanitary conditions through federal inspection.

It is to be regretted that the *Woman Citizen* reproduced only such press comments as appeared in the early stages of the agitation brought about by the proposed legislation and which were based on misunderstanding, and not on the actual feelings the packers had towards legislation of that nature.

The position of the leaders in the packing industry was very clearly brought out on June 6, 1906 through the testimony of Mr. Thomas E. Wilson, who at that time was connected with Nelson Morris and Company, and in this instance represented the industry. We quote below three excerpts from his testimony before the Committee on Agriculture:

"Had the original motive been simply the obtaining of legislation to improve the inspection and sanitary conditions, then I say the criticisms have been doubly unjust and unfair, for in the very inception of the investigation the commission and their superiors were given the assurance of the packers' co-operation, and their personal guaranty was given that any practical recommendations would be welcomed and adopted.

"We are now and have always been in favor of the extension of the inspection, also to the adoption of sanitary regulations that will insure the very best possible conditions."

* * *

"What we are opposed to and what we appeal to you gentlemen for protection against is a bill

that will put our business in the hands of theorists, chemists, sociologists, etc., and the management and control taken away from the men who have devoted their lives to the upbuilding and perfecting of this great American industry."

* * *

"I, in behalf of the packers, earnestly beg that you give one week of the time of your entire committee to make a personal inspection of Chicago and possibly other western packing houses. This time spent in this manner will give you a better understanding of the conditions and requirements than can possibly be gained in weeks spent in any other manner, and I feel confident that we can demonstrate to your perfect satisfaction that, contrary to the report of Messrs. Neill and Reynolds, the business and houses of these large packers are conducted in an extremely sanitary, healthful, and cleanly manner, and that the present inspection system conducted by the Department of Agriculture absolutely prohibits the possibility of any condemned meats entering either domestic or foreign trade, notwithstanding the fact that the report practically ignores this feature."

We shall deem it a courtesy if the editorial management of the *Woman Citizen* will publish this letter of ours in order that the readers of the *Woman Citizen* may have the full facts in the case.

SWIFT & COMPANY.

Per. L. D. H. Weld, Manager.

Chicago, Illinois.

Why Not Keep Babies Alive?

To the Editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN:

IN the *News Bulletin* of December 10th under the heading "Sheppard-Towner Bill" occurs the following, "that of the 22,000 city babies studied by the Bureau in seven cities more than three-fifths were born into families where the father's earnings were below the amount necessary to provide the bare necessities of life." Why not strive for an economic condition in which the fathers would get all they produced, thereby making it possible to feed the 13,200 underfed babies? And why bring babies into this world when the father cannot get enough of the wealth he produces to support his children?

GEORGE LLOYD.

1460 56th Street. Brooklyn, N. Y.

Neither Wise Nor Just

To the Editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN:

IN a text-book on economics, widely used in our schools, I came across this statement:

"Federal and uniform state legislation should restrict to the utmost the employment of women." In your estimation is that statement either wise or just? I should like very much to see this question discussed in the *Woman Citizen* from an economical and sociological point of view.

Cleveland, Ohio.

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The Book Stall

From Darkness to Light

Letters of a Javanese Princess

By Raden Adjeng Kartini

Translated from the original Dutch

By Agnes Louise Symmers

With a foreword by Louis Couperus

(Alfred Knopf and Co.)

WHEN I came to New York I saw to my great delight, that the letters of our great Javanese Princess, Raden Adjeng Kartini, have been translated into English. Well I certainly can recommend this beautiful book and wish every American woman to read it.

This book called *From Darkness Into Light* gives you a complete view of the life and manners of the young girls in Java (The Dutch Indies).

Raden Adjeng Kartini was one of the daughters of a Javanese Regent. She, as Louis Couperus says, grew up and blossomed in somber obscurity and seclusion. This young woman who was shut in by aristocratic tradition wanted to spread her wings free in the air and fly towards life. With all the energy of her body and soul she wanted to be free, to work—and to live and to love. She not only longed to lead the new life of a modern woman, but she had the strength to accomplish it and more than that, to miss the sympathy of her family and her friends for her ideals. She wanted to study and later to become a teacher, to open a school for the daughters of Regents and bring the new spirit into their lives.

She battled bravely, she would not give up; in the end she won.

She was the first Regent's daughter to break the fixed tradition in regard to marriage; it was customary to give the bride to a strange bridegroom, whom she had never seen, perhaps never heard of, until her wedding day. Kartini chose her own husband, a man whom she loved, but her happy life with him was cut short by her early death.

KARTINI opened a school at home for little girls and with the help of her sisters she instructed the children in elementary branches, in sewing and cooking. In the meantime she continued her own studies in Batavia—then she fell in love and was married. Kartini's husband had the same enlightening ideas for the advancement of his people, so they planned to carry their work for the future together. The sudden death four days after the birth of her



Courtesy of Alfred Knopf and Co.

RADEN ADJENG KARTINI

son was a great sorrow in the country. However, her spirit worked further.

In 1907 the first Kartini school was founded in Batavia and today there are similar schools all over Java.

Kartini has stood the test of time. To the modern progressive Javanese she is a national heroine; almost a patron saint. Her influence and her work live, and are a vital factor in the prosperity and happiness of her country.

ROSA MANUS, Amsterdam, Holland.

An Argentine Feminist

A YOUNG poetess has lately made a great stir in Argentina by her verses. They deal mostly with love and grief; but in one poem Alfonsina Storni breaks out into an energetic protest against the double standard of morals. She says:

"You want me white; you want me to be made of foam, to be made of mother-of-pearl. You want me to be a lily, pure above all others, of delicate fragrance, with a corolla fast closed.

"Not a moonbeam should have filtered into me, not a daisy should call herself my sister. You want me snowy, you want me white, you want me pure.

"You, who have had all cups in your hand, your lips purple with fruits and honey; you who at the banquet, covered with vine-tendrils, grow thin celebrating Bacchus; you who in the dark gardens of Falsehood, clad in red, rush into wickedness; you who keep your skeleton intact, I know not by what miracle—you claim that I should be white (God forgive you for it!) you demand that I should be chaste (God forgive you for it!) you maintain that I should be pure!

"Flee to the woods, go to the mountain; wash your mouth; live in cabins; touch the

moist earth with your hands; nourish your body on bitter roots; drink from the rocks, sleep on the hoar-frost; renew your tissues with salt-petre and water; talk with the birds, and rise at dawn. And when your flesh is transformed, and you have put into it the soul that was left entangled in ladies' chambers, then, good man, claim that I should be white, that I should be snow-white, that I should be pure!"

Perhaps it is not right to call this Argentine girl a feminist on the strength of this one poem; but it is interesting to see how her protest runs in the same line as that of Sor Juana Inez de la Cruz, a Mexican nun of the seventeenth century, whose poem on the same subject was published in the *Woman Citizen* several months ago. The Spanish-American women are thinking—some of them, at least—and when women begin to think, in any nation, they will come in the end to the same conclusions.

A. S. B.

The New World

CALLING your cook a Bolshevik because he serves your bouillon cold, solves no problem of international politics or of sociology—is a fundamental piece of common sense governing Mr. Frank Comerford's book, *The New World* (D. Appleton and Co.). This use of Bolsheviki as a new expletive is one of the favorite ways in which the unthinking well-to-do world expresses its irritation.

But it gets you nowhere.

Mr. Comerford opens up his theme by trying to show that the term Bolshevik isn't a missile; it is the name of a real thing—the result of deep seated causes. What some of these causes are, he essays to tell by analyzing the present situation in Europe.

This is, of course, a very large order; for judging from America unrest is wide-spread, it is also deep and various.

In his initial chapters, Mr. Comerford says some excellent things about this unrest, sane, understanding and tolerant things. He takes note, for example, of a fact which has puzzled social students.

"I have found," said he, "many decent, honest men and women who have lost interest in work." This is since the war ended. "They say, 'We don't get a fair share of what we make.' Calling these people Bolsheviki doesn't silence them nor solve the problem." "The present unrest isn't like any other," he continues.

"IT is the restlessness of human beings who have been face to face with death. The creed of the changed world is that while the world doesn't owe anyone a living, it is obligated to give every human being a chance to make a decent living. These were some of the thoughts I found planted in the unrest of Europe. Men and women are gardening, cultivating, protecting these ideas."

The author of the *New World* claims to have made his searching study of unrest in Europe from Ireland to the Bolshevik Front.

It is nowhere stated under whose auspices he went, nor whom he represented. Upon his return from Europe, he was special prosecutor for the state of Illinois in the "Red" cases in which "twenty men were found guilty of conspiring to overthrow the government and sentenced to the penitentiary."

Mr. Comerford is for the League of Nations. He sees that there is an effective internationalism in commerce and finance. There must also be one in politics.

"The political hecklers in America who are assailing the League of Nations are playing into the hands of the Russian 'Reds,'" he says, for "the Bolsheviks are the sworn enemies of the League."

AND right here begins his real theme, to which his remaining chapters are devoted. This is a study of Bolshevism in Russia and in America. Mr. Comerford claims that Lenin and Trotsky poisoned the mind of the Russian workers, seized control of the Soviet power by means of the bayonets and the army which they held in trust for the Russian people, and that their rule is practically one of force and terrorization.

Lenin's doctrine is one of world revolution—the Third International. Its propaganda is wide-reaching and operative in America. Some of Mr. Comerford's statements are noteworthy. He points out mistakes made in fighting Bolshevism by the allied governments. They contented themselves with decrying it, without making clear just what was wrong with it, he charges. Working people came to see that some of the press which had been allied with the "interests" were against the Bolsheviks. Therefore they jumped to the conclusion that the "interests" were playing their own game in opposing Bolshevism. "Such papers were as yellow in their conservatism," says Mr. Comerford, "as the Bolsheviks were 'red' in their propaganda."

There was "a curtain of mystery drawn around Soviet Russia." Men who came out of Russia were discredited and this gave the workers reason to think they had found a free government, too free for the "interests." Then the nationalization of women's labor was exploited and wrought its natural reaction. "This evil and unnecessary lie," says the author, "fell of its own weight," but it left the impression that it had been deliberately used to poison public opinion.

Get Together—Let's Go

(Continued from page 1020)

public. Let us combine in an effort to give these pictures such a patronage that the others which have been a menace will fail financially through lack of support.

THIS attitude toward the whole situation has led to the organization of the National Motion Picture League and the establishment of a reviewing board in New York City, the gateway of the motion picture, in order that the public may be supplied with advance information upon worth-while films. The *Current Weekly Bulletins* contain lists of films which have been viewed and approved by this group of social workers and educators. These lists are published and distributed in order to give the general public the power of selection. All pictures so listed are clever and wholesome.

Special Programs. The current weekly bulletins extend to schools, churches, clubs and all other organizations, desiring to give special programs under their own auspices, the opportunity of selecting motion pictures viewed and endorsed by this impartial board of educators and social workers.

Local Branches. In order to assist local communities in securing a better class of pictures, local branches are established. These branches create and coordinate a demand for wholesome pictures locally and arrange definite bookings for them. The League thus secures a country-wide demand for the pictures receiving its endorsement. It seeks to encourage so strong a patronage as to make them more profitable to their producers than pictures rejected by the League. A capable committee in all the principal cities and towns giving definite support to this plan can furnish the impetus and permanency to the production of wholesome pictures which the industry needs. A children's matinee and family program committee provides suitable entertainment for children, young people and adults, thus securing actual bookings for endorsed pictures, entertaining the family wholesomely and demonstrating that wholesome pictures are financially profitable. The local branch is made truly representative by inviting into its membership, members of the Kiwanis Club, the Rotary Club, the Women's Club, and the Parent Teacher Association, also prominent clergymen and the library and school officials.

Theatre Managers, by referring to the bulletins are enabled to select the type of pictures whose high artistic and entertainment value bring large box-office receipts, and whose moral quality merit commendation from audiences of culture and refinement.

Rejected Pictures. The League makes no public comment upon pictures which it rejects as unsuitable for its lists. The lists are segregated under headings: Family Films for Adults, Juvenile Films, Films Suitable for Church, Films Suitable for School Curriculum, Instructional Films, etc., etc.

Films prepared under the auspices of the Bureau of Lectures of the New York City Board of Education, and now being used in the New York City schools as aids in teaching, are listed in the bulletins of the League.

The League has no financial relation to the

motion picture industry. It owns no films and receives no profit from the rental or sale thereof. It receives its membership and financial support solely from persons not commercially connected with the motion picture business. It is thus enabled to render an impartial judgment upon the pictures.

The *New York City Board of Education* has made a yearly contract to pay for enough bulletins of the League so that each week every school principal in the city receives a copy of the weekly lists. These in turn are published in school papers and bulletins so that practically every public school child in New York City has the advantage of taking the lists of endorsed pictures soon to be played in a near-by theatre, into his home. It is hoped that other school boards throughout the country will avail themselves of this opportunity of serving the children in their own communities.

THE following letter from Mary A. Ward, principal of Public School 137, Brooklyn, is also characteristic of the spirit of cooperation among school officials.

National Motion Picture League, New York City.

Gentlemen:

"Most of the schools in our district, 36, have combined in a movement to request three of the Motion Picture theaters in this vicinity to institute a 'Family Night.' This means that on Friday night of each week, said theaters would produce a programme made up of reels interesting, amusing and instructive to families composed of both adults and children, and containing no pictures that are vulgar or that would give our young folks knowledge or ideas regarding crime or immorality from which they should be shielded. We think that the reels should feature the best actors and actresses who take part in such plays as we desire.

"We have wondered whether you would be willing to send us a letter in triplicate in which you promise to send a list of 'Family Films' to each of the theaters (three) whose managers we shall approach so that they cannot argue that the selection of such films will be too difficult a matter to compass."

Yours very respectfully,

MARY A. WARD, Principal.

The League sent the letter in triplicate and the lists are now being mailed each week to these three theater managers.

You are invited to assist in furthering this work. Increased circulation of the bulletins results in increased effort on the part of producers to produce their pictures in conformity with the standards of the League. The bulletins will assist you in selecting motion picture recreation for yourself and others, and can be a tool in your hands for improving motion picture conditions.

Write to the League for particulars about starting a local branch close to a nearby motion picture theater and help make the movie house a safe place for young people.

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Are You Keeping Up?

Every Issue of the
WOMAN CITIZEN

Legislative Councils

In Pennsylvania

THE most important event in League history in Pennsylvania during the past month has been the formation of the Pennsylvania Legislative Council. In January there met in the State Headquarters, 1606 Finance Building, Philadelphia, Miss Florence M. Dibert, State President of the State Federation of Pennsylvania Women; Mrs. Ella M. George, State President of the Women's Christian Temperance Union; Mrs. Frederic Schoff, representing Mrs. Edmund E. Kiernan, State President of the Pennsylvania Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teachers Association; Mrs. Barclay H. Warburton, Chairman of the Women's Republican State Committee; Mrs. Jean Kane Foulke, Chairman of the Women's Democratic State Committee and Mrs. John O. Miller, Chairman of the Pennsylvania League of Women Voters.

Previous to this meeting the heads of four of these organizations had approached Mrs. Miller regarding the formation of such a Council and Mrs. Miller had asked that the Women's Democratic State Committee be included. Mrs. Miller was elected chairman, with Miss Dibert as secretary. At this initial meeting the Council did not outline a specific program of legislation, but confined the discussion to the perfecting of the organization and its method of procedure. It will be impossible at all times for all these six women to work at Harrisburg, so it was decided that there should be formed a Legislative Committee in charge of the actual work on the ground, while the Council would direct operations. This committee will be chosen in the same way as the Council—one representative from each of the six component organizations.

The Pennsylvania Legislative Council will not adopt a general program, but will work for those measures which are included in the various programs of the component organizations. There are some upon which all these organizations may unite. Others, which are specific aims of two or more of the member organizations, will be worked for jointly by such members of the Council and Committee as represent the organization interested, using however the facilities of the whole organization.

There will be separate committees on each bill in which the Council is interested, the committee members being the representatives of those organizations particularly interested in the bill in question.

The possibility of admitting other organizations to the Council was also considered and it was decided that none would be admitted unless it were a state organization with live organizations complete in 30 counties.

The Pennsylvania League of Women Voters has planned six intercounty conferences.

HARRIET L. HUBBS,
Executive Secretary.

In Maryland

THE legislative council has become the last word in state leagues of women voters. The Maryland legislative council has recently been called together with ten of the largest state-wide organizations of women represented. These organizations are, in addition to the League of Women Voters, its convener; the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, Women's Christian Temperance Union of Maryland, Women's Civic League of Baltimore, Consumers' League of Maryland, International Federation of Catholic Alumnae, Mothers' Congress, Council of Jewish Women, Service Star Legion and Trades Union League.

Miss Emma Weber, chairman of the Congressional Committee of the Maryland League, is also chairman of this permanent council.

Delaware's Legislative Committee

THROUGH the instigation of the Delaware League of Women Voters, a joint Legislative Committee has been formed of representatives of the leading women's organizations in the state for the purpose of creating a clearing house for the endorsement of bills presented to the Delaware Legislature which are backed by the several organizations.

The benefits accruing from this joint committee are two-fold. First, any bill recommended by the joint committee stands a better chance of passage than it would if endorsed by one organization alone. Second, the expenditure of time and work is minimized by having one committee do the work for which several would otherwise be needed.

At a meeting of the joint committee in the State House at Dover with Mrs. R. L. Holliday, chairman, presiding, the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the Delaware League of Women Voters, the State Grange, the W. C. T. U., the Republican Women's Committee and the Democratic Women's Committee were represented by Mrs. A. D. Warner, Mrs. Georgia Pierce, Mrs. Allan D. Jones, Mrs. Harry Humes, Mrs. George Atkins, Miss Jeanette Eckman, Mrs. John Cleaver, Mrs. James Hughes, Mrs. Henry Ridgely, Mrs. James Wolcott, Mrs. Frank Bancroft and Miss Winifred Morris.

Bills pertaining to Child Welfare, Education, Health, Prison Reform, Women in Industry, Mothers' Pension, Health and Civics were given careful study and left in charge of members of the committee to report upon.

The committee went before a committee of the Senate to protest against Senate Bill No. 1 which provides for a repeal of the present primary laws. The point maintained by the women's committee was that no change should be made at this time until the women of the state have had a chance to give the present system of direct primaries a fair trial.

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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL
FOUNDED 1870

10 Cents a Copy

March 5, 1921

The Truth About the Black Troops on the Rhine

By Carrie Chapman Catt

The Movies Reel Facts and Real Facts

By a Motion Picture Distributor

O Tempora, O Mores, O Motion-pictures!

Which Causes Which?

By Louise Connolly

The Dangerous Days

By Marjorie Shuler

Now That We Have It What Are We Going to Do with It?

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Boston, Mass.

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New York City

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New York City

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Vol. LI Old Style
Vol. V New Style

MARCH 5, 1921

No. 40

An Ensuing Issue of

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Will Tell the Real Story of Assemblywoman Minnie Grinstead's
Bill in the Kansas Legislature

*"Giving Married Women the Right to Their
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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME V

MARCH 5, 1921

NUMBER 40

It is not to be understood that the WOMAN CITIZEN gives editorial endorsement to the opinions expressed in articles signed with name, initials, or pseudonym. Such articles may be at dagger's point with the editorial commitment, or in exact accord with it. They are printed because they seem worth printing and not because of any agreement in their expressed opinions. The editors speak for the magazine in the editorial pages.

EIGHT years ago when the suffrage idea was still a thing for "laughter, fleers and jeers," women were found ready to go to Washington and march in the middle of the streets, mocked at—all for the sake of a vision and a principle. But yesterday when occurred the inauguration of the first President of the United States ever elected by the votes of the women all over this country, there was no more thought of a woman's pageant of triumph or a demonstration of joy than of a man's. Where were these women of yesteryear? The occasion was theirs, to be sure. The ability to make a languid world sit up and take notice was theirs. Women can do that sort of thing superlatively well, with originality, impressiveness, beauty—as the great suffrage parades in all the cities of the land have borne witness. Yet, from no section of the country did there arise any suggestion from women that they should celebrate their victory by a sex demonstration on March 4th. They were evidently quite interested in something other than spectacles and pæans of joy. It almost seems as if it must be true, as women have always said, that they wanted the ballot in order to serve their country with it; for, instead of stunts, these women, who have originated enough stunts to make any group of men dizzy, were attending hearings on the Sheppard-Towner bill to save the lives of unborn babies; instead of parades they were marshalling women by state-wide organizations into joint legislative councils to bring pressure to bear on public opinion for better legislation. In place of the soap-box orator, the school of civics; instead of the blaze of banners, a convinced effort for an educated American citizenship. These strange creatures so recently accused of rushing into suffrage activities because they were too restless to stay at home, chucked into the discard a perfectly good chance to get into the limelight, for the manifest reason that they had no money, no time and no effort to spare for an unnecessary display. What sort of political revolution is this in which leaders are starting up to use their citizenship for the good of the state instead of the greater glory of themselves? Women like that need watching—Watch 'em.

THE tendency of women to independent voting is a bugbear to the machine politicians. Years ago the women of the western states used to be likened to cats, and to hens, because of their proclivity to "scratch."

The fear of the machine politicians has increased since the women got nation-wide suffrage; and various devices are being brought to bear to make independent voting hard. In a number of states efforts have been made to abolish the primary and to restore the old convention system, which is thought to lend itself more readily to machine control.

Under the heading, "Legislators Fear Women's Independence," the Seattle *Union-Record* of February 16 says:

"The tendency of women to be independent in politics is one of the motives behind the proposed amendment to the direct

primary law, according to word received here by the King County Women's Legislative Federation from Mrs. Victoria Trumbull, director of the federation's legislative bureau in Olympia. The amendment requires that each voter shall declare his political faith at the primary and at the election shall receive only the ballot of that party. According to Mrs. Trumbull, legislators believe that this will have the effect of tying women up in the party lines which they are now disposed to jump."

The Federation has sent to the Legislature an emphatic protest against the proposed change.

PUBLICITY is as important to good government as fresh air and sunshine are to good sanitation. In various places a few women have been attending regularly upon the meetings of city councils or state Legislatures, and keeping tab on the proceedings, with excellent results. It is natural for officials to be more careful if they know that their constituents have an eye on them. In fact, bad government is permitted mainly because of ignorance and indifference on the part of the voters.

An amusing experience befell certain women who lately petitioned the Boston City Council (in behalf of the local League of Women Voters) to have its proceedings open to the public. The women were courteously assured that the executive sessions of the Council not only should be, but always had been, open to the public. They found, however, that the only direct entrance to the room where these meetings were held was kept locked; and the general public did not know that admittance could be gained by passing successively through an ante-room, and the office of the clerk of the committee, and an entry which is used as a lavatory and locker room. The persistency of the representatives of the League of Women Voters, however, and the large publicity given to the matter in the press, has resulted in an invitation to all women interested to attend; and the women have gladly taken advantage of the opportunity.

THE genesis and purpose of the Women's Bureau are set forth in today's issue of the WOMAN CITIZEN. This article, which is a part of the series on federal departments, presents the extremely modest demands which the bureau has made on Uncle Sam's purse. Yet in spite of this modesty and reasonableness, or, perchance, because of it, the House of Representatives on Saturday, February 26, adopted an amendment to the legislative appropriation bill, which, by a two-fold reduction of salaries, will, according to the National Women's Trade Union League, "eliminate the women experts on the staff, upon whose investigations the entire usefulness of the Bureau depends."

The sequence of facts is as follows: Against the protests of the Women's Bureau, the House Appropriations Committee reported a proviso limiting the salaries of the staff, other than director and assistant-director (whose salaries are fixed by statute) and three others to \$1,800 a year. The "three" were to receive \$2,000 each. But the House Appropriations Committee as a partial offset specified that the Women's Bureau staff, which has not previously benefitted by the \$240 bonus allowed other federal employees, should next year receive it. The Senate Appropriations Committee, while adopting the schedule lim-

iting salaries, cut out this bonus, which the Senate itself, by a record vote, forced by Senator Harrison of Mississippi, instructed the Senate conferees to restore. With the Senate conferees instructed for the bonus and the House conferees also in favor, it would have seemed as if the Women's Bureau staff was at least free from one of its perils of reduction; but the action on February 26th has again put the bonus in jeopardy. "Representative Wood, availing himself of certain technicalities and a privilege he held as conferee, made his conference report to the House in such a manner as to eliminate the Women's Bureau without seeming to do so," reports a Washington correspondent. By the time this is read the question will no doubt be settled. It is to be hoped that the Senate will have rejected, in the interests of justice and fair play, the House amendment to the conference report on the "bonus" for employees of the Women's Bureau. A very real grievance exists in the fact that, in spite of the bonus, there is what women believe to be "an outrageous discrimination against them" as employees of the government. The same bill which delimits salaries of the Women's Bureau staff, provides that men employed on comparable work in other bureaus, shall receive almost twice the sum allowed the staff of experts on the Women's Bureau. The Bureau of Efficiency, for example, permits the employment of 21 male experts at from \$3,000 to \$5,000. Male experts and special agents are employed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics at salaries from \$2,500 to \$2,700, while the Women's Bureau experts and agents who do the same type of work, will be paid but \$1,800. The time has gone by when such discrimination against salaried women may be slurred over. Too many women are watchfully waiting, and all such inequalities will be hailed from the house-tops. Women believe in economy, they are more used to it than to extravagance. But they can see that an economy which sends Mary to school with holes in her rubbers in order to buy John a new flexible flyer is no economy.

The Truth About the Black Troops on the Rhine

NUMEROUS letters have reached the headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association appealing for aid in the campaign to persuade France to withdraw colored troops from the Rhine. In a letter just at hand the writer says: "The terrible atrocities committed on women and children, even old women and young boys, by the colored troops of the Occupation Army are indescribably horrible."

This campaign of propaganda has been in progress in the United States for many months. I had heard a good deal of it before going to Geneva. I, therefore, called together two German delegates, one a member of the National Reichstag, and one a Counsellor to the Government of Wurtemberg, and also the Treasurer of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Mrs. Coit, who is of German birth, married to an American who became a naturalized British citizen. She had been visiting her aged father at Frankfort which lies in the region where the black troops were alleged to have committed atrocities. Mrs. Coit said that the people in the vicinity of the black troops had told her repeatedly that they had conducted themselves with more courtesy and consideration than any white troops who had been stationed there. The two German delegates declared that there was no movement in Germany to ask France to remove these colored troops and that so far as they knew there was no complaint in Germany on that score. These three women promised to make inquiry concerning the definite charges which were being made in the United States concerning these troops and to let me know later.

I saw all three of them in London in early December, and again

they reiterated the same statement made in Geneva, which was to the effect that atrocities such as are being described in the United States could not have been committed by any Army of Occupation without the masses of the people of Germany knowing about it, and that they had heard nothing which warranted such charges being made.

The opinion of these women seems to be completely confirmed by the statement of Major General Henry T. Allen, the Commander of the American troops in Germany, who, in a report to the American Department of State, just made public, declares that although there has been some propaganda in Germany against the colored troops, the general charges made are quite unwarranted. He repeats what we all know that there is not the same racial antagonism between the colored and white races in Europe as in this country, and that there has been some inter-marriage between German women and colored soldiers.

He draws, among others, the following conclusion: "The wholesale atrocities by French negro Colonial troops alleged in the German press, such as the alleged abductions, followed by rape, mutilation, murder and concealment of the bodies of the victims, are false and intended for political propaganda."

The number of colored troops on the Rhine has at no time been as extensive as propaganda in the United States would lead one to suppose.

A few days ago a statement appeared in the press, indicating that when Secretary of State Colby was importuned to intervene in this matter, he had replied that the last report from the Rhine indicated that no colored troops now remain there.

In view of these facts, it seems clear to me that someone, somewhere, sometime, started a wilful propaganda, intended either to stir the racial feeling in this country, or to use it to arouse an antagonism toward France, or both. That propaganda has been pushed so rapidly and so bitterly that it is clear also that some force is doing the pushing. Who or what is it? The propaganda seems clearly to be located here and not in Germany. It has spread into continuously wider circles, until it is now being boosted still further by persons who have no suspicion that there is anything behind it but horrifying truth. I am convinced that the entire campaign is based upon a little truth combined with a great deal of falsehood and that it was either begun with deliberate intent to do mischief or by some person or persons not thoroughly understanding the situation. If it is German propaganda as some claim, it surely is of a definite German-American variety.

ON February 28th a great meeting was held in Madison Square Garden, New York City, to discuss "The Horrors of the Rhine." The newspapers indicate that the audience was composed in the main of German-Americans and Sinn Feiners, and certainly the program as reported by the press was also composed of these two elements. The meeting seems to confirm the suspicion that it is a deliberate German-American and Sinn Fein propaganda.

If readers of the WOMAN CITIZEN have doubts as to the truthfulness of the above statements, I suggest that they write to the Department of State for official information.

I would not go so far as to say that there has been no mistreatment of women. There is no Army of Occupation anywhere in the world about which such charges have not been made. These are based upon a fact—which, fortunately, is usually an exceptional one—the misbehavior of soldiers. That is one of the normal and inevitable results of the greatest of all atrocities, namely, war itself. Yet the conclusion seems abundantly warranted that the French colored troops have transgressed in this particular no more shockingly than would have any other troops.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

The Dangerous Days

From the Woman Citizen's Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 28, 1921.

CONGRESS has reached those dangerous days at the close of the session when anything may happen. What good legislation will be defeated or smothered, what bad legislation will be put over—those are the burning questions when night sessions start and the pressure becomes so great that the most experienced members admit their inability to follow intelligently what is going on.

So far this year there have been fewer attempts than usual to slip over "jokers" or undesirable bills under cover of good bills. Two reasons are advanced for this:

The first is that the well-planned and closely directed program of this Congress, limiting all legislation, is obstructive to "jokers" as well as to measures like the Sheppard-Towner bill.

The second is the ruling of the House that any amendments which the Senate makes to appropriation bills and which would be subject to a point of order if proposed in the usual way in the House shall be resubmitted to the House for action. This is part of the general appropriation reform move in the House. Its effect is to prevent the Senate from adding to the appropriation bills—all of which originate in the House—new legislation, which, sent to a friendly conference committee and retained in the original bill, makes it impossible to defeat the amendment without defeating the entire bill. The House has thus robbed the appropriation conference committees of some of their most-abused powers; but already a move is on foot to abolish the ruling as "delaying legislation."

THE disposition of members of the House against amendments to the appropriation bills was indicated by an instance within the last few days. Ever since the days of the Roosevelt administration, when Ellen Stone was ransomed by a fund raised by private citizens, there has been an effort to have Congress repay those subscriptions. This year a bill to this effect has been added to the consular affairs appropriation bill. At least one of the House conferees on this bill has declared his determination, as a matter of principle, to have the Ellen Stone claims eliminated from the main bill.

There is a sidelight of interest to women in connection with the military appropriation bill. The bill carries an appropriation for women hostesses at community houses, and one of those most ardent in its behalf was General Pershing, who testified in a committee hearing that "women hostesses raised the morals and morale of the army."

It is now said by members of both Houses that all of the appropriation bills except those dealing with military and naval affairs are certain of passage in this session; that the differences of opinion on the military appropriation bill will probably be ironed out within a few days, but that the naval appropriation bill is likely to go over to the next session, unless the message from President-elect Harding urging its passage makes a radical change in the present sentiment.

THE Sheppard-Towner bill is still held up for the need of a rule from the Rules Committee, Representative Campbell, chairman. Mrs. Maud Wood Park, with other representatives of the joint Congressional committee, appeared before the Rules Committee last week to ask that the bill be given a chance on the floor.

The letter which Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, vice-chairman of the National Republican Committee, sent to that hearing

clearly, forcefully, courageously expresses the views of women with regard to the situation. Mrs. Upton's letter read:

The Committee on Rules, House of Representatives.

HON. PHILIP P. CAMPBELL, Chairman.

SIR:

I regret exceedingly that I am called to New York tonight and therefore cannot be present at the hearing you have graciously granted.

For many years women have grown more and more interested in welfare work, and after their enfranchisement approached their new privileges moderately.

They asked this Congress to give them but one thing, and that is that the Maternity Bill be made a law.

After much work that bill passed the Senate; is now out of the House Committee, and we are asking your powerful Committee to give us a Rule which will allow it to be brought before the House prior to the close of this session.

It may be that you have been able to convince the people here that this is not an opportune moment for the passage of the bill, but you cannot convince the millions of women back home who see only the justice and the right of the matter.

It may seem right to you to refuse a "rule," but you cannot convince those women that any delay is right.

Women are new to politics, but not to righteousness; neither are they the patient group they once were.

As one interested in the political future of women, I beg you not to be afraid to do the fair thing and allow this measure to go to the floor and be passed or lost; and not be smothered by your Committee.

How can I carry back the word to the millions of women in the States that the controlling Committee of the majority party, for whom most of them voted, arbitrarily refused their first and only request; a request providing that mothers and babies shall have better chances for their lives?

Very respectfully yours,

(Signed) HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON,

Vice-Chairman, Republican Executive Committee.

CONGRESS is not the only government agency facing dangerous days. The usual replacement of federal department officials, which takes place with the change in power from one political party to another, is further complicated this year by the suggested plans for department reorganization.

Repeated rumors that the women in one department or another were to suffer by the contemplated changes have been investigated by the Washington representative of the *Woman Citizen*. This week it was the suggestion that the women in executive positions in the Treasury Department were to be displaced so far as the civil service rules permitted, and that no new appointments of this kind would be given to women.

Now, there is no other department of the government wherein women have made a greater advance in the last few years. When Mr. Roper became Internal Revenue Commissioner, the usual maximum salary for a woman in the bureau was \$1200 a year, and, although women might be doing the work of division chiefs, they could never hope to sign letters with their own signatures as executive officials.

Today women are given an opportunity at the appointments which require original work, and they have a chance at salaries and executive positions from which they were previously barred. For instance, the child labor tax division employs one man in the office and one man in the field out of a total of forty-six employees, and the head of each section is a woman. No visitor to the division could fail to be impressed by the fact that the women feel that their greatest opportunities to protect children from labor rather than to collect taxes for the government, although

(Continued on page 1044)

The Movies—Reel Facts and Real Facts!

By the Advertising Manager of One of the Biggest Distributors of Motion Pictures

YOU may have read my last article in the February 12th issue of the WOMAN CITIZEN, "The Movies—What Are We Going to Do About 'Em?" If you did read it, you got some facts—did you act on them? Many did. Some acted on this publication and lost no time in "getting into print." Let us look over our contemporaries and get the real facts about "reel" facts.

One lady hurled a shot at me that I openly, freely admit had me stopped till I got out my trusty "Webster" and looked it up. She called me a fellow who dealt in "PANEGRYCS." Well, I was born out Boston way myself, raised in a Massachusetts High School and used to be able to make one lone "a" sound like nine of them, but that name bothered me. Don't bother looking it up. I've done it for you. I found at first glance I was even worse, as my "Webster" said that what she called me made me a dispenser of "ENCOMIUMS." I asked my wife about it. My wife said, "Don't pay any attention to her, you're many things, but not one of those." So you see now I'm between two women. Well, finally, I found what the lady meant was I dealt in "formal phrases." Goodness only knows I tried to be plain, I used common everyday terms, and thought I was understood, but, I GAVE YOU FACTS. This lady who signs herself Executive Secretary, State Committee on Motion Pictures, is a forceful writer. She shoots straight from the shoulder, and it's a real pity that when people have reached a position where their writings would be of definite value, they do seem to get hold of misinformation in a surprising way or they just are not able to separate the wheat from the chaff.

FOR instance, the lady says, "His (the exhibitor's) contracts are made with the producer—sometimes a year ahead. He must make his selection from lists only. He does not see the film, he must take largely what the producers send him." It's too bad that an "Executive" should be so misinformed. First, there are 35 so-called key centres like Boston, New Haven, New York, Albany, Buffalo, etc., etc., in the North American continent. Every key center has many exchanges (distributors). Every Exchange has a projection room, or several use a local projection room, and every last film salesman devotes his days and nights to trying to get theatre owners into those projection rooms to see his pictures—any of his pictures—all of his pictures, because that's the way all merchandise is sold—from samples. I know of a dozen such Exchanges in every key centre. Boston, for example, where the lady resides, has about twenty on Piedmont Street, and you let a theatre owner appear at the head of the street and if he gets to the end of the short row without being buttonholed into some projection room, it's because his credit is bad. Second, there are five large National Trade Journals in the Motion Picture Industry: the Motion Picture News, Moving Picture World, Exhibitors' Herald, Exhibitors' Trade Review, and Wid's, not to mention about fifteen regional trade papers, that devote page after page of reviews, discussions, photos, etc., of every picture produced by the fifteen largest distributors and producers who sell 95% of all motion pictures, also independent producers. Their departments are as follows:

MOTION PICTURE NEWS:

*With the First Run Theatres;
What Big Houses Say;
The Complete Plan Book (Exhaustive reviews
of each week's releases by experts).*

EXHIBITORS' HERALD:

*Digest of Pictures of the Week;
Reviews (Exhaustive Reviews);
What the Picture Did For Me (By Exhibitors).*

MOVING PICTURE WORLD:

*Consensus of Published Reviews;
The Educational and Non-Theatrical Field;
Short Subjects of Importance;
Newest Reviews and Comments.*

EXHIBITORS' TRADE REVIEW:

*The Voice of the Box Office;
Illustrated Screen Reports;
Short Subjects.*

Most exhibitors take two or more of the above national trade journals, issued every week, in addition to regional trade publications.

Third, every distributor of motion pictures has on exhibition weeks before the photoplay itself arrives the paper (posters for lobby display and billboards) and lobby cards. My personal belief is that 98% of all motion pictures have in the past been booked by the exhibitor from the paper, after he has read the reviews. Salesmen carry samples of paper and cuts in reduced form on almost every release.

Fourth, practically every photoplay has issued for it a PRESS BOOK in more or less elaborate form. This book is for the exhibitor. Shows all the posters, lobby cards, stories of the action of the play, the actors, the story and many scenes from the play itself. Any exhibitor who reads the exhaustive reviews in the trade journals sees the paper and lobby cards, and gets a press book, cannot fail to actually visualize the photoplay. If he can't he won't be in business long—he's hopeless. All this, plus the fact that he has a screen in his own theatre upon which film salesmen vie with each other in "showing him the goods" after and before the theatre hours. THESE ARE REAL FACTS. Therefore, I say go to your own exhibitor and TELL HIM THE KIND OF PICTURES YOU WANT TO SEE.

ANOTHER statement: "According to the industry's printed statement, the exhibitors believe that the salacious pictures pay better because they attract the curiosity-seeker." AN EXHIBITOR WHO PERSISTS IN SHOWING SALACIOUS PICTURES CANNOT LAST. Again the Executive fails to know her subject. Fails to know that the industry itself took some time ago a more drastic step than maybe even she would recommend. At least an Executive, fully informed, "on the job," so to speak, should know of the committee of fifteen comprised of Adolph Zukor—Paramount Pictures, E. W. Hammons—Educational Film Corp. of America, Jesse L. Lasky—Famous Players, Louis J. Selznick—Select Pictures, R. A. Rolland—Metro Pictures Co., Joseph M. Schenck—Norma Talmadge Film Co., Carl Laemmle—Universal Films, J. D. Williams—First National Attractions, Oscar A. Price—Associated Producers, Samuel Goldwyn—Goldwyn Pictures, Hiram Abrams—United Artists, Morris Kohn—Realart Pictures, D. W. Griffith—Griffith Productions, A. F. Kirkpatrick—Robertson-Cole, P. L. Waters—Triangle Film Co.

These gentlemen represent 95% of all the producers and distributors of motion pictures in America. They, themselves, voluntarily some time ago formed a solemn agreement not to serve ANY EXHIBITOR WHO SHOWED SALACIOUS PICTURES, and no theatre owner can run his theatre indefinitely

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O Tempora, O Mores, O Motion Pictures!

Which Causes Which?

Part I

By Louise Connolly

Educational Expert of the Newark Public Library

ONCE I followed the Salvation Army speakers at Asbury Park home to their hall. There two ardent gentlemen told us how bad they had been—and they had been very bad—before they found salvation. Then a dimpled, buxom young girl in the uniform arose and said, "I have never been theeped in thin like my brotheth who have thpokened, but I, too, have known what it ith to need thalvation." Now I have never been so denunciatory as Miss Blackwell nor so fulminative as Miss Woods, but there was a time when I, too, went about in a prophet's robe, crying "Woe, woe!"

I was made, to my astonishment, secretary of the State Committee on Motion Pictures, a body consisting of representatives from many welfare and uplift organizations. The position involved no pay and much work. My course lay straight before me. I was to stimulate interest, collect opinions, formulate findings, get a bill prepared, and accompany my cohorts to a hearing. By the time we arrived before the committee of the Legislature we were united on sanitary regulations but at variance on the subject of censorship.

By that time I was thoroughly interested in the subject, and I have ever since taken every opportunity afforded by a busy life to:

1. Attend movies;
2. Watch the crowds that attend movies;
3. Pay occasional visits to such meetings of the National Board of Review as I can observe or serve;
4. Go to hear all speakers and read all articles against the National Board or in favor of legal censorship.

Some of my conclusions are:

1. There are a few elevating and ennobling plays shown;
2. There are a few bad and degrading plays shown;
3. Most of the plays shown are silly;
4. Almost all the plays shown are full of informational value, and many are full of beauty.

A LABORATORY test of motion pictures as a phase of modern life might fairly yield results that would indicate that the screen is in reality a mirror of life; that the same causes which produce certain kinds of pictures produce also certain kinds of front page news, certain kinds of novels, poetry, drama.

If one could make an analysis of what is obtained in one day by the readers of a city from what they read and what is obtained by the attendants at the motion picture houses of the same city from what they see, and if you could tabulate that analysis, I believe that the percentages would not be dissimilar.

- x %, new knowledge of fact.
- y %, new appreciation of those relations between facts that appeal to reason.
- z %, aesthetic enjoyment.
- u %, moral satisfaction or stimulation.
- v %, pleasure that arises from sitting idle and watching other people's activities.
- w %, excitation of the passions—ferocity, sexuality.

Let M = motion pictures, and R = reading matter.

Then, according to my judgment,

In x (new knowledge), M is greater than R.

In y (appeal to reason), M is greater than R.

In z (aesthetic pleasure), M is greater than R.

In u (moral stimulation), M is greater than R.

In v (idle pleasure), M is greater than R.

In w (excitation of the passions), M is greater than R.

Newspapers chiefly, and novels a distant second, form the bulk of the reading material of the people.

Some day when you have a little time, follow one day's issue of one paper and its effect upon ten of its readers to see: (a) How much of offered information is clear; (b) how much is true; (c) how much is understood. The information offered by novels is generally skipped. But one cannot escape the information in the motion picture. The child in Missouri can never forget the rushing, tumbling stream in Vermont; the North Dakotan has seen a Florida orange grove; the children of the rocky coast know that a wheat field, too, has its waves. Descriptive paragraphs are not skipped on the screen.

A VERY tiny percentage of readers feels any appeal to reason, but almost all, except Mutt and Jeff, of the characters in the motion picture plays reap results that flow from causes. The appeals to reason in the newspapers are mostly so specious as to be vicious. Novels are in fact about as good as plays in this respect, but they take so much more time for their transitions that the status of y is self-evident.

No program in any theatre contains as large a percentage of violence and sin as the front page of most newspapers. In a large percentage of plays, even in the ferocious or salacious, virtue is rewarded and vice punished.

The statement as to v is also self-evident, although in reading there is always some little intellectual activity accompanying the reading act and the interpretation of language.

The last statement is plainly true. It is the basis of the legal censorship propaganda.

Is it claimed that the legitimate drama is on the whole any more moral or less immoral than the pictured play? Its attendants have more money, perhaps, go to the theatre less frequently, than movie fans. Fewer children attend them. One can better foresee what will be shown. On the other hand, the morals of the governing class are more important than those of the governed and children are by law forbidden to attend picture plays.

HOW does it happen that if the National Board of Review edits 90% of the films published, a number of people are shocked by plays which they see and many people believe that many plays are vicious and degrading? How do plays become salacious or ferocious, anyhow?

First, the passionate quality of a bad play is sometimes due to the author, sometimes to the actors, but usually to the vulgar mindedness of the stage manager or director. Second, a certain small percentage of plays are not reviewed. Third, if a play is reviewed and a few feet rejected, when the play goes out no one knows whether those few feet are put back again, for there are few places where there is local watchfulness and fewer still where the watchers do anything but talk to their neighbors about what they have seen. Fourth, the men and women who edit the plays may have a different conception of the audiences to which a play is addressed than have the ladies who denounce the Board's findings, and also different ideas as to what is proper for those who are to see the film, and fifth, and finally, nobody will ever meet the criticisms of those who criticize on hearsay.

We need to compare what is seen by those who enter these

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Kindergartens for All of Them

By Bessie Locke

THE educational value of the early years of childhood is widely recognized.

The kindergarten is acknowledged by educators and well-informed persons to be the type of education most nearly ideal for development of the child.

It has required years of pioneer demonstration to achieve this recognition,—but such recognition is not enough. Earnest, intense, and well organized efforts are necessary to attain the end which has been the goal

of the kindergarten movement from its inception,—namely, that every child in our country have the privileges and advantages of this ideal training. At the present time there are approximately 4,500,000 children of kindergarten age in the United States for only 500,000 of whom kindergartens have been provided.

State legislation favorable to kindergarten extension has proven a stimulus to its growth. The National Kindergarten Association has assisted in securing kindergarten laws in a number of states, and is working for improved legislation in nearly every state in the Union.

In California, since the passage of its law providing for the establishment of kindergartens upon petition of parents, its kindergartens have increased from 149 to over 700. This legislation was secured the first year the California women had the franchise,—and the recent enfranchisement of women should bear similar fruit throughout the nation.

The following tentative draft is based upon the California law: It is recommended to those interested in better legislation as a means of securing justice for the children of their own states:

The Board of Education of each School District may maintain kindergartens which shall be free to resident children between the ages of four and six years. Upon petition of the parents or guardians of not less than twenty-five children between the ages of four and six, the board of education shall establish and maintain such a kindergarten provided that the school in connection with which such kindergarten is desired is named in the petition: and provided further, that the petitioners reside within the section or neighborhood ordinarily served by the school in connection with which such kindergarten is desired: and provided further, that no person shall be allowed to teach

THE National Kindergarten Association was organized in 1909 for the purpose of securing kindergartens for all the children of the nation, and is creating a public demand for the kindergarten through—

1. Field work, informing parents of the value of the kindergarten.
2. Leaflets dealing with all phases of the subject.
3. The publication of articles descriptive of the kindergarten and the necessity for its immediate extension to develop character, and to assist in the work of Americanization.
4. A series of articles on child training, issued to newspapers and magazines having a combined circulation of 50,000,000.

in any kindergarten maintained under the provisions of this section who has not completed at least a two years' course in kindergarten training and received a certificate or diploma from a recognized kindergarten training school.

This act shall take effect sixty days after its enactment.

The California law provides that a local tax of 15c. on \$100 worth of property may, when

necessary, be levied for the support of the kindergartens.

The following amendment may be found advisable:

"If the monthly average attendance in such class for two succeeding months drops below fifteen the class may be discontinued for the balance of the school year at the discretion of the local school authorities."

At the Friday afternoon session of the Regional Citizens' Conference called by Commissioner Claxton in New York City January 28-29, with representatives from the states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, Major Bradley Martin, President of the National Kindergarten Association, gave an address on the urgent need for kindergarten extension, in which he said:

"This country has not only been a laggard in starting kindergartens, but also has been behind in extending kindergartens to the mass of its population. As early as 1905 little Belgium was giving kindergarten instruction to more than 50% of its children of 3 to 6 years of age, whilst even at the present day we are providing education for less than 12% of our children of kindergarten age.

The importance of kindergarten training has been conceded, and every Commissioner of Education we have had in Washington has been in favor of it. But there is one phase of kindergarten education that I should like to dwell on as particularly important at the present time when the world is filled with unrest, and that is the kindergarten as an Americanizing influence. The kindergarten is obviously the ideal means of Americanizing the family through the child; as the child through singing patriotic songs and playing games with other children and receiving moral and ethical instruction learns our language and becomes a patriotic

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When there isn't enough room in a kindergarten for everybody, the "overflow" often remains close by. They can't see everything, but at least they can hear the music.

Why aren't there enough kindergartens for all of them?

"Brains Are Sexless"

THE woman who probably holds the highest political position under any government in the world is Mrs. Ralph Smith of Vancouver, B. C. She is not Speaker of the House, as was reported but this is not because she could not have been. It is because she chose something else.

In a letter to the *Woman Citizen* in response to a message congratulating her upon the speakership, Mrs. Smith says:

"I want to thank you most sincerely for your wire congratulating me on what you term my lovely triumph, and assuring me that the women of the United States are as proud of me as are my sister Canadians. I sincerely believe it. Every time I have gone across the imaginary line, no one ever received greater kindness at the hands of the women over there.

"You will be delighted to know that by the time you receive this letter I shall be sworn in as President of the Council of this province, which is a distinct honor to womanhood, and I believe I am the first woman in the world to have been offered any such position. I could have had the Speakership, but I feel that the other will add to my usefulness to a greater degree than if I accepted the former office. This gives me Cabinet rank, and is something to be proud of in that women are gradually pressing forward and are being recognized in all walks of life. Governments, as well as people, are beginning to realize that brains are sexless, and that given an opportunity women with men can make good, and so I say to my sister women of the United States, we have a great work to do, and if the women of the United States and the women of Canada unite and co-operate for the common good, this continent will be the better for our having lived and worked. I look for great things in the future for women. Trails are being blazed, doors are being opened. With the right type of woman, ambitious to serve her country and willing to render loving service and believing in this as a woman's century, we have a goal that must be reached, hopes that must be realized."

MRS. SMITH has already had three sessions in parliament and was returned by an overwhelming majority. Among the measures passed during that period, are: a woman judge appointed, juvenile court established, an equal guardianship act passed, a deserted wives' maintenance act passed, a mental survey made of the province, homes built for the mentally deficient, boys' and girls' industrial homes absolutely reorganized and placed on "a wonderful basis, a minimum wage act for women passed that is working out very satisfactorily," mothers' pensions—"the best bill in the world of this kind," she claims, "the raising of the age of marriage" and many other acts "that make women feel it has been worth while to have a woman on the floor of Parliament voicing the sentiments of women and crystallizing into legislation the hopes and prayers of many by-gone years."

Honoring Their Sisters

CALIFORNIA women have been animated by the same spirit referred to by Mrs. Smith, the sense of sisterhood, and have determined to demonstrate group loyalty to the women of their state who have risen to public posts.

Mrs. Seward Simons, of South Pasadena, California, writes to the *WOMAN CITIZEN*:

"Besides endeavoring to have recognition given to women by appointments to public positions, and even in California, where we have voted for ten years, it is not often women are chosen for important offices paying good salaries, a few of us here in Southern California are making a point of showing public appreciation of women's ability and accomplishments.

MRS.
MARY
ELLEN
SMITH,

PRESI-
DENT
OF THE
COUN-
CIL OF
BRIT-
ISH CO-
LUMBIA,

"THE
WOMAN
AT THE
TIP-
TOP"



"When the Governor appointed Mrs. Herbert A. Cable to succeed her husband, who died, as head of the Labor Bureau in Los Angeles, the League of Women Voters sent flowers and congratulations to her.

"The Friday Morning Club of women held a memorial service for Mrs. J. Powers Flint who recently died. She was chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Pacific Colony, a state institution, and she did a remarkable piece of work. The Governor ordered the state offices in Los Angeles closed on the day of her funeral.

"A large public banquet is planned to honor Miss Orfa Jean Shontz, who was recently appointed by the mayor of Los Angeles to be city clerk. She was formerly referee of the Juvenile Court of Los Angeles County, and she made a fine record in that position. She is a young lawyer about thirty-five years old.

"Women must stand together to support women, and to pay tribute to them. I feel that only in that way can we impress men with our loyalty to each other, and the importance of putting women in responsible places. If they see we appreciate such action and make much of it, they will be more inclined to make such appointments."

In the California Legislature this year, Miss Grace Stoermer of Los Angeles, was made Secretary of the Senate. This is said to be the first time in the state's history that a woman has been chosen to that office, and Mrs. Robert J. Burdette of Pasadena, California, organizer of the state League of Women Voters, hazards the guess that Miss Stoermer is the first woman to be made Secretary of the Senate of any state.

Probably she is; but one never can be sure about the first woman to step out of old tracks and into new. The *WOMAN CITIZEN* is wary of putting anybody on the first rung of the ladder; it has so often found predecessors of "first women."

For Home and School



MRS. KATHARINE CHAPIN HIGGINS

HALF
HOURS
WITH
INTER-
ESTING
WOMEN

ONE of the most interesting figures in the group of women at Washington working with the joint congressional committee for welfare legislation is Mrs. Katharine Chapin Higgins of Massachusetts, the new president of the National Congress of Mothers and Parent Teachers' Associations.

"This is the first time that my organization has undertaken legislative work in so systematic and organized a way as that outlined by Mrs. Park for the joint congressional committee," says Mrs. Higgins. "I believe, however, implicitly in such work. Even those who were opposed to the granting of suffrage to women must join in fulfilling their responsibility.

"My organization has to train women for citizenship through the home education department under the federal bureau of education. For five years we conducted the home department, paying the bills and backing the work until two years ago it was taken over by the government.

"In cooperation with the National Education Association we have created public sentiment for higher salaries for teachers and better training for better teachers, urging better housing conditions, increased home economics instruction and more community work for children.

"So we come naturally to join in a programme for federal laws which will benefit the homes of the country. Especially do we desire the passage of the Sheppard-Towner maternity bill, the Smith-Towner education bill, and the Fess bill to promote vocational education."

Mrs. Higgins has given long years of service to the interests of education. She is regent of the Timothy Bigelow Chapter, National Society Daughters of the American Revolution, state historian of the society, president of the state Parent-Teachers' Association and honorary president of the Auxiliary of the Worcester County Farm Bureau. Her husband was the "Father of Commercial Trade Schools in America." He was for twenty-eight years superintendent of the Washburn shops at the Polytechnic Institute and trustee of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute, as well as vice-president of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers.

MARJORIE SHULER.

The Dangerous Days

(Continued from page 1039)

the latter is thoroughly and efficiently done as the means to accomplish the former. The child labor division is one of three under Deputy Commissioner James Hagerman, Jr., and assistant deputy commissioner Miss Lilian S. Ruddick. In this unit more

women proportionately are employed in executive positions than in any other in the department, and the unit is said to have the least friction of any in the department. Certainly the writers who are agitating at such a fearful rate in the women's magazines these days as to whether a woman will ever be fit to be a boss would find their answer here.

That women should lose what they have already gained is inconceivable. But blocking their further progress at this time would be a setback which would require years of effort to overcome. Therefore it is of importance in this as in all other federal departments that the new administration make no discriminations against women solely because they are women. And it is interesting that Millard F. West of Kentucky, who is most prominently mentioned as the probable new assistant commissioner of internal revenue, stated for the *Woman Citizen*, "My policy is to give women an equal chance with men wherever they give equal service."

MARJORIE SHULER.

Kindergartens for All

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citizen; and through mothers' meetings and home visits the family is assisted by the kindergarten teacher in the difficult task of adapting itself to the conditions that it finds in this country.

EXPERIENCE has shown that a standard kindergarten law which provides that upon petition of the parents or guardians of not less than 25 children between the ages of 4 and 6 residing within the school district, a kindergarten shall be added to the school, most successfully stimulates kindergarten extension. Our Association has been instrumental in securing the passage of such laws in 4 states, and the introduction of similar bills in 16 other states this winter.

The kindergarten situation in the 3 states represented at this meeting is as follows:

New Jersey has had a permissive kindergarten law since 1899. Many attempts have been made by the National Kindergarten Association to urge state organizations to legislative action. Interest has recently been manifested by the New Jersey Chamber of Commerce at Newark, and by the New Jersey Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations. However, no organization has taken the responsibility of sponsoring a bill for introduction into the present legislative session.

Pennsylvania has had a permissive kindergarten law since 1897. The subject of better kindergarten legislation has been agitated in that state since 1914,—and this year the Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations, with the endorsement of the Federation of Pennsylvania Women, is introducing a bill designed to stimulate kindergarten extension.

In New York State a kindergarten bill has been introduced twice; the first year it passed the Assembly unanimously, and the second year it passed the Senate unanimously. The bill has the endorsement of the Public Education Association, the National Kindergarten Association, and the following state organizations: Federation of Women's Clubs, Federation of Labor, Woman Suffrage Party, Chamber of Commerce, Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations, and a number of local educational and civic societies. The friends of the New York kindergarten bill are hopeful for its successful passage this year, although there will no doubt be a good deal of opposition on the grounds of economy.

When we read day after day in the press of crime waves, discontent and anarchy, we should realize that the real question is not whether we can afford to have kindergartens, but whether we can afford not to have them."

Now That We Have It, What Are We Going to Do With It?

IN the long years that we worked for it, we dreamed splendid dreams. We had visions of which we were not ashamed. We talked about them among ourselves; we presented them from the platform. And who that has ever experienced the responsive thrill from an audience which beheld with us the land of Olive Schreiner's dream, "Where brave women and brave men walked hand in hand and looked into each other's eyes and were not afraid," can forget it? Who that had a part in the struggle for political freedom, who that was sustained by the idealism back of it, can escape the question?

Now that we have it, what are we going to do with it?

Are we going into the existing political parties for no other reasons than the "made in America" ones, "My father was a Republican" or "I was born a Democrat"? Are we going to stand for "my party, right or wrong," as we have so venally stood for "my country, right or wrong"?

Men at once expect too much of us and are willing to concede too little. They do not intend that we shall go to Congress in influential numbers, that we shall hold positions through which we might help to shape domestic or foreign policies. They do not intend that we shall be Governors or Supreme Court Judges.

They expect us to enforce prohibition and to clean up the cities. In too many large communities municipal government has all but broken down. Men seem to be ready to quit the job of restoring law and order and to turn it over to us. The appeals directed to "Our New Voters" by the men editors of women's magazines voice this expectation with significant unanimity. Somehow they call to mind the informative prayer of an elderly but spirited country woman during one of the suffrage campaigns in Ohio:

"Thou knowest, Lord," said she, "why we are hearing all this talk about votes for women. Thou knowest that the men are in a hole and don't know how to get out. Thou knowest, O Lord, that whenever the men get into a scrape and don't know what to do, they turn to the women for help."

WOMEN to whom the new privilege is to mean more than acquiescence in the *status quo* have set themselves humbly to the task of learning all about citizenship, and have united in large numbers on the program of the League of Women Voters for securing from Congress and State Assemblies legislation to promote human welfare.

But the League of Women Voters cannot succeed to the leadership of the National American Woman Suffrage Association unless it makes a wider appeal than this. And unless the League or some other organization furnishes that leadership our enfranchisement is not going to mean the realization of that vision which was a pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night from Seneca Falls in 1848 to Tennessee in 1920.

What will 'education in citizenship' and 'improved legislation' matter if we are not able to build a governmental structure, to establish a world order, which shall make impossible a repetition of 1914 and the social chaos which has followed? Must we save the lives of babies in 1920 only to hand them over as soldiers in 1940?

Because there is no other way of lightening the well-nigh insupportable burden of taxation men of affairs are now listening to projects for cutting down armaments and 'taking a naval holiday.' Army men now use the language of the pacifists of another day. General Bliss tells us there can be no peace through any association of nations while 'those nations are armed to the teeth solely against each other,' and General Pershing is quoted

as saying substantially the same thing. In other words, preparedness means war. These are hopeful signs—perhaps. But we are taught to put not our trust in princes (commercial varieties included) and experience has shown the futility of expecting men to keep us out of war.

This is the thing, the supreme thing, which the women of the United States and the world have got to do. It will tax their intelligence, their imagination, their diligence, their perseverance to the utmost. But the game is worth the candle for civilization itself is the candle. Can they do it?

One who has witnessed their fidelity to great principles need not doubt it. But to do it, they must be united, they must dream again more splendid dreams, reinvest themselves with the old unshakable trust, accept a new vision of a better day than we have ever known:

"Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
Where knowledge is free;

Where the world is not broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;

Where words come out from the depth of truth;

Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;

Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;

Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening thought and action—

Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake."
ELIZABETH J. HAUSER.

THUMB-NAIL SKETCHES OF WOMEN LEGISLATORS

Mrs. Van Ness as an Answer to Miss Hauser



MRS. JENNIE C.
VAN NESS

ASSEMBLYWOMAN JENNIE C. VAN NESS, of New Jersey, is one woman legislator who wants to be written down, not as a politician, but as "an old-time suffrage worker with a keen desire to serve her community, her state and her Nation."

She is proud of her suffrage record, which is a long one. She believes it to have been an excellent training for her present position. She was a teacher and has spent a considerable fraction of a not yet very long life in the public and normal schools of the United States. She has been active in civic improvements, playgrounds for children, a model plan for school assembly-rooms, war work—when war came—and citizenship training when that was needed.

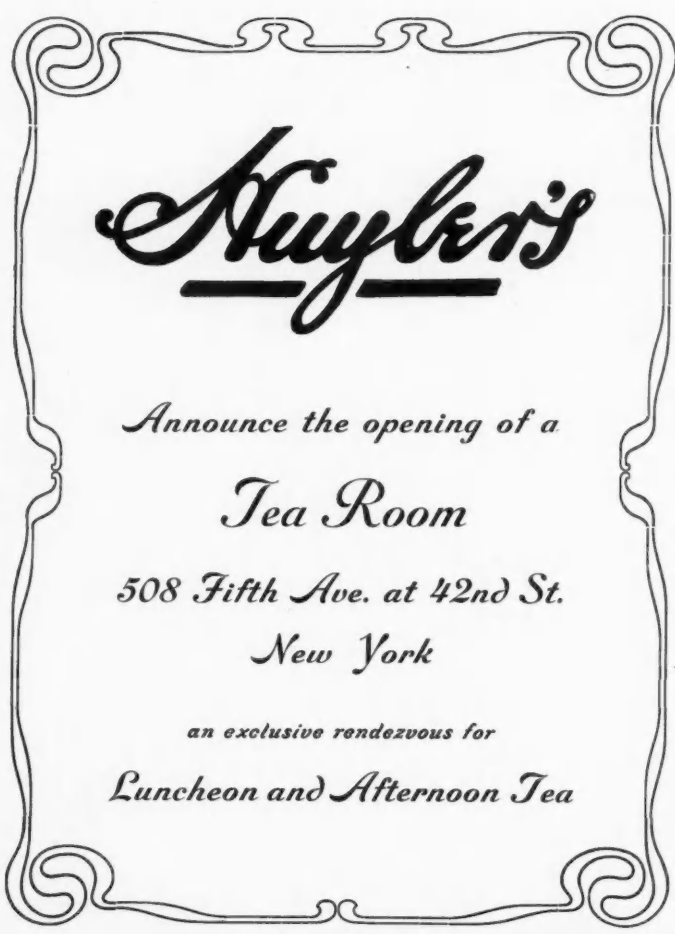
She is at home in many parts of the country, born in Chicago, married into Milwaukee, Wisconsin; worked in Peru, Indiana, with that widely known suffrage leader, Mrs. Richard Edwards. When she moved to East Orange, New Jersey, the war was on and she averaged nine speeches a week for the Liberty Loan, besides doing her bit to substitute in the schools to fill in the shortage of teachers.

(Continued on next page)

"During all this time," said she, "my interest in suffrage went right along and I was sent as a delegate to a number of the National Suffrage Conventions, including the last one in Chicago, where I remained to take the Citizenship School instruction and the examination as well. Returning to New Jersey, which had just ratified the Nineteenth Amendment, the New Jersey League for Woman Voters was organized and I was made chairman of Citizenship Schools. I was busy in this work when the thirty-sixth state ratified, and behold, we were all voters! I had no thought concerning the campaign except an insatiable desire for knowledge. What then was my amazement when a delegation of men waited on me and asked me to run in the primaries on the Clean Government ticket. After a night of deep thought, I consented and ran in the primaries, along with forty-nine others, for the nomination of twelve assemblymen from Essex County. Having won the nomination, there were the joys of a campaign and I was still booked with lecture work for the Citizenship Schools, all of which I carried, besides my own campaign and an occasional speech for the Presidential campaign. The last week of the campaign I made thirty-eight speeches, eight of which were in one evening. It was great! The results you know.

"Aside from the foregoing, I have a perfectly good husband and three daughters, two in high school and one in the eighth grade, so I am not neglecting any babies. The girls have been trained to be self-reliant. They enjoy all this as much as I do, so does my husband. I have studied a little law.

"I suppose you desire to know what I am going to do while I am in Trenton. They all ask me that. I do not know. All I do know is that the same standard which has stood by me all the years I have been able to think is the only foundation upon which I go, and that is the standard—is a thing right or is it wrong."



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O Motion Pictures!

(Continued from page 1041)

theatres not only with what is read—for large numbers of these people do not read—but with what they see and hear elsewhere. I have attended a good many of these plays with that in mind, studying the spectators and comparing their probable home, business and street environments with the visual environment offered them at the play, and I am sure that the cheaper the theatre and the fuller of unchaperoned youth the higher the moral effect of the play in comparison with the moral effect of the daily life of the spectators. The opposite is not quite true, for the children of people who have nurses, not governesses, often hear and see almost as much obscenity and vulgarity as do the children of the poor. It is the middle-class, parents, too poor to hire nurses and rather watchful about their children who justly complain of motion picture influences.

THE uneasiness created by the facts that children and young people do not see many motion pictures, and that no matter how good the chief picture of a program may be it is prone to be accompanied by other pictures silly or vulgar, finds vent in complaints, suggestions or demands. The complaints are either vaguely directed at the producers, the distributors, the exhibitors one or all, as "vicious interests," or they are specifically directed at the "so-called" National Board of Review, which lays itself open to attack by claiming to pass upon over 90 per cent of the films made in the country, and by publishing its standards. The suggestions are various; the demands more definite. Let us have local reviews. Let us have legal censorship—by small political units; by states; centralized as in a Federal Board. Let us bring to bear the force of public opinion, through visiting committees, through personal praise or protest directed on exhibitors, through the press, through letters addressed to the producers.

The truth is that the motion picture, whatever its potentialities, is a sort of Frankenstein, a product of the spirit of the times which mirrors in magnified dimensions its creatures. It is a form of Americanization that the newcome foreigner gets when he visits them. Doubtless a distinct bias has been given them by the class of men who stumbled into the positions of directors in the days when a certain commercial type of people saw their money value, before certain earnest souls saw their dangers, and certain other earnest souls their possibilities for good. Yet they portray our visions—some divine, mostly crude.

Several generations ago there was the same sequence in the development of the drama. Even when it depicted God, the Devil, and the Fall of Man it was coarse, violent, obscene. Then good people discovered Satan behind the footlights, and the churches warned their membership away, and now even Bernard Shaw reforms us with a play. Was it your mother, or your grandmother who was excommunicated for reading a novel, any novel? And was it you or your son whose soul awakened to its obligations for social service through reading *The Inside of the Cup*? We should not forget that with the first speck of protoplasm we started on a journey which, though devious and spiral, has yet been upward.

Men and women devoted to the good of their less enlightened fellows want the honor of helping God; they want to be the human means by which He accomplishes what they think to be His purpose of getting us over the later laps of our upward journey at an accelerated speed, and with less rhythmic deviousness than Nature uses. Men with business thought habits occasionally offer advice as to how to do it. And if the business man is in any way financially connected with motion picture interests these devoted reformers nod their heads and say, "Aha, we have heard ere this of your subtle propaganda. We read our newspapers. You can't fool us!"

A REAL HUMAN DOCUMENT

WOMEN, far more than men, are the victims of inherited fears and inhibitions. Men have always had the free swing that life demands—women, until recently, have been shackled by a thousand traditions. Today, when every trade and profession is open to women—when life can mean to them all that they can force it to mean—there is a general search for the short cut to the new freedom.

This short cut is Pelmanism. Of the 500,000 Pelmanists in the world today, one-third are women. Of the immense number of letters in the Pelman Institute—frank recitals of individual experience—fully one-half are from women. Here, for instance, is a typical letter that rings with sincerity in every line:

"Pelmanism's most helpful feature, that is, most helpful to me, is the lesson on personality. All my life, and I am now over thirty, I have suffered exceedingly through self-consciousness. Whenever I moved or spoke, provided anyone was within 'ear shot' or 'eye shot,' I was painfully aware that they were watching, or I thought they were watching every action, listening to every word I spoke. Whenever I entered a room where there were people present, I would make my way quickly to the very last seat in the room. Some years ago I was told that this was a form of egotism, but if so it is a most depressing form, particularly when one feels that one either looks ridiculous, or that any remarks made may subject one to ridicule.

"I have always felt that way ever since I can remember. Perhaps it was due to pre-natal causes. I am the youngest of twelve children. We were very poor. There was never enough for the others to eat at any time, and naturally the thought of another coming to share the already too small amount of food, another one to dress and look after, could not have caused my mother to feel overjoyed. After I got here she did the best she could for me, but I suppose I am selfish—it was never enough.

"Once we lived opposite a girl's school. The girls played in the convent yard after school, and I used to watch them from the garret window, which was the bedroom of my Mother, my two brothers and myself. At that time I was nearly fourteen and used to dream that some day I, too, would be sent away to just such a school as the one across the street. The dream was never realized. My father died of consumption and I went to work, for which I received the magnificent sum of two dollars a week. Do you wonder there are Bolsheviks?

"When I was sixteen I contracted ague, or chills and fever as we used to call it on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and from that time I shot up into the air like the proverbial beanstalk. Whether the ague

The Story of One Woman Who Conquered Doubts and Fears

was responsible, or whether it was caused by the fact that I had never really had food which nowadays is considered nourishing for children I don't know, but at any rate I grew and grew until I was almost six feet tall and very thin. People used to laugh at me when I walked along the street, and all my friends thought it good sport to joke at my expense, until I became so self-conscious that I was miserable all the time. Besides that, what was much more serious to me then, was the fact that I never had any of those so-called 'springtime of life' love affairs, for the simple reason that the boys would not look at me. And so I went on, spending most of the time feeling intensely sorry for myself.

"About six years ago I either got used to myself or people took less notice of the fact that I was above the ordinary height, for it didn't bother me so much, but to this day I can't talk to a person shorter than myself without the desire to bend over from the neck, throw my weight on one foot and hunch up the other, sit down, or do anything to make myself appear shorter. I have always wanted to be little. I suppose every big woman does. I have always wanted to be petted, but I never got it, and now I have learned to do without it. But sometimes my heart is very hungry.

"Such a condition of mind is not conducive to the development of personality. I couldn't make a favorable impression on others because I was always afraid—afraid of falling over something, or knocking something over, or, when I talked, of making some grammatical error which would cause others to laugh at me. I had no education, although I longed for it with all my heart, and so I began listening very intently to people I thought knew how to talk well, that is, correctly. This helped me, but it also had the effect, I think, of increasing self-consciousness, for I felt when I spoke that the people with whom I talked listened as intently to me as I did to others. I was very careful to watch the construction of every sentence and the pronunciation of every word I spoke. I haven't quite gotten over this yet, but it doesn't bother me so much now. Today I try to think of what I am saying, not how I am saying it.

"You will realize then what a God-send Lesson No. 9 proved to be. I fairly ate it up when it arrived at the house. I don't know whether it was this lesson alone, or whether each lesson of the course shared in helping me, but I know this that I don't permit myself to become so worried as formerly. It used to be that when I was called in for dictation (I am a stenographer) I was always afraid—afraid before my employer started to dictate that I would not 'get' what he was going to say, afraid that after the letter was dictated I would not be able to transcribe the notes, afraid when asked for a letter from the files that I should not be able to find it, and when I was questioned about any office details, I became so nervous most of the time that I did not grasp what was being said to me.

"All this has been changed by the Pelman course. Today I have confidence. I know now the things I can do, and one by one I am cutting down the list of 'can't do' things. Not only has Pelmanism helped in business but in a hundred other ways. Life itself means more to

me, for my mental state enables me to get more out of books and pictures and amusement, while freedom from self-consciousness has given me a happy, genuine relation to friends and acquaintances.

"Fear is still with me, to be sure, although the poor old thing is getting very pale and worried looking now whenever he stands to one side and contemplates me, little (?) me, who used to be such fair and easy game for him. He doesn't know, of course, what is responsible for this changed condition, for when I have been reading the 'little gray books' he has been off somewhere deviling someone else, someone who hasn't heard of Pelmanism. When he realizes the great force that has been started for the express purpose of wiping him off the face of the earth, I know—I can tell from the worried look of him now—that he will wear away to a shadow, a thin gray mist that cannot hurt anyone, a mist from which we fearful ones will emerge with the sword of truth held high in our hands, our minds as keen and fine as its blade, our spiritual bodies covered with a garment of beautiful texture woven from peace, confidence, happiness and good will, our hearts fed with the knowledge of purpose and work well done.

Student No. 894."

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The Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course Inside Stories About the Federal Department

THE Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor is new. It is the youngest of the United States bureaus. Yet women were working on this continent thousands of years before men ever deigned to work. And of a certainty white women were chronologically equal workers with white men as soon as ever the Pilgrim Fathers made a fire and the Pilgrim Mothers made the dinner and together thanked God for this opportunity of service.

The Government declared working women to be a separate and important item in its labor interest only because of their sudden importance during the war. The Woman in Industry Service was established in July, 1918. Peace declared this a permanent victory, altered the name to the Women's Bureau, and dated the permanence June 5, 1920.

The Bureau was started as a Service in the days when even women in government employ were regarded as "in the service." But its charter was never belligerent. The expressed purposes of the Service have been retained as the experienced purposes of the Bureau.

To consider all general policies with respect to women in industry and to advise the Secretary of Labor as to the policies which should be pursued.

To keep informed of the work of the several divisions of the Department insofar as they related to women in industry and to advise with the divisions on all such work.

To secure information on all matters relating to women in industry and to collate such information in useful form.

TO establish useful connections with all Government departments and divisions on this subject, and with voluntary agencies and societies.

The Bureau has never been large, nor has it enjoyed large appropriations. Today the personnel with all the urge of investigating conditions under which women work numbers but little more than a score, including field workers who go to the far corners of the country, and including typists and filing clerks. The annual appropriation the first and second years was \$40,000. For the third and current year the fund is \$75,000. With that is being continued a country-wide survey of women working under the new conditions—how many will not be known until the Census of 1920 reveals the trade numericals into which the hundred millions population is divided, probably fifteen million working women.

The Women's Bureau Department of Labor

By Mary Anderson
Chief of the Bureau

AS the name of the unit happily suggests, this is the Women's Bureau, that is, the bureau of women, it belongs to them. It is working for them, and not only for the women who work but for all the women of the country who are interested in the conditions of women generally. For finally it is realized how interdependent is the women body politic.

The Bureau has established as its charter direct connections with voluntary agents and societies, especially with the General Federation of Clubs, and with the League of Women Voters. These two vast organizations, gathering together the women of the country without any limitations of association except their interest in women, are looking to the Bureau for information on conditions, for suggestions as to legislation, for an understanding of the present and a faith in the future. Quite generally the women voters of the nation are taking their duties seriously. No new citizenship group ever before accepted as its duty the understanding of situations, the watching of legislation.

Therefore, the Women's Bureau has a new duty and a new incentive. No other bureau was ever so near its true sponsors, nor perforce so sensitive to their opinion and their needs. During the war years the primary need was to serve the women who worked. During the peace, this indefinite period now ahead of us, the service will still be to the women who work. But in order to secure improvements for them it will be necessary to secure the backing of the large woman electorate on whose will depends the betterment of tomorrow.

If women had not suddenly become part of the active citizenship it is possible that the roused woman interest would have lapsed, back into the medievalism of indifference which can be easily dated, ante-1914. Now that the vote has come women demand to know what they can do with that vote, what is its significance, what its power. They mean to know what the conditions are in this their country, especially the conditions of women and children. They must be informed. Women, through the proc-

esses of women's clubs, have developed a passion for being informed. Out of that information legislation will be shaped. In order to secure that legislation men will be chosen. Thus the circle of understanding is completed, from the meaning of the ballot back to the use of the ballot.

For this reason women are looking to the Women's Bureau. No doubt they are expecting of it more than its charter permits or encourages. They are expecting everything. Women always expect the illimitable. That is the secret of their power. If they cannot know and cannot effect all the improvements they demand, they will straightway look about for some means of securing the thing desired. So that no doubt the Women's Bureau will increase in activity from year to year, from annual report to annual report.

The Bureau and the States

THE second annual report of the Director of the Women's Bureau, in truth the first annual report of the Bureau, for the first report was of the War Service, was published in November.

The Women's Bureau has investigated conditions of women in the Government service, of negro women, of home workers, metal workers, candy workers, those in transportation, and in hazardous industries. It has covered or has touched at some vital point the woman in a score of States—Virginia, Indiana, New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota, South Carolina, California, Illinois, Washington, Michigan, Georgia, New Hampshire, Missouri and the District of Columbia. Its information has been consulted and its advice sought by every State in the Union. The investigations are as varied as the industrial conditions. No searching in one State can be taken as basis or as revelation in another, but the report for each State serves as experiment data for the nation.

The Bureau is not concerned with enforcing the laws; this is a State function. It is concerned with shaping the policies and it bases these on an amassed information. It pools all the experiences, thereby enabling the states to avoid the dangerous and to avail themselves of the successful experiments. It stands for equal opportunity in industry, freedom of choice of occupation, and equal pay for work

of the same or corresponding skill with work that is done by men.

MOST novel and of widest interest are the investigation into the responsibility of wage-earning women for the support of others and the investigation into the status of women government employees in the District of Columbia.

The wage-earning woman has always been regarded as an independent unit, quite detached from the necessities of the family. If she worked she might pay into the family coffer all or some portion of her wage. But she was not given the rank of supporter of dependents. It has been almost impossible to introduce to the masculine mind any belief that women did support others, so long has he been under the conviction that women ought to be supported.

Women knew the conditions were otherwise, but few statistics existed to back them in their controversy with prejudiced man. In the fall of 1919 the Women's Bureau invited state departments to cooperate in securing these figures. A few states declared they had not the funds or the workers. Certain states sent in their figures. New Hampshire asked the Bureau to work out the problem in its territory. So Manchester was selected as the leading industrial center, and an investigation was started there last April.

The information gathered included the wage received and when possible the amount contributed to the support of others for all the employees, both men and women, in certain factories. An intensive study of a limited number of families was also made showing the yearly and weekly wage of each wage earner and his or her relation to the family budget. This material when combined with the nation-wide material from the cost of living schedules which have been made available by the Bureau of Labor Statistics for this study, will be of great significance in determining the justice of the women's demand for a wage rate based on the cost of living for dependents and not merely for the individual."

In the District of Columbia the status of women government employees has been as indifferently regarded as though there were no Department of Labor and no Women's Bureau. Even during 1920 there have been 50,000 women in government service in the District of Columbia alone. The Bureau made a study of civil service examinations. It discovered that 60 per cent of the examinations were closed to women, and that when women were accepted they were placed in the lowest salaried class. A preliminary copy of the report was sent to the Civil Service Commission. Before it could be published the Commission passed a ruling opening all examinations to women.

The adjustment of salaries was more diffi-

cult. But the Joint Congressional Committee on Reclassification has accepted the findings and advisings of the Bureau, and it is expected that Congress will register government approval of equal pay for equal work, as well as an equal chance at the jobs. This, of course, increases the expectation of all women throughout the country who consider a position under the government.

An investigation was made of cost of living in the District, with the finding of \$19.49 to cover a "health and decency budget." These conclusions are being utilized by the Minimum Wage Commission in fixing the living wage for girls in Washington.

Vocational Training

TWO large significant publications are on the press of the Government Printing Office, and will be released to the public before the end of 1921.

"Industrial Opportunities and Training for Women and Girls" is a study in the new opportunities for work, and in the vocational training which will enable women and girls to avail themselves of those opportunities. The unsuspected capacities uncovered in women workers during the war, the skill acquired by these workers on unwonted tasks during the war, the peace-time necessity of turning the attention of women from the congested clothing trades which are their traditions into the new possibilities revealed by war experiences—all this is of little avail if vocational schools do not open their courses to girls and women.

The same vocational interests should be roused in the girl as in the boy. This is the suggestion of the Women's Bureau. Women and girls in search of a job do not seek out the new; the job seeker is a timid creature and fears to go out of her way lest she get out of the way of a job altogether. Vocational schools do not open their courses to girls and do not encourage girls to desert old fields for new. Schools are as conservative as workers.

It will be necessary for all the women of the country to understand the new opportunities for women to work in order that this suggestion may have momentum. It will be necessary for the vocational schools already established, already receiving federal aid, to understand that women workers are also citizens and entitled to the fullest opportunities possible to any American citizen. And it will be necessary for the manufacturer, who during the war did set aside hours and provide teachers in order that the new workers might master a craft, to demand from the vocational schools trained girls as well as trained boys in order that the indus-

trial ranks of the near future may be filled with those who know their trade.

THE investigation made by the Bureau revealed the fact that, in the large, there are trade schools in every community where there are opportunities in the new trades, new for women. There are 104 industrial school units in 20 industrial states, varying from one in Kentucky to 21 in Pennsylvania. Very many of these have been schools receiving aid from the federal government.

But almost uniformly they do not encourage girls and women to enroll in the courses; in the very great majority of instances they do not even open the courses to women; in certain instances when they do admit the woman pupil she must already have a job in a factory in the very trade for which she seeks to train. The courses in these schools, open to women and congested, are the old traditional occupations which used to be carried on in the home. Yet among the younger workers there is a hint of rebellion; in Cambridge, Massachusetts, a Girls' Trade School which taught only these "feminine" things, had to close because there were no pupils.

Unless some encouragement is given to women, and to schools, and to factories, unless a definite program is shaped, secured through the interest and cooperation of all women, the women workers will drag down the wage in those trades, they will reduce their general efficiency as citizens as well as workers, and they will continue to be unready for emergency occupations, whether those should be of war or of peace. The latter emergency is certain to arise when the new world, still wondering how it is going to build, solves its bewilderment and begins to work as feverishly as it must during the next decade.

Women's New Position in Industry

THE report, however, which will stand out as the most significant contribution to an understanding of the future of the women who work, is the book entitled, "The New Position of Women in American Industry."

This is the joint production of the Women's Bureau and of the Y. W. C. A., and was originally suggested by Mary McDowell. The Bureau with its scant funds could not swing this investigation with the nation-wide sweep so essential to its value. The War Work Council of the Y. W. C. A., and Mary Van Kleeck, at that time Director of the Women's Bureau, combined their intelligence and undertook a survey

(Continued on page 1054)

WOMAN'S MEDICAL COLLEGE OF PENNSYLVANIA

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The Woman Citizen's Forum

Mr. Roe Answers Mr. Bartelt

To the Editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN:

MR. BARTELT'S last communication departs entirely from the only question we were considering, namely, whether or not the Espionage Law should be repealed. He assails me as one who seeks "to evade the question" and attempts "to prejudice the readers of the *Woman Citizen* against courts and juries by exhuming an historical cadaver." The subject under discussion is neither courts nor cadavers but the Espionage Law. If Mr. Bartelt cannot distinguish between an illustration and an evasion and is unable to see in an argument, merely because he does not approve it, anything except an "appeal to prejudice," it is certainly no fault of mine. The logic of his argument is that a jury's verdict must be accepted as correct unless the jury itself adds a foot-note saying "This verdict is contrary to the facts;" and similarly he appears to regard it as impious to question the correctness of a court's opinion unless the language of the opinion itself declares that it is bad law. Of course juries believe their verdicts to be right when rendered, and courts believe their opinions and rulings to be correct when made, and no one less naive than Mr. Bartelt ever supposed they would admit anything to the contrary. Alice Stone Blackwell's charge was that the Espionage Act "was so loosely worded" and drastically interpreted that it practically destroyed the right of free speech. Whether that charge is true is the question we are considering and not, as Mr. Bartelt seems to think, whether the courts admit that it is true.

IN my previous article, I did not, as Mr. Bartelt charges, refer to the law of King Canute to draw attention from the question at issue, but I did it with the hope that it would suggest to Mr. Bartelt the humor of expecting to find in a particular statute or decision a confession of its own error or wickedness. I then went further and cited a number of cases from the reports in which the gist of the offenses of which the accused were convicted consisted in expressing opinions which were construed as hostile to the prosecution of the war. Mr. Bartelt does not question the correctness of my contention respecting these decisions, except he complains that the summation I gave of the O'Hara case was too brief. The more extended quotation which he makes from the Attorney General's report of that case adds little, if anything, to the facts as I stated them, and is moreover merely the prosecutor's version of what the facts were—hardly a fair way in which one who is so great a stickler for accuracy should present a case to the public. Besides, the condensation of the cases which I used in my former article was exactly what I had used in a brief before the Supreme Court of the

United States and as it had passed muster there I ventured to hope that it might satisfy even the critical eye of Mr. Bartelt. I might have submitted many similar cases, but did not do so for lack of space. Further and complete proof of the correctness of Alice Stone Blackwell's contention is found in the fact that almost as soon as the war was over, many cases in which defendants were convicted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment by trial courts were reversed by Appellate Courts on the ground that the language attributed to defendant was entirely innocent and lawful, and the Attorney General of the United States has in many other cases confessed error upon the same ground. The Attorney General has taken this course in at least two cases in which I was interested (the Peterson and Nagler cases) and it is entirely to the credit of that official that he took similar action in the case of more than a score of others convicted under the Espionage Law. The following are a few of the cases which have come under my personal observation where the Appellate Court Judges have declared that persons were wrongly convicted for the expression of opinions about the war:

U. S. v. Doll, Dept. Bulletin, No. 163.

U. S. v. Von Bank, Dept. Bulletin No. 164.

U. S. v. Becker, 268 Fed. 195.

In *U. S. v. Baltzer*, Department Bulletin No. 3, the Attorney General, just before the case was about to be argued in the Supreme Court, confessed that all twenty-seven defendants had been wrongly convicted because the matter published was not in violation of the law. I have made no effort to exhaust the list of such cases as shown by the reports and space forbids my setting out those cases in which defendants, not having appealed either through lack of means or other cause, are still suffering imprisonment for the expression of their views. Mr. Justice Holmes in the Abrams case (cited by Mr. Bartelt) in his dissenting opinion, says:

"In this case sentences of twenty years imprisonment have been imposed for the publishing of two leaflets that I believe the defendants had as much right to publish as the Government has to publish the Constitution of the United States now vainly invoked by them. . . .

"Persecution for the expression of opinions seems to me perfectly logical. If you have no doubt of your premises or your power and want a certain result with all your heart you naturally express your wishes in law and sweep away all opposition."

And in concluding his opinion, Mr. Justice Holmes said:

"Of course I am speaking only of expressions of opinion and exhortations, which were all that were uttered here, but I regret that I cannot put into more impressive words my belief that in their conviction upon this indictment the defendants were deprived of their rights under the constitution of the United States."

Here Mr. Justice Holmes asserts that these defendants are suffering long terms of imprisonment for mere expressions of opinion.



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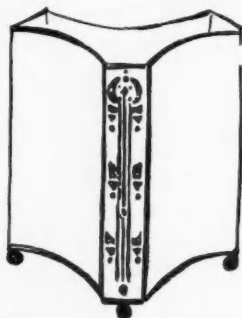


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A case containing typical instructions and which so far as I have been able to find was not reversed, is *United States v. Taubert*, Department Bulletin, 108. In that case the accused was charged with having said that this was a "Morgan war." In the charge to the jury it was said:

"Now, did he say that this was a Morgan war and not a war of the people? I am not saying that he did or did not, but without insinuating anything about political questions, because when we get into court we forget our politics, we all know that it was the idea of the Government to disarm all such argument as that by inventing a scheme of raising money from the body of the people by giving them an opportunity to invest—to put their money in—men, women, and children—so that it should be understood that it is not a Morgan war but a war of the Nation and for the protection of the people.

"Now, it would be for you to say, in the first place—for you to find whether this man said what is claimed about Liberty bonds. In the next place, whether he said it because he was not in sympathy with the war, because he was disloyal in the sense of not believing in it, or in not justifying its prosecution, or whether he was provoked into saying it, and the view which you take upon the question whether he said these things would probably be influenced largely by whether you think he was actually in sympathy with the war or not."

THIS charge is not exceptional but is a fair sample of the charges delivered to juries which naturally and inevitably led to the conviction of many men and women for no other crime than expressing disapproval of the war. Never in all the history of this country have so many men and women been unjustly convicted even according to the decisions of the Appellate Courts and the Attorney General under any statute as have been convicted in a few months under the Espionage Law. As Alice Stone Blackwell well points out, the Espionage Law never led to the conviction of a German spy, but under it hundreds of American citizens were convicted and sentenced to long prison terms merely for the expression of opinions. It should be immediately repealed.

In concluding his article, Mr. Bartelt in substance demands to know what I would do if someone should call me an "infamous falsifier, a cheat or a thief." I would do exactly as I would if no Espionage Law had been passed. I would sue the guilty party for libel if he

was of sufficient importance to be worth attention. If he were not, I would ignore such publication since it could do no possible harm, but in either case my action would have no more relation to the Espionage Law than has Mr. Bartelt's last communication.

New York.

GILBERT E. ROE.

Marriage—Divorce—Alimony

To the Editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN:

ALIMONY is not one of those questions which stands alone, and it cannot be discussed without reference to the marriage and divorce which preceded it. Many marriages are merely the union of two young people "in love with love." The relation becomes intolerable when the infatuation ceases. We are getting away from the old idea that all marriages are "made in heaven" and, therefore, sacred and eternal. Instead, now-a-days, we judge a marriage from a practical standpoint, asking how much it makes for happiness and welfare.

The justification of marriage is children, therefore, the question necessarily arises in many cases, as to what is best for them, whether they shall continue to live with a bickering unhappy mother and father or whether a better arrangement can be made for them.

Marriage-divorce-alimony. Since this discussion in the *Woman Citizen* begins with alimony, putting the last first, allow me to suggest that in actual practice it be put first, before the marriage license is issued.

In his book, "Social Forces in England and America," H. G. Wells says: "I think there ought to be a very definite and elaborate treaty of partnership drawn up by an impartial private tribunal for every couple that marries, providing for most of the eventualities of life, taking cognizance of the earning power, the property and prospects of either party, insisting upon due insurances, ensuring private incomes for each partner, securing the welfare of the children and laying down equitable conditions in the event of a divorce or separation. Such a treaty ought to be a necessary prelude to the issue of a license to marry."

Thus forcing the spice of hard common sense upon the ardor of love may have the salutary effect of making it pause and consider.

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The Book Stall

THAT futuristic novelist, Sherwood Anderson, has at last so far arrived in *Poor White* (B. W. Huebsch, Inc.) that one begins to find a clue to his technique.

To begin with, Sherwood Anderson is so modern that he is on the tongue of all the last-words, some of them not knowing why except as he is new and "different," it must be a part of the present day literary adventure to be familiar with him.

But Mr. Anderson isn't exactly a subject for familiarities. He is austere, earnest, almost Puritanic. He is dealing neither lightly nor experimentally with the method of writing which he has chosen as the best expression for his type of realism. His *metier* is not like that of any of his contemporaries; it is post-impressionistic, Freudian. An analogue is found in the pictures of Odeon—dream pictures.

Everything that happens in these books happens in the subconscious and emotional life of the characters. Very little happens on the surface of life which flows like a dull, thick stream. One feels in reading *Winesburg* and *Poor White* as if he were going on and on through subterranean, vaulted passages with no outlets to the upper air.

It would be easy to say that Mr. Anderson writes like a modern Russian; that his dreary village of Bidwell, Ohio, is the same hopelessly sordid kind of place as the village of Artzibasheff's *Breaking Point* or the army town of Kuprin.

BUT such a likening of a few obvious externals, misses spiritual values altogether. Mr. Anderson's grasp of life is more like that of Dostoevsky, only it is saner; it coheres better, and it is completely American and twentieth century.

The story of Hugh McVey is the story of a "poor white," with a slouching, underfed, unstimulating ancestry. Out of the dragging bondage of his racial past, Hugh climbs. He is like a Rodin creation, only partially evolved. But the part of him that never quite emerges is not rockbound but mudbound. Like his sluggish legs, some of his soul sticks fast in the antediluvial, primordial mud-flats of the Mississippi Basin. "Mudcat Landing" was the appropriate name of his birthplace.

The story is unusual. The book has a spiritual quality and a certain tender, envisioning grace by which it keeps the fumbling soul of Hugh from sinking out of sight. It is admir-

Books About Snobs, Heroes, Little Towns and Plain Folk

ably done, but its strength begets a corresponding weakness. The very perfection of its subtlety in portraying the slow undercurrents of life in the Ohio town makes it almost intolerable in its drab monotony.

Doubtless the subliminal life of most of us flows dully by, like that of Hugh and Clara and Rose McCoy. It is a dark pool in which only occasionally one sees stars reflected. But contemplating such interior gloom one easily guesses why half the world escapes from its own subconsciousness into beer and skittles and the other half into religious fads. No one could keep on looking at Bidwell and live. The antidote has to be detective stories and the movies.

IT'S quite a jump off to go from such wild modernity as Mr. Anderson's to a little old-fashioned story like Mrs. Mary Katharine Maule's *A Prairie-Schooner Princess* (Lathrop Lee and Shepard, Boston). This is a really good and thoroughly safe and sound narrative about crossing the prairies in a wagon. It gives a picture of an heroic part of American life which ought to be cherished by every generation. Compared to some of the frantic efforts of modern novel writers to put over something strange and daring. There is restfulness and charm in Mrs. Maule's willingness to make a story-book "just like our mothers" used to read.

GERTRUDE ATHERTON'S *The Sisters-in-Law* (Frederick A. Stokes Company) performs a remarkable feat of low-visibility in characterization. It is a story which opens with the San Francisco earthquake, a city jerking, pulsating and burning in the background. Although one of the worst calamities of the twentieth century is supposed to be going on, none of the persons introduced to the reader appear to notice it. Probably no other author ever before succeeded in writing pages and pages which produced no atmosphere whatever. The characters might as well be talking in a vacuum for all the stirring of emotion they awaken in the reader. At intervals one of them interrupts their conversation which is all about San Francisco's Who's Who to re-

mark casually that the fire is spreading and the refugees are seeking shelter. But no one of this group of snobs really cares a button about what happens to refugees nor to anybody outside of his or her social set. And such a curiously, vulgar and sordid and bloodless social set as it is! Certainly it is not indigenous to any part of the United States.

All of the marionettes prancing upon this little stage of Gertrude Atherton's erecting are absorbed in demonstrating the aristocracy of California's native sons. This is a one-stringed fiddle played upon not only while San Francisco burns, but throughout the book.

The California social directory is the real hero of this poor, but lurid tale. Within the author's mind burns the most preverid ancestry worship imaginable. It is a book of snobs which has no parallel in American letters and no *raison d'être* in American life.

ANOTHER California story is *The Bride of Mission San Jose*. (The Abingdon Press).

It so shines in comparison to Mrs. Atherton's tale as to make it seem full of charm and romance, although it is really a rather commonplace, historical "dost-thou" story of the roaring forties in California written by John Augustine Cull, and showing the California of Spanish Dons and Catholic Missions, before the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo.

Then the Californians were debatable territory, and it was a toss-up whether they should belong to Great Britain or to the American Republic. If Mr. Cull has his facts correctly, the Spanish holders of California lands were not keenly interested either way.

Every readable tale that helps to impress early sectional history upon Americans of today has its value and this is more readable than many stories of its kind.

The Index of
THE INTERNATIONAL NEWS
for 1920
may be had for one shilling—
25 cents—upon application to
THE NATIONAL AMERICAN
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION,
171 Madison Avenue,
New York.

Reel Facts and Real Facts

(Continued from page 1040)

or even very long without at least the products of one of the above distributors. THESE ARE REEL FACTS, and no doubt will meet with hearty approval also of Miriam Weiss, a sister contemporary in the *Woman Citizen*, when she said, "The scenario writer, producer, distributor, and theatre manager themselves must be made responsible to the PUBLIC."

THEY are responsible to the public. They always have been. There are enough laws on the statute books of every state in the union today to deal with any abuse of the screen. TELL YOUR EXHIBITOR YOU'LL ENFORCE THEM. Ask any lawyer you know; he'll tell you there are sufficient laws. The first exhibitor who shows a salacious picture should be prosecuted. But—he is also entitled as a servant of the public to know what the public wants. It's not wholly a question of the moral or immoral side. It's a greater question than that, it's a question of WHAT PICTURES YOU DO WANT, and I say again, and again, go to your own theatre, to your own exhibitor, get "chummy" and tell him what you want.

Miss Alice Stone Blackwell says, "The motion picture industry is rich and powerful. It is spending money freely—to defeat our bill" (preview censorship). The real facts are that the "industry" raised for the year 1920 \$40,000, which was divided into thirty-eight states, to pay lawyers' fees, postage, traveling lawyers' expenses, and incidentals, just to present in all fairness our side of the case before the legislative bodies. That's the vast sum and for a whole year at that.

Miss Amy Woods takes issue with me as the "anonymous Advertising Manager." Seems to resent the fact that I did not sign my name. I resisted that temptation because I was able to give facts that would appeal to any just reader in America; facts that as Arthur James said, writing in the *Moving Picture World*, "were to stand as such, on their own feet and without sponsor. On the same reasoning that the rising sun needs no human endorsement or human claim of discovery to establish itself, so the facts were to shine out and enlighten the women."

It is because I realize that I would be justly open to criticism of seeking personal publicity, if I signed my name, that I did not do it. There are some in our industry who tumble into print at the least excuse or at no excuse—so I thought I'd be different. Also, I know that not in a single instance has a proposition ever been submitted to public opinion but that our nation has decided on the side of decency.

Why, look here! I can remember a man, an actor who, seven years ago, was the talk of millions. His face peered out at you almost from every street corner. Theatres were named after him, yet—he's gone. Gone forever! Not

one foot of picture did this man ever make that the bluest-dyed censor could cut, yet—he's gone! He offended the real censor of motion pictures, of the press, of books, of fashions, the censor who should censor—the public. This man, clean to a nicety on the screen, was unmanly in private life. He became, so newspapers said, drunk and abused brutally a good wife. The public dropped him, not the censors. THE PUBLIC IF LEFT TO ITS RIGHTS WILL CENSOR ANYTHING.

Miss Alice Stone Blackwell says, "If such pictures ought not to be circulated through the mails." Miss Blackwell evidently does not know that the common everyday method of shipping motion picture photoplays is PARCEL POST, SPECIAL DELIVERY. Again I say there are laws and regulations by the score to govern everything Miss Blackwell wants if the public, who should be the real censors, will invoke them. What you women of the public want is real facts, not generalities that lead you to believe you are unprotected. That's why this publication, edited by a woman, published for women, gives me space to present REAL FACTS, not generalities. Another contemporary wants to judge for "the men and women who drop in after a hard day's work." Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, representing five million toilers of this nation, said not ten days ago, "It is regrettable that advocates of governmental motion picture censorship again are active in the endeavor to place one more restriction upon the exercise of freedom of expression. I trust they will not be successful; there must somewhere be an end to

restriction, to censorship, to the exercise of the arbitrary judgment of a few over the doings of the masses, or we shall lose our democratic character entirely and become a nation of subjects."

THE late Judge William J. Gaynor, Mayor of New York, an eminent jurist, handed down an opinion on pre-war censorship to the New York Board of Aldermen as follows: "Ours is a government of free speech, and a free press. That is the cornerstone of free government. The phrase 'the press' includes all methods of expression by writing or pictures. Every Christian denomination has at one time or another been subjected to such censorship. The few were very anxious not to give freedom of speech or of the press. They thought the many were not fit for it. They, therefore, set themselves up as censors or guardians over the bulk of their fellowmen." . . . "The truth is that the good, moral people who go to these moving picture shows, and very often bring their children with them, would not tolerate the exhibition of obscene or immoral pictures there. A place in which such pictures were exhibited would soon be without sufficient patrons to support it. At all events, THE CRIMINAL LAW IS AMPLE TO PREVENT THE EXHIBITION OF SUCH PICTURES. What they insist on is to have pictures examined in advance, and allowed or prohibited. That is what they are still doing in Russia with pictures and with reading matter generally. Do they really want US TO RECUR TO THAT SYSTEM?"

(Continued on next page)

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Pre-view censorship is un-American. It puts the control of what you and I may or may not see in the hands of a few who naturally are GOVERNED ONLY BY THEIR PERSONAL CAPABILITIES. If control of the press, the novel and the stage by a handful of official censors would be subversive of the public's best interests, how much more dangerous to place the future of the screen in the hands of political appointees with no rules to guide them higher than their individual whim or bias and no power superior to their unaided judgment as to what may not be "safely" shown to a supposedly free people.

We are a free people and it's because we, the industry, believe the women, the mothers of this nation are fit and capable judges of what they themselves and their children should see, that I say to you, go to your own exhibitor, learn his name at the box-office, tell him as you go out, "I liked that feature, and that comedy, and that travel picture you showed tonight. I shall tell my friends." Go to him often, and be frank also in your condemnation of what you dislike. Give him the same square deal you give the grocer, the butcher, the baker. TELL YOUR OWN EXHIBITOR WHAT YOU WANT. You are capable, you are able to think for yourself. You don't need any handful sitting anywhere to think for you, much less pay them salaries for doing it.

SUFFRAGE WON—FORWARD MARCH!

Women's Bureau

(Continued from page 1049)

into the status of women employed after the end of the war period. The Report is being put out by the Women's Bureau as a Government publication, and is in truth epochal—the harbinger of something epic.

Women during the war lost treasure that was peculiarly theirs, human lives. They gained certain enlargements of living which will widen the horizon for all the future generations. They gained the vote, full citizenship, with no discrimination as to sex. They have still to gain the right to choose their occupations, the right to an industrial freedom where also there shall be the least possible discrimination as to sex.

ONCE, only six years ago, woman worked in the women's occupations, those which were hers by tradition. Her skill was practically confined to the use of one weapon of peace, the needle. With this slight instrument she was expected to forge her way to economic independence. The wonder is that she won the right to live, to any extent. But very often she did not win the right to a living wage. She remained in these trades, and when they were congested, as they almost always were, she received a wage less than "minimum," less than livable. Millions of women in gainful occupations did not gain a livelihood.

The war called her as a defender of her coun-

try, demanded that her deft fingers work in unwonted substances and that her supposedly frail strength swing the heavy weights and move the heavy machines. She served her country beyond the expectations of friends or enemies. In four leading "men" trades her success was so great that the way is pointed by these to her new position in American industry.

Machine shops where light parts are made. Wood products factories, especially in assembling and finishing.

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The statistical tables of the book will yield rich satisfaction to those unafraid of the ogres of a report. Imbedded in them lies the proof of the future. For table after table reveals that in the most unsuspected industries women of no training and short experience have equalled, sometimes outdistanced men in their own accustomed craft.

The world immediately about us is in suspense, uncertain, and its material is dissipated, its strength is unassembled. The world immediately ahead of us will demand enormous quantities of material, and innumerable hands to fashion it. From that wide-vistaed future it will not be possible to bar women. The whole aspect of the woman world is sure to change. Their interest will be changed as immensely by participation in the new industries as in the new vote.

The "ratification" of this enlargement has not yet been made. There will be some fighting in order to retain the position held during the war, and there will be objectors who do not wish to advance or to see women advanced. But the needs of the future will be imperative, and women will win to a larger and larger economic independence.

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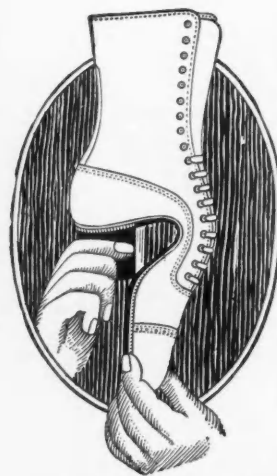


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Vol. V New Style

MARCH 12, 1921

No. 41

THE WOMAN CITIZEN'S

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IS DUE ON MARCH 26

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It is not to be understood that the WOMAN CITIZEN gives editorial endorsement to the opinions expressed in articles signed with name, initials, or pseudonym. Such articles may be at dagger's point with the editorial commitment, or in exact accord with it. They are printed because they seem worth printing and not because of any agreement in their expressed opinions. The editors speak for the magazine in the editorial pages.

A SOMEWHAT AMUSING but highly significant incident has occurred in England in reference to the service of women on juries. After considerable agitation, pro and con, the British Parliament authorized the service of women on juries, but did not extend an equal demand to women to serve. The law provides that a judge "may in his discretion or on application, made by or on behalf of the parties . . . or any of them, or at his own instance, make an order that the jury shall be composed of men only, or of women only, as the case may require, etc." It provides further that the judge shall grant an exemption to any woman who desires it "in respect of any case by reason of the nature of the evidence to be given or the issues to be tried."

Several women have served upon juries, but recently a case came up in a divorce court on retrial. The Judge, Mr. Justice Horridge, opened the case with the announcement that he had accepted a jury, half of women and half of men, as the case was one preeminently suited to the service of women. It concerned the welfare of a woman and a man, and therefore a jury of the two sexes was most appropriate. He added that the time for speeches about women being on juries had passed and that mixed cases demanded mixed juries.

It will be observed from the reading of the law that the judge was not under obligation to accept women as jurors in this case. He did accept them and accepted them with an especial commendation that this was a particularly desirable case in which women should serve. The evidence then proceeded.

The time came when the attorney for the wife looked embarrassed and agitated. He declared that he had in his possession some very important evidence. Indeed, it was so important that he did not see how the jury could come to a correct decision without familiarity with it. Yet its nature was such that he hesitated to lay it before a jury composed in part of women. The evidence consisted of some particularly indecent photographs. The judge first examined the photographs himself, and then decided that they were of too improper a character for women to see and especially in the presence of men. He decided, however, that their evidence was so important that the jury ought to know of them and so declared that they might be shown to the six men jurors, and withheld from the six female jurors. This was done.

By just what process of reasoning it was held that evidence so important that men jurors could not draw a correct conclusion without familiarity with it and yet women jurors would be able to draw their conclusions without knowledge of it, passes understanding, and in consequence the incident has stirred England as few unimportant incidents do.

It is needless to say that the impulse resulting from this unsavory case has not been to exclude women from juries, but to call forth a more emphatic demand for them, accompanied by

a determined condemnation of the judge's decision that evidence, even when of an unpleasant and indecent character, shall be given the jury on terms of equality. C. C. C.

JAPANESE women may now take, at least, the part of spectators in politics, the law forbidding their attendance at political meetings, having recently been modified. The political rights of women are by no means a dead letter in Japan, for a national suffrage association was formed after the Geneva Congress in June, 1920, with Mrs. Kubushiro as president.

The woman movement in Japan is now alive enough to give uneasiness to heads of political parties, according to a special dispatch to the London *Times*.

Under the leadership of the "New True" Women's Association Japanese women have carried a demand for prohibition so far as to schedule a parade before the Diet. Their platform includes limitation of hours in which liquor can be sold, limitation of quantity, enforcement of total abstinence within Parliament and prohibition of sales to minors.

It is reported that 3,000 prominent members of religious, educational and political groups are backing these women in their prohibition demands. It is reported by the same writer to the *Times* that a young and vigorous labor element is losing faith in both the Seiyu-Kai (Constitutionalist) and the Kensei-Kai parties, because neither party is pressing universal suffrage—even for males. "The Kensei-Kai had an opportunity to enroll the whole labor strength of the country under its banner if it had boldly advocated universal suffrage. It remains the party of the business element of the great cities."

THE center of population seems to be as migratory as was the prejudice against woman suffrage. The last is a vagrant that has followed mass movements for suffrage and has come to rest wherever density of popular demand was greatest. It now flits from stage to stage, like a ghost of one long dead. But the center of population has taken of late to shunning the madding crowd and at last report had perched in the dooryard of an innocent couple in Owen County, near Spencer, Indiana. In velocity of motion, also, this center of population moves about as fast as an antique prejudice. In ten years it has lumbered along at the rate of about a mile a year—9.8 miles in that time to be exact. It has been blown southward about one-fifth of a mile by counter currents. But its general trend is westward, San Francisco and Los Angeles having more pull with it than have Philadelphia, Boston and New York. One hundred and twenty years ago Maryland held the center in its grasp, Baltimore having a casual hold upon it. By 1820 it had wandered into Virginia where it stayed for a generation. In 1860 it appeared rather suddenly in Ohio, and it was not until 1890 that it began stalking about Indiana.

It seems that California, with its rapid growth, its motion picture trade, its scenic beauty and its general rush to the front of the American stage, is mostly responsible for pulling the center as far west as it is now.

ONE of the by-products of the agitation of women for welfare legislation is the increased attention given to these subjects in any report one may happen to pick up. In recent numbers of the *New York City Weekly Bulletin of the Department of Health*, space is given to a recent legal action in which a mother sought and obtained damages from a street car company for injuries to her child while yet unborn. The mother stepped off the car and into a coal hole. The child, born soon after, was injured for life. A previous decision in a similar case had decreed that while the mother was a passenger the child could not be so considered, as the company had not contracted for its safe carriage. In discussing the present case the court called this a harsh rule and said it should not be extended. It considered that injuries to an unborn infant should under certain circumstances offer valid claim for damages which the street car company could no more evade than if the child had been carried in its mother's arms.

"It is our boast," continued the court, "that the common law is elastic enough to fit itself to new conditions and to progress *pari passu* with advancing civilization and our ever-growing humanitarianism; and it is but a manifestation of this spirit of the law to recognize responsibility of the defendant to this child, now doomed to go through life permanently injured in head, body, and limbs."

So "the world do move."

Helping Madame Curie to Help the World

MADAME MARIE CURIE is coming to the United States! It seems that the only picture which hangs in her office in Paris is one of the Grand Canyon of Colorado, and it is one of the dreams of her life to see that wonder of nature. Therefore, it is pretty sure that she will cross the continent when once she is here.

But it is not the Grand Canyon which is bringing her to the United States. She is coming by invitation of women. An enterprising magazine representative, Mrs. William Brown Meloney, called upon Madame Curie last Summer and asked the simple question: "What would you have if you could be granted a wish?" And her reply was, without a moment of hesitation: "I would have a gram of radium. It should not be used for any ordinary purposes, but it should be kept sacredly for experimentation and especially in reference to the cure of cancer."

To the world at large, the idea immediately occurs: "Why does not the discoverer of radium produce a gram for her own use?" The reply is that it is a very expensive process. During the war Madame Curie went to the front, established her own laboratory, and all the radium which existed in France was used in locating bullets, shrapnel, and testing the nature of wounds. There is no more radium in France. Madame Curie has none. From time to time she has received considerable sums of money, one sum being the Nobel prize for Science. All of this money she has put into building the Curie Laboratory, which is the finest in the world of its kind. This laboratory is dedicated solely to experiments with radium. Students may come here from all over the world, but the great laboratory is silent, closed, for there is no radium with which to make experiments. No wonder the great woman scientist longs for a gram of radium to set the wonders of her laboratory in action once more.

Mrs. Meloney invited her on the spot to come to America and get a gram of radium, for here it does exist. Madame Curie is a teacher of science and she has a teacher's salary. She is one of the richest women in the world in scientific lore, but she has given the fruits of her labor to her laboratory. So she could not afford to travel westward.

Then something happened which has provided the way. An American woman who does not wish to have her name made public was able during the war to do a great service for her country. It cost her much in health and money. She made no complaint and expected no reward. But a few men who knew of her sacrifices invited her to a dinner and presented her with \$5,000. In response to the gift she said: "I cannot accept this money for myself. I did make sacrifices for my country, but I saw men dying all around me, and I cannot be paid for my services while they gave their lives. Do I understand, however, that this money is to be mine and that I may do with it as I please?" And when the givers said "Yes" she responded: "Then I shall find a way to invest it in some way for the benefit of the United States." When she learned of the desire of Madame Curie to visit this country and her great need and the need of science, through her, to possess a gram of radium, she contributed her \$5,000 for Madame Curie's expenses. Therefore, the scientist is coming here.

SOME time during her stay it is expected that she will be presented with a gram of radium for which she longs, and it is the idea and hope of Mrs. Meloney that it will be contributed entirely by women. The gram will cost \$100,000. Thirty-nine thousand dollars or more have already been contributed. The money is deposited to the

Marie Curie Radium Fund,
Equitable Trust Building,
37 Wall Street,
New York City, N. Y.

None of this money can be withdrawn from the bank without the signature of five persons, namely, Dr. William Duane of Harvard College; Dr. Robert Abbe, one of New York's most eminent physicians; Dr. Carter Wood of the Crocker Memorial Research Laboratory, connected with Columbia University; Dr. Caryl of the Rockefeller Foundation Laboratory; and Mrs. Robert G. Mead, Secretary of the Committee.

Money may be sent direct to this fund, or contributions, which will be properly forwarded, may be sent to the Headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. The smallest of contributions will be acceptable. Let every reader of the *Woman Citizen* have a small part in this manifestly important bit of work.

The most dread disease known to man is the cancer. The discoveries already made indicate that the cure lies in the direction of radium. Here is the discoverer of radium, the person who knows more about it than anybody else in the world, whose investigations and experimentation is stopped because the great war exhausted her supply. Let us join in giving to coming generations the benefit of that great woman's wisdom.

MADAME CURIE has received honorary degrees from a number of European universities. Already a large number of American universities have expressed the desire to honor themselves by presenting to her an honorary degree. She will undoubtedly, therefore, go as far as Berkeley University, in California. She is expected to arrive about May 18th and will remain for a few weeks only. It is a matter of the most serious regret that there is not a large body of very eminent women in science to greet her, but alas, the number of women who have attained greatness in that department is very small. American women, however, who appreciate the possibilities of women's development along every line of life, will unite in bidding her a warm and sincere welcome, and we hope will join in giving to her the tool for which she longs in order that she may carry forward her great scientific experiment.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

Women and the New Administration

From the Woman Citizen's Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, March 5, 1921.

IN the closing of the 66th Congress, the inauguration of a new administration and the organization of the 67th Congress, three tremendous events of one week, what is there which women will find encouraging as upholding their particular ideals of good citizenship?

Perhaps many of them will not agree with Senator Shields of Tennessee, whose contribution to the closing hours of the filibuster in the 66th session was a speech in defense of acts for which he was reprimanded as long ago as last June by the Tennessee State Democratic Convention. In this speech he termed the 66th, "one of the greatest Congresses of our government."

In the first article of this series, when the session opened last December, it was predicted that no legislation save appropriation bills and routine business would pass. Six questions of national emergency were mentioned in that article as facing the members of Congress, and it was said, "The solution of today's problems is not promised by this Congress." What is the record?

On appropriation bills only the greatest concessions made any action possible. And no concessions were sufficient to bring through the naval bill which died in the Senate and the army bill which failed for lack of the signature of President Wilson. The agriculture bill carried an appropriation of \$360,000 for free seeds, inserted by the House after the House appropriation committee had refused to make any allowance at all for free seeds. The Senate objected strenuously, but the House insisted upon the amendment and finally in the closing hours, in order that the bill itself should not fail, it was necessary for the Senate to adopt it with the free seed provision. This was not done until after Senator Kenyon had made a speech from which the following is quoted:

"There seem to be men in Congress who care more about this free seed appropriation than they do about their souls' salvation. I suppose you can go back to the old days of the Prophet Jeremiah and try to justify this habit. He proclaimed that they would sow wheat but would reap thorns, and I believe that the time has come in this country when, trivial as this thing may seem, those who sow it for votes will reap exactly the opposite. What are you going to send out to the women voters—vanity boxes, rouge rags and other things suggested by Senators around me? Let us do something for the women. Send them flowers through the mail, or feathers for their hats. It is just as sensible as this. It is unjust discrimination; though it is claimed, I think, that the women like to get these garden seeds to plant a wonderful garden blessed by the fall of rain and the sunshine, growing up to bless the memory of the Congressman who never forgets his constituents and the children wandering amidst the flowers murmuring, 'God bless our Congressman.'"

OF the emergencies with which Congress was asked to deal the so-called welfare bills were of the greatest interest to women. The efforts of the joint congressional committee representing ten million women were placed directly behind the Sheppard-Towner bill. From the first it was evident that Congress had no intention of passing that bill in the last session. The pressure of the women achieved a yielding here and there, and obstacles were removed until the bill reached the House rules committee with Representative Campbell of Kansas as chairman. That committee adhered to the obstruction policy laid down by the party leaders, and although it is the system which really brought about defeat, the rules committee as the final agency of the system must bear the brunt of the blame. None of the other welfare measures endorsed by the League of Women Voters ever had the slightest chance with the 66th Congress.

The sixth measure championed by the League, the Gronna-Anderson bill to regulate the packing industry, was forced through the Senate by the tactics of Senator Kenyon of Iowa and for a few days there was hope of House action. But the House agriculture committee with a slight majority in favor of the bill veered around over one night and from then on the bill had no chance.

The Senate Immigration committee held hearings all through the session to determine whether or not there is an immigration emergency at the present time. The weight of evidence finally convinced the committee that action was needed and a temporary bill was passed by both Houses. The bill went to President Wilson in the closing days of the session and was not signed by him, so that it, too, has failed of becoming law.

The needs of the farmers were met with many impassioned speeches on the floor of both Houses, but legislative representatives of the farm organizations gave up hope of any real aid long before the close of the session. The temporary tariff, bill originally designed for the protection of farmers, was another failure of the 66th Congress. Passed by both houses, it was vetoed by President Wilson, and failed to pass over the veto.

THIS is the record of the 66th Congress on questions which were considered national emergencies. What of its attitude toward other measures concerning women?

It is difficult to generalize, but the statement by one very prominent Senator expresses the attitude of many members: "Women are asking too much. You should concentrate on one bill and wait, say ten years, after its passage to see if it works out well. Then you could come back with the proof and ask for another bill."

Certainly the vote of Congress against the inclusion of women members of the Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor, which the National American Woman Suffrage Association helped to secure, in the general bonus for federal employees, is indicative also of the fact that there is much work ahead of women before they may expect the same consideration which is given to men constituents.

One Republican Senator is quoted as saying to a woman who was urging economic justice for the women employees, "You need not fear that these employees will leave any bureau. The unemployment condition is going to be so serious that they will be glad to work there at any price."

The National Trade Union League, which has been active on behalf of the women employees of the bureaus, points out that "in the same bill which reduces and limits the salaries of experts in the Women's Bureau to \$1800 a year except three at \$2000, Congress authorized the Bureau of Labor Statistics to employ the statisticians at \$3000 and fifteen other experts at \$2280 to \$2760. The U. S. Bureau of Education is allowed five experts in industrial education at \$3000 to \$3500 and twenty-three other specialists at \$2200 to \$3500. The U. S. Bureau of Efficiency is allowed twenty-one accountants, statisticians and investigators at \$3000 to \$5000 a year. For many bureaus operating under lump sum appropriations, as does the Women's Bureau, no limitation on salaries is imposed by law, and for none having comparable work is the limit so low as that fixed by this present act of Congress for the Women's Bureau. The reduction in salaries of the Women's Bureau specialists is aggravated, moreover, by the refusal of Congress to make even the partial offset of allowing these women the so-called bonus or flat salary increase of \$240 a year granted to other federal employees. The net result for the Women's Bureau staff is a two-fold reduction and a two-fold discrimination which will cripple

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Who Should Regulate the Motion Picture?

By Mary Gray Peck

Member National Advisory Committee, National Board of Review of Motion Pictures

IN the *Woman Citizen* of February 14, there appeared two articles which depend, so far as being adequate arguments, upon the ability of the writers to demonstrate that legalized State Censorship of Motion Pictures has done or can do what they say it ought to do. Neither article so much as touched upon this point.

What do these writers think censorship ought to do? It is a fair statement of their position to say they think: First, it should prevent "indecent pictures from being thrown on the screen every night before millions of our young men and women"; second, that the National Board of Review is not doing this; third, that a legalized state board of censors in Massachusetts would do it; fourth, that the opposition of the motion picture industry to such censorship arises out of a desire to make profit out of vicious pictures.

Taking up these points *seriatim*: First, when we undertake to banish indecent films we must agree among ourselves and come to an understanding with the public as to what is indecent. Nothing is clearer than that the great public which crowds the theaters nightly has very different standards of ethical and aesthetic values from those of the reformers. Legalized censorship is an attempt to enforce standards which some people think ought to be the minimum. Legalized censorship is not the device of the public to make the producer clean up his pictures. It is the device of the few to clean up the amusements of the many by the simple expedient of appointing three or five or more people "with power to act."

What has been the result of this idyllic arrangement in those states where it has been in operation for years? That vast composite of myriads of tastes and desires which the few seek to pass over in their attempt to regulate the screen, negligently interposes itself between them and their goal. It forces them to adopt its definitions and its standards, and these are primitive.

Second, Is the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures "ineffective" in eliminating "indecent" pictures? This is a matter of opinion, and if the affirmative could be established, which in the absence of agreement on what is indecent is impossible, it would establish the ineffectiveness of any attempt to apply censorship on a large scale.

The second of the two articles in the *Woman Citizen* of February 14 contained a carefully studied misstatement about the National Board of Review which calls for rebuttal. It is not "a small group of self-selected women," and since it is voluntary, it cannot be "almost entirely supported by film interests." Here is the truth about the Board:

THE National Board of Review of Motion Pictures arose in 1909 out of a request by the Mayor of New York that The People's Institute form a committee to review films in advance of their release in that city. The producers agreed to submit to the decisions of this body. As the number of films multiplied, representatives of leading educational, sociological, and philanthropic organizations were added and the work departmented.

There are now upwards of 200 men and women on the committee who review films in New York, ninety on the National Advisory Committee, who live in all parts of the country, and thousands on the affiliated committees in forty states.

The General Committee of the Board consists at present of eighteen men and ten women, leading officials of such organizations as Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America,

N. Y. State Conference of Mayors, Drama League, Methodist Board of Foreign Missions, Y. M. C. A., National D. A. R., People's Institute, Russell Sage Foundation, and others of equal significance. This General Committee determines the policy of the National Board of Review, and meets regularly to view films about which there is difference of opinion in any one of the twenty reviewing committees.

Candidates for the reviewing committees are passed upon by the General Committee, after examining their credentials and trying them out. Could a better committee, or a better way of picking a committee, be devised?

UPON request or of their own volition, the General Committee holds a public review and hearing, calling in expert advice and counsel in case of films about which there may be public controversy. Could a better system be devised? When the first birth control film came before the Board, three such hearings were held, calling everybody whose opinion carried weight. The testimony was hopelessly diverse, and the Board released the play without passing on it, notifying police officials all over the country that each community must decide for itself. It is interesting to note here that one state board of censors prohibited and one endorsed this same film.

No voting member of the General or Reviewing Committees is paid for his services, or can have the remotest financial connection with the film industry. The sight of their names and the organizations which they represent would suggest that fact to any sane person. A fixed fee for reviewing is charged which goes for office expenses, and public contributions are asked and given. The producers should and do furnish the mechanics of reviewing, but they no more support the National Board than they support the Methodist Board of Foreign Missions.

How does the National Board enforce its decisions? Through affiliated committees and police officials in forty states, a nationwide system. Information is sent weekly in advance of film releases to Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, Dallas, Atlanta, and hundreds of places large and small. If a company is caught dodging cuts, the Board ceases to review that company's films. If the films are not reviewed, the municipalities will not permit them to be shown. No producer wants to be shut out of the greater part of the country. The power of the Board is sufficient. A small percentage, not more than a fraction of one per cent of film, escapes the National Board. Quite as much as this escapes the state boards, as constant convictions and fines under legalized censorship attest.

But you may say, "Granting all this, the Board is still ineffective in that it lets through rotten films!" All right; if that is true, so does every other censorship agency. Here is where we strike rock bottom. No such distinguished, disinterested, competent group ever approached the regulation of any form of amusement as the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures. Considering their numbers, training, experience, and reputation in diverse fields, it is hard to imagine a superior body, for their specific purpose. If they are ineffective, censorship on a large scale is ineffective to do what Miss Blackwell wants done.

For the screen in the legally censored states of Ohio and Pennsylvania is not perceptibly different from the screen in the states of New York and Massachusetts. Increasing legal boards to

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O Tempora, O Mores, O Motion Pictures!

Part II

How Can They Be Made to Serve Each Other?

By Louise Connolly

Educational Expert of the Newark Public Library

WHAT is done in the movie world today? By whom? How? With what results?

All over the country there are state laws and city ordinances on two items of motion picture exhibitions! Sanitary and safety regulations there are, and regulations forbidding the attendance of young children unaccompanied by adults. The safety regulations are partly carried out in some places. Things are, on the whole, improved because of the efforts made, although there was a holocaust including childish victims lately in a New York City theatre, due to violation of the fire rules, and some theatres are still too dark and ill ventilated. As to children: A few weeks ago I saw on Sunday, at about 1 P. M., over a hundred people waiting in line on the pavement outside of a play house, of whom over two-thirds were children evidently under 12 years of age. I joined the line. We went in. Most of those children were without adult company. I asked several their ages. They were nine, ten, eleven years old. I watched the plays with these spectators in mind, and saw nothing worse than what they would probably have seen or heard on the streets or in their homes. They always applauded when the villain got the worst of it, and the boys screamed in shrill exultation when this worst involved noosing him with a lariat, or skillfully dropping him into a vault wherein it had been his intention to immure the hero or heroine.

I knew that the law was violated by the attendance of those children. The policeman at the corner would have known it had he looked at the queue. But he didn't look, and I didn't call his attention. Three drunken men had passed me on the street, within his possible ken. Where shall one begin? Should I ask him to turn the attention of the children from a drunken hunter in the Canadian woods to a drunken loafer on Main Street? There are laws against both situations, and they are obeyed only when and where most of us mean they shall be.

SO much for the spectators. What about the plays?

I have, at the solicitation of somebody on a committee in New York, nominated one or two people to serve on the review committees of the National Board. But my nominees hadn't the time to give. I have visited such committees and have seen them at their work. Everyone—both man and woman—on these committees seemed to be a person of some distinction for presumable good judgment and public spirit. They were mostly middle aged, of the upper middle class, so far as intelligence went, and they seemed to function with a sense of responsibility. They put their opinions on slips of paper which they signed, and which were distributed, summed up, and filed by paid clerks. The plays that I saw them review got their unjaded attention. They passed them all, but made objections to some features—which the representative of the producer always promised to have changed. When I inquired why they were willing to do this work without remuneration, they said: (a) They liked to feel they were doing good; (b) They liked the work itself; (c) They liked to see the pictures; (d) They only came once a week, or once in two weeks, and they felt that they had by long attendance become useful at the job, so that there was an obligation to continue.

I have something more than a casual acquaintance with one of the paid employees of the Board. I made his acquaintance

during my investigation of the Board's work. He is so evidently a sincerely righteous student of his subject and laborer for its advancement and believer in the value of the motion picture business if it can be rightly directed, that I find it hard to think that he is either consciously working with people who are bought by vicious interests, or unwitting of the real meaning of the institution he serves.

PERHAPS many of the producers who submit their films to these review committees of the National Board and pay a fee for each film examined by these unpaid reviewers do so because they fear if they do not, worse may befall them. But they do not appoint or fix the salaries of the paid workers who do the office work. And these office workers have no control over the decisions of the unpaid reviewers. It seems to me, then, ungenerous and unfair that clergymen and uplift workers should sneer at the Board because it frankly states that most of its income is obtained from the fees paid by the film-producers.

Which brings us to the subject of knowledge. No one can question the zeal of most of those who are working for censorship agencies, or the good intentions of many of them. And doubtless some of them have given much time to studying conditions which they hope thus to better. Probably some of them studied the question before forming an opinion. "I know the answer you want," said the small boy to the teacher, "but that question won't get it." I am sure that unbiased accusations against the present agency for film review, however inefficient it may be, will not bring the end sought by us all. On this point I can speak from a small experience—and I hope in a forgiving spirit.

During my investigations of the Board of Review I was asked from their office whether I could talk at a woman's club on their work. They had been asked to get a speaker who could present their work, and legal censorship also was to be presented by one who knew it. I said there were two objections: first, I didn't know enough; second, I really couldn't afford to give so much time and pay my expenses. Such calls are too frequent. But I made it plain that I did not wish to make profit from such a talk. They offered an honorarium that would just about cover my expenses, and I went.

In my talk I set forth the work of the Board as I had seen it, and said that I had been impressed with its work because it was, I thought, in line with the often repeated saying that we should work toward a day when we would do most of our self-governing not by legal enactments and punishments but by mutual concessions and cooperations. The gentleman who followed me was a salaried censor, doubtless a man of authority, who had seen many films. He seemed to think we were holding a debate. If so, I do not think that he opened his argument well. He said, "I see that we have in the last speaker a friend of the producers." Then he told the audience that the Board of Review "acknowledged" that it got its money from producers. At the end of the meeting I said to him, "The nearest acquaintance or friendship I have ever had with a producer is some slight social relations with Mrs. Edison," and he said, "Oh, I did not know that."

Now whatever the outcome may be of the efforts to solve the

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The General Federation of Women's Clubs in Action in Rural Communities

THE General Federation of Women's Clubs, whose president is Mrs. Thomas G. Winter, is a nation-wide organization with a membership estimated at 2,500,000 women. Its national conferences are held biennially.

IN thirty-three states men agricultural agents are directing the home economics training of girls. This is a pertinent fact to have in mind in relation to the campaign which the General Federation of Women's Clubs is opening for increased state appropriations to meet the federal appropriations under the Smith-Lever Act.

The slogan "a woman agent for each of the 3,500 counties in the United States and a woman dairy and poultry specialist for each state" is urged by Mrs. W. S. Jennings, of Jacksonville, Florida, first vice-president of the General Federation and director of its home demonstration work.

"The fifteen southern states, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia," says Mrs. Jennings, "lead in the work, with 1,000 demonstration agents, who need better salaries.

"The 33 northern and western states: Delaware, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Ohio, Wisconsin, Idaho, Montana, North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota, Washington, Wyoming, Arizona, California, Colorado, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico and Utah, have only 240 agents and are very much behind. The need there is an awakened interest and more agents.

"IN the South the girls' canning, cooking, sewing, dairy, poultry and vegetable raising clubs are under the direction of the women agents. In the 33 northern and western states, this work has been given over to the men agricultural agents, with the boys' calf, dairy, sheep, pig, poultry, bee, corn, potato and peanut clubs. The child is the key to the home and I feel that the girls' club work in the northern and western states must be given back to the women agents. I am fully convinced that this has been the greatest handicap to the work of the women agents in this district. The object of home demonstration work is not only production and conservation of food, but the fund for the maintenance of this work is appropriated for the promotion of home economics in rural sections, which means the development of the girl in home activities. The absurdity of putting the training of the girl for home life in the hands of men is at once apparent.

"There are nineteen million women in homes doing work valued at ten billion dollars, who are listed by the census as having no occupation. It will be part of our work to help raise the dignity of the home workers and secure proper recognition for same.

"Forty-eight and a tenth per cent of our entire population are living in rural territory and it is estimated by experts that 3,700,000, or 10 per cent of them, cannot read or write. That of the 17,000 or more mothers and 200,000 infants under a year old who die annually from controllable cause, the urban and rural

THE WOMAN CITIZEN from time to time selects from among the programs and activities of women's national organizations, state branches and local clubs, and from the resolutions passed by them, that which, in the opinion of the editors, stands out as the most significant effort of the hour on the part of organized women, considered from such viewpoints as these:

*Democratic ideals throughout the world,
Methods of making government by people get what the people want,
World peace,
National economy and efficiency,
Securing men and women of the right calibre for the United States Congress,
Supporting constructive and progressive legislation and opposing reactionism.
State and local government,
Freeing politics, national, state and local from bossism.
The promotion of education and securing a national department of education,
The promoting of education in citizenship for both men and women among both native and foreign-born populations,
Cultural values,
The securing of recognition of women's right to derive citizenship on their own account instead of deriving it, as now, through their husbands,
Just and intelligent standards of morality,
The most advanced steps in the handling of the problems of the household,
The most helpful action looking toward the protection of women in industry,
The development of business initiative in women.
This time it is the General Federation which scores.*

areas contribute the highest percentage. There are no limits to the possibilities and you are urged to centralize your Federation on the development of the home demonstration work in your state.

"During 1919-20, there was a supplemental fund of a million and a half dollars appropriated by Congress for the men's work. It now becomes necessary to ask Congress to appropriate at least two million dollars to bring the women's work up to that of the men.

"THE state Federations are being asked to cooperate with the States Relations Service of the Federal Department of Agriculture, by appointing state home demonstration directors who will in turn appoint county directors.

"It will be the duty of the state director and her county directors to see that the state Legislature

make sufficient appropriation to meet the Federal appropriation under the Smith-Lever Act. It will be their duty to see that fifty per cent of such fund can be devoted to the development of the home demonstration work throughout the state. It will be the county directors' business to secure sufficient funds from the County School Board or Board of County Commissioners to meet the state and Federal funds to establish a woman home demonstration agent in her county. Where it has proved impossible to secure funds from these boards, the influence of Boards of Trade, Chambers of Commerce and Rotary Clubs have been of great assistance. Often they have donated large sums to start the work. Funds are also raised by private subscription in many places for this purpose, and these methods are approved."

THE *Woman Citizen's* Farm and Garden number of March 26 will contain several articles elaborating the home economics end of the country's agricultural work. These will point out methods used to bring the farm women's special industries to a market of their own, with no intervening middlemen. They will point out how standards of output are being maintained and elevated, and how the city woman and the rural woman are being drawn into close contact through mutual economic dependence.

It has given the editors of this magazine great pleasure to find that the war activities of women in producing and preserving food have not been lost, but are being carried on with steady, intelligent interest.

What with the General Federation of Women's Clubs at work, as shown in the above account of the activities of Mrs. Jennings, and the Farm and Garden Association helping to provide agricultural scholarships for girls all over the country, one of the most serious difficulties of the farm woman—her isolated struggle—seems about to disappear.

The Farm and Garden number will tell a lot about this.—
Editor.

Parisian Hat Shapes for Spring

Help in Solving the Easter Problem



Suzanne Talbot



Caroline Reboux



Maison Lewis



Marie Guy

FROM such sources has the inspiration been drawn, and the art of each designer is recognizable in this assemblage of correct shapes, reproductions, modifications and exact replicas of Paris models. Imported Milan,

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39th Street

Who Should Regulate?

(Continued from page 1064)

ensor for large populations, increases instead of diminishing the complexity of the problem. What is gained by confronting the public and the producers with a chaos of forty-eight standards?

THE opposition of the motion picture industry to state censorship does not arise out of the wish to make profit out of vicious films. Nor does the almost unanimous support given them by writers and by the press have an unworthy origin. Some of them were willing, in deference to this clamor for regulation, to support a bill for Federal censorship, until it was demonstrated to them that state censorship could go right on flourishing under Federal censorship just the same. The producers opposed legalized censorship on the same grounds that moved the framers of every state constitution in the land to guarantee freedom of speech. They don't think the public is back of the agitation for it, and they don't think a minority of the public has any right to saddle forty-eight different legal standards on them.

If the public realizes all that is involved, it will refuse to empower any little fortuitous group to prohibit from the screen of a Republican state the statement of the Republican candidate for the presidency that he was opposed to state censorship of motion pictures, or to cut out statements and pictures of the coal miners while showing all kinds of pictures of soldiers during a great coal strike. We are passing the tercentenary of the Pilgrims. John Milton said a free press with all its dangers was less to be feared than state ownership. I do not see among the organizations backing censorship in Massachusetts the Women's Trade Union League or the Federation of Labor, and Massachusetts is an industrial state.

To come back to the question, "Who should regulate?" it is the position of the National Board of Review that a review at

the national source of supply should be followed by local community regulation at discretion. *But it believes that censorship alone gets nowhere.* Select programs, intelligent effort to organize and utilize the enormous volume of good film material, this is the constructive and hopeful avenue of endeavor. Definite and extensive information is available and to be had by anybody who wants it at the office of the Board, 70 Fifth avenue, New York.

The chairman of the Motion Picture Committee of the General Federation of Women's Clubs goes straight to the point in urging cooperative community effort in which the theater manager takes part. The only way to raise the average of public taste is by beginning in the community. There is no "get-refined-quick" way.

IN order to make up three full sets of material for the National American Woman Suffrage Association archives, the following books and pamphlets are asked for:

Woman's Journal—1 full set bound volumes *Woman's Journal* through 1916 with all unbound issues from Jan.-May, 1917.

Extra copies *Woman's Journal* for Jan. 22, 1916; Aug. 19, and Dec. 31, 1916, and March 3, 1917.

Suffrage Convention Proceedings:

Any early Woman's Rights Conventions, also earlier Convention Proceedings of N. A. W. S. A.

Proceedings of N. A. W. S. A. for 1902, 1910 and 1914.

International Woman Suffrage Association:

Proceedings of 2nd and 3rd Conferences.

Another life of Susan B. Anthony (3 vols.) and 1 set of Vols. I-III of the History of Woman Suffrage.



The Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course

Inside Stories About the Federal Departments

IN considering the work of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in the Department of Commerce, it is important to remember that the world is coming to look upon a more intensive development of trade as a barrier against future wars.

The lessons of the past war, the greatest conflict in history, were frightfully cruel and their effects far reaching in completely demoralizing the commercial structures of the countries most directly concerned. Without the normal flow of trade there is always stagnation and misery. It seems unlikely that the great powers will again match arms and thus cripple for years their principal source of income. In direct connection with trade there is yet a greater barrier which while now in its infancy is approaching full-growth with remarkable rapidity. This concerns the internationalization of the chamber of commerce idea which just recently took root in the establishment of the International Chamber of Commerce in Paris. Then too, it was only a few weeks ago that this country and Canada were visited by a delegation of business men representing the Federated Chambers of Commerce of Great Britain. When the machinery of these great interlocking commercial bodies gets in smooth running order it is extremely unlikely that the misunderstandings of business, which in former years have so often led to serious trouble, will get beyond the bounds of arbitration. In addition, the more intensive development of foreign commerce by the business men of this country will also necessitate the sending of hundreds and thousands of good Americans to travel in all parts of the world. They will come in direct contact with the men and women of other countries and thus establish friendships and business connections which will lead to a mutual appreciation of "the other fellow's point of view." To sum up the situation then, in an effort to discount the possibility of future physical and economic strife, we have three major considerations. First, the appalling economic losses caused by the past war and the far reaching effects of the frightful lessons thus learned by mankind. Secondly, there is the evident desire of the substantial business men of most countries to "get together" on the common ground of good fellowship and business understanding through the expansion of chamber of commerce comradeship and efficiency to include all races. Finally, there is the gospel of fair play and justice which will be preached by the vastly augmented forces

Trade Makes Peace

Part I

By P. J. Crogan
Department of Commerce

THE discussion of the German reparations fund has reawakened the whole world to the interdependence of international trade relations and permanent peace. This fact and the general interest among women in the appointment of Mr. Herbert Hoover as the new Secretary of Commerce, has made the WOMAN CITIZEN editors see a timeliness in this survey of the Department of Commerce as its first subject of citizenship discussion following President Harding's inauguration and the beginning of a new administration. Probably more American and foreign women have come into direct touch with Mr. Hoover within the past five years than with any other man on either side of the ocean. He stands, therefore, to women everywhere in a unique position as the leader and instigator of humane foreign policies.

of business as they travel the highways of commerce in search of trade. With the foregoing in mind there is no reason why we should not look forward with the utmost confidence to an era of general prosperity in which the geographical units of the earth will work in harmony in producing and exchanging those necessities and luxuries on which civilization depends for existence and progress.

REALIZING the significance of cementing such relationships the Bureau has laid particular stress on the vital question of "quality" and through the spoken word, the press and its own literature American manufacturers and exporters have been admonished time and time again to be especially careful in making certain that each item of an export shipment is up to standard in every respect and conforms in every detail with the specifications on which the sale may have been made. Today, the mark "Made in the U. S. A." is recognized as a symbol of standard quality in many countries where American goods were practically unknown a few years ago.

Not so long ago every mail brought protests against poor American packing, accompanied by absolute proof of the deplorable condition of the shipment upon its arrival at the foreign

port named. To overcome this difficulty the Bureau prepared a special report on how goods should be prepared for export. It was known as Miscellaneous Series No. 5—"Packing for Export." The demand for it was phenomenal. Today a complaint against poor American packing is a rarity.

ON October 16th a woman was appointed in the foreign service of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce for the first time in its history. The honor goes to Miss A. Viola Smith, a resident of Los Angeles, California. She will assist in the promotion of American trade in the capacity of Clerk to the American Trade Commissioner at Peking, China. This appointment was followed within the next two weeks by the appointment of Miss Estelle Feuille to the important position of Clerk to the American Commercial Attache at Madrid, Spain. Miss Feuille hails from Austin, Texas. In justice to the Bureau it should be made clear that the lack of women in its foreign service has not been due to the existence of an adverse employment policy. The fact that women are now entering the field is simply another startling example of the awakened American interest in export possibilities by all classes of its citizens.

American women engaged in the direct promotion of American trade are looked upon as an economic advancement of particular significance. This forecasts their entrance in greatly increased numbers not alone in the Bureau's service generally but in the more important commercial field as a whole. It should mean greater efficiency in the Bureau's work and lead to the creation of positions in business life which may offer untold opportunities for those who will acquire the necessary knowledge. Thousands of firms in this country now devote all or part of their organization to export work. There are export commission houses, foreign freight forwarders, marine insurance agencies, manufacturers' export agents, etc., occupied almost exclusively with some phase of export business. Other American business establishments are entering or preparing to enter the export field every day. There has always been a great shortage of trained Americans in export circles, and in this tremendous field there are many places which can be capably filled by women with the necessary training.

A second installment of Mr. Crogan's article will appear on March 19.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 5, 1921.

Women at the Inauguration

By Marjorie Shuler

From the Woman Citizen's Washington Bureau

women themselves are voting and that for the first time they have friends actually at court in the persons of the women on the National Republican Committee.

Mrs. Manley L. Fossee of Minnesota said, "I am always very optimistic. I have a great deal of faith in men. I am sure that they appreciate the intelligent participation of the women in the last election and that they will show that appreciation both in giving women the legislation they desire and in appointing them to positions which they are qualified to fill."

MRS. CORINNE ROOSEVELT ROBINSON said, "I believe that the most vital question facing the committee is to see that the South has the same fair representation at conventions that the North has and that the second question is the care of our wounded soldiers who are now most shamefully neglected. I am sure that women will be given fair treatment by the new administration."

At its meeting on March 3rd the National Republican Committee passed a three-part resolution, establishing in Washington a women's headquarters, empowering the finance committee to make a budget for the proper maintenance of the women's work and appointing a committee of three "to cooperate with the women members of the national executive committee relative to their activities and problems." The three men named were Clarence Miller, A. T. Hert and Charles D. Hilles.

From an interview with Congresswoman Robertson I carried away as my most vivid impression the two topics which she introduced into the conversation upon her own initiative.

"I do not believe in separate organizations of women," she challenged just after explaining her antipathy to playing bridge for prizes, which she said, is just like any other form of gambling.

"Do you believe in women having a separate organization for legislative work in addition to their service inside the parties," I asked.

"Where are they most needed," she countered in that adroit way she has of asking

another question when she does not wish to answer the one already asked her.

"You are satisfied that under present conditions women can make themselves effective in party organizations?" I persisted.

"Most certainly," was her reply.

"There are, of course, some Republican women who take the failure of the present Congress to pass the Sheppard-Towner bill as indicative of the fact that women as yet have little voice when party policies are at issue," I remarked.

"I absolutely decline to discuss the Sheppard-Towner bill in any way," said the only woman member of Congress, which ended that.

THE other vivid memory of that interview is of her parting words, "You know it is my experience that I cannot trust women correspondents as well as men. They have not yet learned the ethics of their profession."

And as she spoke I recalled the words of a leading Republican Senator, who, speaking out of his personal knowledge of Congresswoman Robertson, said to me some weeks ago, "She will make a good party representative, but she will not make a representative of or for women."

Of the two women who were most in the public thought on inauguration day, I carried away very pleasant impressions. There was Mrs. Harding, no new figure to Washington correspondents, and Mrs. Coolidge, who is an entirely new element. Both of them forceful, intelligent women, plainly intend to proceed diplomatically. They will take their places in political circles with well-formed opinions, but never will those opinions be asserted save as they accord with the opinions of President Harding and Vice-President Coolidge. There was a characteristic incident of Mrs. Harding on the afternoon preceding the inauguration. President Harding received the Washington correspondents in his suite at the Willard Hotel to give a last friendly handshake as a Senator and to assure his guests that they would find the same friendly welcome at the White House that they have in his Senate office. As he shook hands with the *Woman Citizen* correspondent, President Harding said jovially, "I am glad to see some femininity here." While he was speaking there were no evidences of Mrs. Harding, but after he had finished she appeared from behind a curtain where she evidently had been appraising his remarks and the reaction of the guests. As the correspondents left she shook hands with them emphasizing the fact that the welcome at the White House will not only be extended by the former editor of the *Marion Star*, but also by that editor's wife.

THAT there is bound to be a new alignment of women was clear to any intelligent observer of the women who as officials attended the inauguration. On the one hand were those endowed with the spirit of the suffrage crusaders, declaring that it is of chief importance to remove existing discriminations against women and to give them such party positions that they may make the woman viewpoint effective. Not alone because of women do they assert this, but because they honestly believe that no party can endure which temporizes today over the recognition of women. On the other hand are those who do not feel the woman urge, who are satisfied to be heard and be seen themselves in politics and who are willing to patronize the needs of other women but have no sense of responsibility to help those women to become politically competent to look after their own interests. And between the two, would-be pacifists find no middle ground.

The division of opinion was clear in the interviews which women members of the National Republican Committee gave to the *Woman Citizen*. The women who felt that fair and wisely chosen representation of women on the National Republican Committee was the most important question frankly said so and just as frankly lobbied the men political leaders exactly as those men have been lobbied for years by the National American Woman Suffrage Association workers. The women who "want to do just what the men want them to do" talked interestingly of political problems but when questioned on the purposes of the new administration toward women they developed important business elsewhere.

STANDING stalwartly at the head, honest party representative and an understanding supporter of the special interests of women, is Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, who declared, "One of the greatest concerns President Harding has is justice toward women. The plan for a new department with a woman at the head is just as strong as it ever was. It may not come to pass immediately but every time that President Harding sees me he reasserts his intentions to see that such a department is created."

Mrs. John Glover South of Kentucky said, "I am confident that President Harding will give women every possible recognition."

When the repeated rumors that women who have proven efficient as executives in the federal departments are to be superseded by men, solely because they are men, Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore of New York said, "There is every reason why those women should not be displaced, now that

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For announcements and further information address
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The Woman Citizen's Forum

Uncle Remus on the Screen

To the Editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN:

WILL censorship for the movies prove a boon to the censor, or a blessing to the future generation?

Unquestionably, movies are to be ranked with the press, educational, with the entertaining feature made more desirable for the reason the audience acquires same with less effort than in reading.

I wish it were possible to install a movie in every school-room in the land, and if it were possible, in the realm of justice, to do so, give every school child the privilege of seeing Uncle Remus's stories on the screen, long before it could read. It would mean a better America to both black and white race. It would develop a fellowship between the races, in the proper sphere.

Upon first thought of this suggestion we might exclaim, "Uncle Remus stories teach deceit, Bre'r Rabbit is always lying to the other 'creetors', especially to Bre'r Fox."—This is subordinate to the influence of the good will between the races, promoted by this immortal literary contribution to American people by an American genius. Comparatively speaking I see the movie as it stand today in a relative light. The influence for good in an educational way far outweighs the influence for evil.

Is there any assurance that censorship of the movie would not retard the growth of individuality, and mould us all along a common line of thought? Would it be broad thought?

I agree it would be a good thing if there could be found a man wise enough to do the censoring. Where is the man capable of placing restriction on human thought? I say this conscious of the fact, that the same law that prohibits obscene literature applies to pictures.

DOES the so-called suggestive picture, over which there has been much controversy, lay a foundation for immorality in the child's mind? Who would be authorized to judge, in view of the fact that no two human minds respond alike to suggestion. The true saying that what is one man's poison is another man's medicine, is applicable to mental as well as physical being.

Also, the movie industry is too new for us to know by experience or observation what the effect will be on the child's mind, in the end. Is it consistent to insist on free press and free speech and provide laws for maintaining same, and at the same time censor the pictures? Is it in keeping with our system of democracy to

contend that a people does not know what is good for them?

When you wandered up street today reading the advertisements as to what is on tonight at the theatre, where did you decide to go, to Randell's to see "Camping in the Rockies" or to Greggs to see "Another Man's Wife, or 'Lost and Found'?"

Statistics show that the theatre that shows the so-called suggestive pictures gets the crowd, and the children in the majority do not choose the place to go. We must admit that public demand is what has served to bring about this unbalanced condition in the movie world. The managers claim the public patronizes the very pictures we are attempting to cut out.

Naturally the question arises, are we low-minded, collectively, or is it often a challenge to the imaginative faculties to see a plot laid and carried out successfully, outwitting the other fellow. Man is the only creature that endeavors to out-do his fellow creature by advertising. Perhaps it is a sharpening of the wit we are after when we seek out certain pictures. It is not given to any one man to judge what is best for another in our America.

The Washington Post says the best way to elevate the stage is to begin with the audience.

Perchance, when fathers and mothers cease to have a longing to see undesirable pictures, the children will have no desire, and better still have no chance to see them. Like begets like.

Newton, N. C. (Mrs.) GORDON WILFONG.

The Deaf Person's Drama

To the Editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN:

WHY should we have state censorship of the motion pictures? For the same reason that we censor the "mails" to prevent obscene pictures and literature from being sent broadcast over the country, and our public libraries from being debased by immoral, or yellow covered books. Why not have federal censorship? All reformatory efforts have begun in small centers, and state legislation is the first step towards federal control. We have had practical examples and experience in the growth of the prohibition and suffrage movements. There is no question but that the "movies" have come to stay, and also that there is no limit to the advantages and entertainment which this industry can give to the world. Travelogues which open up new countries and new worlds to thousands of people who have had no opportunity for travel, showing the haunts and habits of animals, life under the sea, illustrated stories from interesting novels, a view of art galleries, indeed the material is endless. Then when we think of what the recreation of the picture films has meant to millions of people, and especially to those afflicted with deafness, with all of this wealth for enjoyment and improvement, is it not deplorable that so much that is cheap, so

much that incites to crime and the disgusting sex problems, should be thrown upon the screen, to cater to morbid sensation and to degrade the youth of our land?

Where shall we place the responsibility?

Is there any child in the land who would not be pleased to see some of his favorite stories on the screen? Would not he be delighted to follow Roosevelt into Africa on a hunting expedition or would he fail to be enchanted with Alice in Wonderland, Peter Pan or the Blue Bird, etc., etc.? It has been said that it is up to the women to make the "movies" what they should be. Let us get about it in dead earnest. We know what we can do with a united effort. In Massachusetts over three hundred women's organizations have united for state censorship. We would like to help the "industry" to make more and better films and to eliminate the bad ones. If there is any better way we are anxious to know what it is but if not, following the example of the states where it has been tried with good results, let us each and all work for state censorship.

Portland, Maine. AUGUSTA M. HUNT.

Who Knows What Are Liked?

To the Editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN:

PERHAPS I am unduly suspicious but the article by a "movie" man in your magazine looked to me like a very carefully calculated article intended to disgust people with the "movie" censorship on account of expense. The substitute the writer offered so glibly seems no substitute to me at all. Busy housewives do not attend the movies in the proportion of the young, easily influenced boy and girl. Also standards in every thing must be commonly set by the minority in a community. The best we can hope is that the thoughtless majority will acquiesce. It is absurd to think that a few expressions from mature persons will have any weight in the mind of the producers against the actual vote which is registered by every person buying a ticket in favor of the plays liked by the majority.

Swarthmore, Penn. C. A. ROBINSON.

For World Disarmament

To the Editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN:

WOMAN failed in not standing for world disarmament when it was first thought of. Perhaps a world-war has served to rouse many—a few at any rate. Disarmament, I take it, would release humanity from "Measures political and financial." And the message of "Peace and Good Will" may then supplant the chaos that prevails.

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Why Not State Censorship?

A Synopsis of the Arguments of D. W. Griffith
Against State Censorship of Motion
Pictures as Presented Before a
Joint Session of Committees
Representing the Virginia
State Senate and House
at Richmond, Va.,
February 5, 1920

Censorship is Un-American—

BECAUSE it is founded on the principle of autocracy—the right of a few to direct the mass. Every American precept is in opposition to it. Every time America has shed blood it has been to overthrow tyranny, and Americans will not countenance tyranny of thought any more than they will countenance tyranny of physical power.

Censorship is Dangerous—

Because it is the beginning of the encroachment upon the freedom of the press. As well permit an appointee of a City Council to sit at the desk of a newspaper editor and delete the copy not to his liking.

Censorship is Misguided—

It defeats its purpose by robbing the screen of its virility, thus inviting the need of further censorship over the spineless milk and water product that will follow it.

Censorship is Senseless—

Because it puts into the hands of small-calibered politicians the right to edit our supply of thought and our means of recreation. As well permit these politicians to go into our libraries and re-write Shakespeare or the Bible.

Censorship is Unjust—

Because it restricts a great industry by building trouble-barriers as numerous as our states and cities. It is an unwarranted tax upon an industry—and the maze of hazards it erects discourages the spirit of adventure and originality without which the industry cannot exist. It is an assurance of screen mediocrity.

Censorship is Untruth—

Because it conceals truth. No film can be great that does not mirror Life, and Life is made up of joy and sorrow, sweetness and bitterness; lights and shadows; good and evil; comedy and tragedy.

(Continued on page 1074)

WOMAN AND THE INCOME TAX

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The Book Stall

International Viewpoints

THERE are several reasons for reading *The Inside Story of Austro-German Intrigue* (Doubleday, Page & Co.) even at this late date, when the story is an old one.

It was originally written by Joseph Goricar, who spent fourteen years as a foreign representative of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and it was put into its present shape by Lyman Beecher Stowe. Its significance lies in the fact that it shows the causes leading up to the conflagration of 1914.

The Austro-German war parties began plotting between 1906 and 1909 for a pretext for war against Serbia and Russia, according to Dr. Goricar who was then Acting Consul General of Austria-Hungary at Odessa. Dr. Goricar was a Yugoslav by race, the nephew of Dr. Joseph Vosnjak, author of an historic novel showing the struggle of the Yugoslavs against the Teutons.

He was, although no Austrian, forced to enter the army for three years service. Afterwards he entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in order to have some voice in shaping the policies of the Dual Monarchy. From this time on Goricar was closely on the inside of the policies of the Austro-Hungarians. His is a book which will grow more and more valuable as history seeks dispassionate accounts of the rise of small nations in Southeastern Europe.

What No German Realized

ASINGULARLY self-revealing book is Count von Bernstorff's *My Three Years in America* (Charles Scribner's Sons).

One might call it an impudent book, if he were so minded and not come wide of the mark. It is a record with a certain degree of interest due to the fact that it sets forth in sequence the events before America's entrance into the war, and while the point of view of Herr von Bernstorff is not agreeable to the people of the United States, there is an historic value in seeing incidents through hostile eyes.

The German Ambassador was a shrewd and close observer. His moral reactions to events will not give the American reader any higher respect for the Teutonic soul. His attitude towards the Lusitania incident, for instance, is entirely one of expediency. There is no more human response in the Count than in a fish. Said he with excellent *sang froid*:

"Our adoption of submarine warfare was to be regarded, according to our Note of Feb-

ruary 16th, as a measure of reprisal in answer to the English blockade. From a tactical point of view, this contention was unfortunate, as it afforded America the opportunity of agreeing at once, and thus of conceding us a point which benefited us not at all, but merely gave the United States all the more right to renew its protests against the submarine war. It would have been wiser for us to have initiated the submarine campaign simply as a new weapon of war without reference to the English blockade; still better, to put it into operation without declaring a blockade of Great Britain and Ireland, which could never be really effective, and caused constant friction between ourselves and America."

And this: "Unfortunately it so happened that Dr. Dernburg was then away at Cleveland, addressing a meeting; he took the opportunity of defending the destruction of the Lusitania on the ground that she was carrying munitions of war. This speech aroused a storm of execration throughout the country, which was already indignant enough over the fatal event itself. Even today no German seems to realize the full violence of the passion thus aroused; we, accustomed as we have been to daily reports of battles and casualties, were little impressed by the destruction of a solitary passenger ship."

Even at the time of writing his book, Count von Bernstorff seems to look back with rather friendly, but mystified eyes, upon the United States as upon people who get unduly excited over bloodshed and drownings, and take too much to heart the sufferings of the world.

Choosing Her Own Flag

NOW that the United States is considering a law to give married women a right to choose their own nationality, it will be interesting to American women to read a pamphlet recently published in London by the International Woman Suffrage Alliance on the *Nationality of Married Women*.

This is a survey of the status of such laws in other countries. By the Canadian Naturalization Act of 1919 while the married woman takes the nationality of her husband, she has now the right to take out naturalization papers on her own account the same as if she were unmarried. If her husband ceases to be a British subject during his marriage, the wife, by declaring intention, may remain a British subject. If she was born a subject of Great Britain and

marries an alien who is a subject of a state at war with Great Britain, she may make a declaration that she desires to resume her own nationality and the Secretary of State, if convinced that it is desirable, may grant her a certificate of naturalization.

If the alien husband dies or if the marriage is dissolved, the British wife need not necessarily fulfill the qualification, i. e., residence, before obtaining a certificate of naturalization to become British once more.

This law appears to be one of the most liberal already achieved.

According to Suzanne Grunberg, French advocate in the Court of Appeals, the Republic of Haiti is the only South American country where a native woman married to a stranger actually preserves her own nationality. In England, Germany, Austria, Belgium, the United States, France, Italy, Switzerland, women take the nationality of their husbands.

France has a new law under consideration which provides that an alien woman married to a Frenchman shall keep her own nationality unless she expressly declares before an officer of the state that she chooses her husband's nationality. A French woman married to an alien remains French unless she declares that she chooses her husband's nationality.

"This law satisfies our wishes," says Miss Grunberg, "except that it is silent upon retroactive effects."

Many French women were, during the war, married to men of the Allied nations. French feminists wish to have this act enable all women married to foreigners within the past ten years to reintegrate themselves in their original nationality if they so desire and within a year after its promulgation.

Stage and Screen

ANY long look backward upon the past of the stage is sure to have an interest for the people of a later day. Marion Howard Brazier's *Stage and Screen* (M. H. Brazier Trinity Court, Boston) would be bound to have a success because of its unusual collection of photographic illustrations, if for nothing else.

Miss Brazier's personal interest in the stage runs back through many decades of the American drama. She became a devotee of the old Boston Museum in the sixties. "It was my privilege, after the age of discrimination," she writes, "to see all the plays at this house, as

(Continued on page 1074)

O Tempora, O Mores, O Motion Pictures!

(Continued from page 1065)

ensorship question, important as it be, it is much more important that the women who investigate and advocate shall not emulate that gentleman. Let us be wise as we are earnest and base our judgments, or at any rate our statements, on observation of all the facts.

I HAVE since those early days met somewhat irregularly with a committee auxiliary to the National Board, the name of which has been changed so that I do not remember it. It is advisory rather than either legislative or executive, and its interest centers in the educational uses of films. Among its members are Mrs. Howard Gans and Mrs. Price of the Child Study Federation and Mr. Clarence Perry of the Russell Sage Foundation. I find its meetings stimulating and enlightening, and I feel honored in my associates. I am also sometimes asked to help a committee who meet to advise on selections for a list of exceptionally good plays from the standpoint of art in its broadest sense. I generally refuse—with regret. Its discussions are encouraging, for their one purport is to discriminate wisely and recommend helpfully. To this work will be due the gratitude of the country when this new art shall have formulated the standards of the future.

Sometimes I fear even this merely hortatory power as likely to impede the evolution of the picture-drama. They asked me for an opinion as to whether they should violate their own rule, that the human nude should never be sanctioned, in favor of pictures very lovely and pure, and I told them I was grateful that there had been no Board of Review in the days of Phidias.

There are also facts to be obtained as well as theories on the subject of state and city censors. A man of undoubted probity and goodwill tells me that the archives of one state board of censors are full of dreadful scenes which they tell him were passed by the Board of Review and censored out by them. I have never seen any such exhibit at the Board of Review, so I do not know that there is any comeback on that point. With diverse ideals of the many men and women in the one and the few in the other it would not be strange if there

were. I do not know, either, that there is possibly any efficient follow-up work in either case. Evidently in cities where the law as to children's attendance is disregarded the putting back of a few feet of deleted film would pass unchallenged. In cities where exhibited indecencies cause arrests now, the deleted parts would probably be caught by the efficient police agencies and an extra state law might cause more severe sentences than those now imposed.

I have not observed the results of city censorship. Someone surely can testify on that point. I once saw in a newspaper of a city having censorship an article casually mentioning that the Democrats—or Republicans—had only two political plums to give—a position as film censor and another, and neither was big enough to satisfy any really big henchman. My friend who is at work for state censorship in an adjoining state complains of a "rotten" picture situation in that city.

ABOUT Federal Censorship we have only a few propositions. A gentleman who does something like uplift lobbying in Washington spoke once before the legislative committee of a club federation where I too spoke, and he spoke with eloquence. He advocated a group of five men, each to get \$7,500 a year, and all to be "men of probity, men of judgment, men of knowledge, men of weight," and men of several other qualities. The chairman said, "Any women?" and he hastily and enthusiastically responded, "Oh, yes, indeed. Auxiliary volunteer boards of ladies all over the country. Their help will be invaluable." I pictured at once the parallel of so many governmental and commercial institutions—the five \$7,500 men of parts in five offices, their names on their doors, formulating policies and dictating important correspondence, while a number of \$2,000 women in a big outer office with no opportunity for parts wearily looked at pictures, marked them on a cunningly devised percentage basis and filed the reports of the ladies' auxiliaries. And I wondered if the coming Mr. or Miss Phidias would get by or would create the Film of the Ages in defiance of "law and order" and serve his—or her—twenty years thereafter.

ONE point that is well taken by the opponents of present practices—and we are all such opponents at times—is the difficulty of getting a harmonious program for a children's matinee. You take your little girl to see Pussy at Play, which has been widely advertised as an innocent reel, and she goes home wide-eyed to tell of what preceded it—Love and Shame.

If you complain to the exhibitor, he may tell you that he tries to give a varied program that will please all classes of patrons—innocence for your daughter and rakishness for the jolly lads in the 15c seats! Even if the exhibitor tries hard, going to see what he orders, and putting Lovely Landscapes and A Happy Family on with the innocent play at the Saturday show, his best intentions may be frustrated by a girl or boy employee at the Exchange who ejaculates, "Here's an order for Lovely Landscapes, and it hasn't come in. Let's see. It is 200 feet. Have we any 200 foot reel? Good enough. Here's Dick the Daring Devil, just the thing." No one seems to know how such a *contretemps* is to be entirely eliminated. We shall never reach a point where Nickey Malone and Fatty Colleone and Dorothy Livingstone will all be delighted and instructed by the same play. The family program and the special program for children must always be fostered.

SINCE American communities will probably long be policed more or less according to present methods, it will always, after all, depend upon many watchful auxiliary agencies to catch violations of decent standards, whatever their source. A lawyer of my acquaintance has approached several societies with the suggestion that plays considered vicious be stopped at their source. In order to appear upon the screen a scene must be acted in a studio. "Indict," says this lawyer, "the company and the actors and directors at this fountain head." So far the people approached have plead lack of funds.

Carolyn Wells says that "in a multitude of counsellors there is safety," but "too many cooks spoil the broth." If we women at least seek to be well informed before we become counsellors, perhaps we may escape the implied denouncement.

Minding Our Knitting

But knitting did not take on Ma.
She joined ten clubs to teach the men
Just how they ought to make the law
And run the state *et al*; and then
When burly legislators sat
Our Ma would don her dearest hat
And lobby—wheel, coax, extract
Their votes or leave them liars black.
She did not want a vote. Oh, no!
She'd rather have a score or so!

Unlike dear Ma I love to knit
Before our cozy fireside.
My politics and husband fit;
He takes me everywhere with pride.
Jack thinks me neither doll nor saint.
I'm part of Adam's rib—and ain't.
But I don't try to steal his right
To vote; my own's sufficient quite.
And that's the way WE run the biz:
I have my vote and he has HIS.

ABBY CRAWFORD MILTON.

AT thirty Grandma wore a cap
Beneath her chin demurely tied,
And knitted quilts as she did nap
Before the quiet fireside.
"A woman's place is in the home,"
Quoth Grandma—and let Grandpa roam!
All night he roused with the boys,
He gamed, and drank, and made some noise.
We handle Grandma's quilts with pride:
At forty she went Home—She died.

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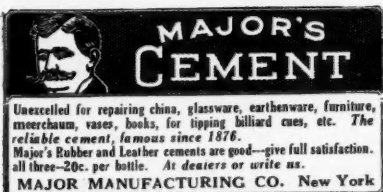
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Every Issue of the
WOMAN CITIZEN

The New Administration

(Continued from page 1063)

the Bureau by eliminating the technically trained and experienced women upon whose investigations all the other work of the Bureau depends."

Those questions will come again before the 67th Congress, the Senate of which is already in session. It is expected that the Senate will confirm appointments of officials in the new administration and may give some attention to the discussion of international affairs, after which it will take a recess, until both Houses are called into session, probably early in April.

Women who are entirely cognizant of the negative policy of the 66th Congress and especially of its attitude toward the general acceptance of women in politics profess to find much that is encouraging in the fact that during the ceremony of swearing in Vice-President Coolidge and the subsequent convening of the 67th Congress, the Chaplin prayed, "May woman, with all her charm and beauty and strength, rise to the magnitude of new responsibility." And that later as President Harding stood on the east portico of the Capitol making his inaugural address he said, "With the nation-wide induction of womanhood into our political life we may count upon her intuitions, her refinements, her intelligence and her influence to exalt the social order. We count upon her exercise of the full privileges and the performance of the duties of citizenship to speed the attainment of the highest state."

IT is no time to cavil over words, for after all it is deeds for which the women will be looking. But standing in the bright sunshine which flooded the white walls of the capitol and the fluttering American flags behind the inauguration party, it did seem as though women might have a more dignified position than was indicated by all the discussion over what Mrs. Harding and Mrs. Coolidge were wearing and whether they watched the faces of their husbands or the crowds before them.

It did seem as though there should be some higher note to be struck in speeches than assurance that women will go on doing their duty in the place to which God has called them, whether it is at the cradle or the ballot box—just as they always have done.

And yet this is the time for confidence that the new administration will do its part, not that women shall have special privileges, but that they shall have equal privileges with men.

For those who have comprehended that President Harding's own good intention in this regard might be hampered by the known sentiment in opposition of men who are close to him, there is encouragement in the words of Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, vice chairman of the National Republican Committee, "President Harding purposes to be entirely fair on the woman question and the spirit is to let him have his way."

MARJORIE SHULER.

State Censorship

(Continued from page 1071)

Censorship is Artless—

Because it would rob our films of the very qualities that make Shakespeare's works immortal—the contrast of vice and virtue—an essential law of drama.

Censorship is Unlawful—

Because the screen is a form of expression and the right of free expression is guaranteed under the Constitution.

Censorship is Needless—

Because the exposure of an indecent or immoral film is a misdemeanor under all laws which now exist and comes under the proper police regulation of every community.

Censorship is Intolerance—

And intolerance murdered Socrates; crucified Christ; put Columbus in chains; martyred Joan of Arc; smashed the first printing press; produced witchcraft; and made Europe a shamble.

Censorship is Reaction—

Because it substitutes the judgment of the narrow partisan critic for the judgment of the artist and creator.

Censorship is Unprogressive—

Because it hampers the full development of the world's newest and one of its most important arts—an art that cannot finally find itself without the free and unrestricted play of all its creative genius.

Censorship is Unfair—

Because, on the plea that it protects youth from seeing those things which the adolescent mind should not know, it robs the adult majority of those things which ought to be shown. Better to keep the children out of the picture theatres.

Stage and Screen

(Continued from page 1072)

proven by a complete and cherished collection of programs."

Miss Brazier knew Charlotte Cushman, who was a Bostonian and Kate Reynolds and Clara Morris. Later also she knew Mary Shaw—the Duchess de Brissac—also a Bostonian—and scores more of the women who have honored the stage.

The author of these stage memories is a woman of 70 "who has earned a living since the Civil War." She has been a suffragist for, at least, 50 years, "having gained the 'first-light,'" she tells the *Woman Citizen* through Mary A. Livermore, when a girl. "I knew Lucy Stone well. I belong to the League of Women Voters and have cast my vote in Boston on school matters for 19 years."

Miss Brazier is a journalist and lecturer. A letter from Governor Calvin Coolidge, received by Miss Brazier upon the appearance of her book, said:

"It is a most interesting contribution to the literature on this subject and shows a wide range of acquaintanceship with the great masters of this profession."

In This Number :

**TWO ARTICLES ON REGULATING
THE MOTION PICTURE**

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LOUISE CONNOLLY

Educational Expert

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RESPONSIBILITY

How Terrible a Thing Silence Can Be

THE silent panic that spreads over a starved country is one of its most poignant features, writes Mr. Charles Davis Jameson, civil engineer in China for twenty-five years.

"To one who has not seen a great Chinese famine area under acute conditions of starvation, it is possible to do little more than outline the picture. In the first place, all the persons in a stricken area, when hunger sets in and the food is all gone, are wandering—not to any definite point, but to any place which changes the scene of their misery.

"Business is at once paralyzed. I remember that when I last passed through a famine district I never met a cart of any kind on the roads or in the streets. Not a mule or a horse, not a wheelbarrow or a sedan chair was seen in motion. Not a coolie was encountered going to or from market with anything to sell, or money to buy with. It is as if a great fear were over the whole country, and the people are holding their breath and listening and waiting for a horror.

"At the villages and towns there is none of the usual curiosity to see the 'foreign devil.' No Chinese children crowd around as in normal times. None but the starving or sick are on the streets. Famine fever and typhus soon break out in every town and city.

"Outside the walls of these towns and on the highways are emaciated, half-demented men, women and children, going anywhere, sometimes with some few belongings which they cannot sell. Some may carry bowls or baskets containing leaves, twigs, straw or bark from the trees and shrubs. Nearly every tree is stripped of its bark and dying.

"The people walk until they can walk no more, and then sit down and die."

THE present famine in China surpasses the worst previous disaster of a similar nature in that country—the famine of 1878-1879—both in its severity and extent, according to a statement made for the American Committee for China Famine Fund by Dr. S. Alfred Sze, newly designated Minister from China to the United States.

Minister Sze, who has just come to this country from England, where he was Chinese Ambassador at the Court of St. James, declared that one of the largest wheat-producing districts in China is being ravaged by the famine. He pointed out that it was from this very district that the largest amount of flour exported from China to relieve the food shortage in Europe during the later years of the war was sent to aid the Allies.

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China Famine Fund,
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Vol. V New Style

MARCH 19, 1921

No. 42

THE WOMAN CITIZEN'S

Farm and Garden Number

MARCH 26

Where Does the Land Army Go
from Here?

Garden Schools of Great Britain

By HILDA LOINES

How I Made My Garden Pay

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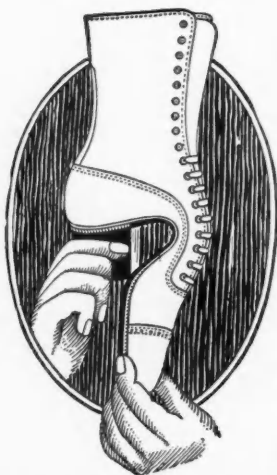


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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME V

MARCH 19, 1921

NUMBER 42

FOR some months the National League of Women Voters has been devoting itself to the support of the "Sheppard-Towner Bill," the object of which as all the world knows, is to provide assistance for maternity cases needing advice and help. A similar law exists in most other countries in the world.

In a "dying" Congress it is usually impossible to secure much important legislation, and the League of Women Voters concluded it would be the wisest policy this winter not to attempt any legislation that was particularly controversial. The Sheppard-Towner Bill is not. Apparently everybody believes in it. The Senate passed it by a good majority, and a very large majority in the House favors it. More, a legislative committee, composed of almost all of the women's organizations of consequence in the country, has unitedly supported this measure. Practically all women's organizations have endorsed it. It is clearly the one thing, more than any other, which the women of the Nation have agreed should be written into the legislation of our country. Yet the Congress closed and the measure did not pass. Why?

There is a tendency on the part of some to lay the blame upon the Republican Party, which has full and complete control of both Houses of Congress. The Republicans, we are informed, were nettled because such criticisms have been laid at their door. Yet that criticism has been justly made.

The truth is, the Sheppard-Towner Bill did not pass the House because it did not come to a vote. It did not come to a vote for the reason that the Rules Committee, sifting out the bills which were to be allowed to come up for vote, did not permit the Sheppard-Towner Bill to be placed upon the calendar for final action. The Rules Committee did not give the Sheppard-Towner Bill a place on the calendar because if it did so it must also give a rule to the Packer Bill which it decided should not be brought to vote this session. Therefore, in order to keep one bill from coming to vote, another bill, which a big majority of the House wanted to vote upon, was denied any opportunity of coming to vote. This very uncontroversial measure, endorsed by both Democrats and Republicans, therefore died in the "dying" Congress and must be brought up in the new Congress as an entirely new bill. This is politics as it is.

C. C. C.

A CURIOUS thing has happened in Indiana. Just what its interpretation should be, time alone will develop. The facts are that the National League of Women Voters has given its support to an eight-hour law for women workers in industrial lines. Men working in the largest industries of the country now labor eight hours a day. This privilege, however, in most instances, was secured by "strikes" and is not a law applying to all the industries of a state. In order that women may have the same privilege in industries that are enjoyed by men, they must either "strike" for eight hours and keep it up until they get it, or it must be extended to them by legislation. The slightest knowledge of the industrial situation of the country makes this fact obvious.

In Indiana the League of Women Voters introduced an eight-hour day bill for women. Finally it was amended and the amend-

ments agreed to, so instead of a forty-eight hour week, it became a fifty-two-hour-week bill.

The League of Women Voters, together with other women's organizations, worked for this measure and secured its passage through the Senate.

After the joint hearing at which the League of Women Voters and others presented the facts and arguments for the eight-hour bill, the Chairman of the Republican Women's Legislative Committee, appointed by the state man chairman, introduced a straight ten-hour bill. This made three bills before the Legislature: An eight-hour day bill, introduced by labor; a fifty-two hour—with no day to exceed nine hours—bill, backed by the League of Women Voters, and the Republican measure for a ten-hour day.

It is needless to say that the non-partisan bill for fifty-two hours was defeated in the House. Whether the ten-hour bill will become law or not remains yet to be seen.

Republican women, who now have an enormous opportunity in most of the states of the Union to serve their sex and their time, have expressed irritation at the fact that the League of Women Voters is in the field with the aim of securing protective legislation for women. Every woman in the country may now ask the question—Are Republican women going to stand for the "has beens" or for the "will bes"? No one yet can answer that question. Will Indiana answer?

C. C. C.

FOR the past month the WOMAN CITIZEN has devoted space to the burning question of responsibility for a purified motion picture screen. It has now on hand several articles fairly panting to get into print. These will contribute their influence in solving this pressing problem. Everybody has agreed that some pictures are obnoxious, and must be swept off the screen. But whose job is it? In many states censorship bills have been under consideration, and a Federal censorship law has for some time past been staring the movies in the face. In Washington, D. C., March 14, a truce was struck between the contestants when Dr. Wilbur F. Crafts, superintendent of the International Reform Bureau, met a committee from the National Association of Moving Picture Producers, and agreed to halt efforts for Federal control of motion pictures long enough to give the producers a chance to carry out pledges to do their own censoring. A resolution passed on March 5 by the producers, who control about 90 per cent of the output of films, contracts to "make the movies safe and fit for boys and girls." One part of their procedure will be reprisals. They will execute an economic boycott on exhibitors who transgress and display "salacious, obscene and degrading" films. At the conference with Dr. Crafts were Mrs. Ella Boole of the W. C. T. U. and Mrs. Clarence Waterman, of the Women's Clubs. They spoke for a vast array of women. Nothing more valuable to the community could develop from the aroused interest of women everywhere than is this pledge to cleanse the motion picture stage at the source of production. Strange and significant is the fact that all eyes are turned towards the women of the country as the ultimate factor in this inevitable reform.

The Rights of Women in the Moslem World

THE land of Crimea is associated in most American minds with the misty remembrance of the Crimean War and the name of Florence Nightingale, who there established for the first time in the history of the world really humanitarian care of wounded soldiers. Beyond this, America knows little of it.

Crimea now comes forward in a new appeal to the sympathy and attention of the world. Crimea, lying at the south of Russia, has been a buffer state, attacked upon the one side by the Bolsheviks of Russia and upon the other by the Imperialists of her own community. As a result a democratic government has been set up by the Tatars, who are Mohammedan by religion. A parliament was elected by the votes of men and women and the wife of the chairman of that parliament, now sojourning in Switzerland, was a delegate to the Geneva Convention. She is well educated, speaks excellent English and is a leader of the women of her own country.

In Crimea, women do not wear veils nor are there harems. The women are evidently far more progressive and free than those in any other Mohammedan country. This leader of women, Mme. Hanife Seidamet, writes as follows:

“AFTER Wrangel, Crimea became once more the victim of the Bolshevik, the enemies of humanity and justice. All our peasants, particularly our women and children, have been obliged to shiver in the mountains in the caves of the rocks through the hard winter. I wish and believe with all my being and soul that the good people of the world, who pursue a humane and an ideal aim, will raise their voices for our poor Nation.

“In Crimea all the people joined in electing the parliament. Women became members of the National Party, the Federal Party and the Social Democratic Party. All these parties recognized and acknowledged the rights of women. Only the Conservative Party did not recognize these rights.

“The women in order to make sure of the vote and to oppose the Conservative Party, organized feminist committees. These organizations existed in every province, village and district. They had a center in Simferopol. Also the newspaper, Millet-Nation, was the sponsor of this aim. With this endeavor, the Liberals were elected to our parliament, and from among them six women were elected Deputies. One of them was Schefika Gasprinsky, who was elected as one of the five presidents of the parliament. As I was in Constantinople studying in the American College during this time I could not join this movement. The majority of our women have had their education in the Tavar preparatory schools and Russian gymnasiums. Among them Tlhamie-Toktar and Aishe Tsak have been graduated from the Russian University. Our nation has sworn to respect the constitution that recognizes and confirms the rights and enfranchisement of our women, and this fact has been recorded in our history in an ineffaceable manner. But as the enemies of our nation do not let us act freely in the control of our destiny, this great right of ours is trampled upon like every other one.

“We hope and firmly believe that with the influence, the authority and the help of any great nation of the West, the Republic of Crimea will be recognized and her protection will be assured, so that our revolutionary flag that has recognized the rights of women for the first time in the Moslem World will continue as its emblem.”

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

“LLOYD GEORGE: A COMMENT.” By Carrie Chapman Catt, in the WOMAN CITIZEN of April 2.

To Make Fourth of July What It Stands For

AN appeal has gone forth from the president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Mrs. Thomas G. Winter, not only for a “safe and sane” celebration of Independence Day, but for a significant celebration, one that shall rededicate the country to the principles of the Declaration of Independence.

This is the president's letter:

“I am writing today to every state president and every state director to bespeak your enthusiastic cooperation with a plan of our Department of American Citizenship—a plan definite, concrete, deeply appealing, and capable of being made a tremendous agency for creating the spirit of American citizenship, which is a thing far greater than the American voter or the American politician.

“You know how our boys—and we are thankful to say now our girls also—slip into maturity and voting rights all unnoticed.

“You know how our foreign-born are huddled in squads into sordid and sometimes ribald courts, where citizenship is ground out to them with no more dignity than potatoes are sold over a counter.

“Yet to become a citizen of the United States ought to be a profound experience. It ought to rank with the two or three great occasions of life. Here and there a citizenship day has been celebrated. Here and there a group of foreign born have been welcomed. Only occasionally have our own children been included.

“The plan of the Department of American Citizenship is this:

“In every little town and hamlet, in every large city, let the club women of this Federation start a movement to make Fourth of July

CITIZENSHIP DAY.

“No matter what other celebrations go on, let a part of that day when American citizenship became an actuality in the world, be given to a noble welcome extended by the whole community to the boys and girls who have come of age during the year and to the foreign born who have become citizens. Both of these groups should be included and recognized at the same time, thus intensifying in the minds of both the spiritual significance of the occasion. There should be a procession and flags—flags of all the people included, which should, at the proper moment, bow before the Stars and Stripes; there should be music for young feet to march by; there should be wise words uttered on the meaning of citizenship in this greatest of all democracies; there should be a proud welcome given by the dignitaries of the community in the presence of massed crowds of relatives; and the generation a little older, the young men who fought for the land, should be there to point the onward hand to the newer Americans.

“This is much more than a show and a procession. It is a symbol, with all the tremendous significance that symbols have had in human understanding, of both the meaning and the continuity of America. And no greater symbol could be given to our country, our young people and our new citizens—and perhaps to us older citizens, lest we forget—than to create this great new tradition of Citizenship Day.

“I covet for the Federation the honor of this contribution to mutual understanding and ennobling of citizenship. Community service, citizenship training, art, music, literature, motion pictures—all our activities—have their share of ideas to contribute to such a day.

“This is not a vague general appeal. The Department of American Citizenship is going to follow up the campaign. It will have in print very soon a list of definite suggestions for the occasion. The General Federation will do all it can to help publicity and general comprehension of the plan.

“Your state will awaken to a new realization of your relation to its better life when your clubs get to work on the plans; and if all the states, then all the nation.

“Please be planning your committees, getting news into your papers, lining up your towns. Play your part. All together.

“ALICE AMES WINTER.”

The Senate and Big Business

From the Woman Citizen's Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 14, 1921.

THE Senate in the 66th Congress had a lively sense of the importance of big business. So it was in the midst of an impassioned speech by Senator Walsh of Massachusetts in the closing days of the session, when the Senator undertook to sketch what would have been the awful results from the high cost of coal, "if it had not been for the Almighty giving us the mild winter we have had," that Senator Calder of New York interjected "And if it had not been for the closing down of many industries."

It seems to many watchers of the Senate in the 67th Congress, now convened in extraordinary session, that its sense of the importance of big business is even more intense, and that the country is likely soon to see the spectacle of it listing big business even ahead of divine power.

Big business is apparently influencing the ratification of the Colombian treaty, which has been the basis for much discussion in the executive sessions of the last few days. To those who have asked why there should be a strong and active lobby in Washington urging the ratification of the treaty, why Senators who have previously opposed the treaty which Theodore Roosevelt termed a base betrayal of all that he had tried to do for pan-American relations should now be actively supporting it, why cabinet members are saying it must be passed—no more urgent reason is being advanced than the importance to American financial interests of oil concessions in Colombia.

The Senate, in session as it is without the House, is practically limited to the confirmation of appointments and ratification of treaties. It is interesting to women to note that on all the long lists of appointments which are being confirmed day after day the name of no woman has as yet appeared. Not only have no women been named to replace men, but it seems oven certain that one woman is to be replaced by a man, Miss Mabel Boardman, commissioner of the District of Columbia.

Meanwhile an intense struggle is going on in less evident ways over the organization of the new Congress. Those who were looking for indications from the Executive as to which are the members of Congress whose advice would weigh in the formation of policies, found much food for reflection in the list of dinner guests selected for the first White House congressional dinner party. These were the guests: Senators Lodge of Massachusetts, Curtis of Kansas, Penrose of Pennsylvania, Warren of Wyoming, Cummins of Iowa, Knox of Pennsylvania, Wadsworth of New York, Poindexter of Washington and Johnson of California, and Representatives Mondell of Wyoming, Fordney of Michigan, Mann of Illinois, Longworth of Ohio, Kelley of Michigan, Anthony of Kansas, Slemph of Virginia, Campbell of Kansas, Porter of Pennsylvania, Fess of Ohio, Towner of Iowa and Winslow of Massachusetts.

ASIDE from Senator Johnson, the list is made up almost entirely of men who may be classified as experts in managing that smooth-running party machinery, whose clicking has brought forth much admiration, willing or unwilling, during the session of the 66th Congress just closed. In no way does it represent the wide range of progressive thought which lies between such extremes as Senator Lodge of Massachusetts and Senator Johnson of California.

Those are the progressives who are dangerous to the well-laid plans for the new Congressional machinery. Those are the men over whom a fight is even now developing. There is a concrete instance in the formation of the new agriculture committee. It

was out of the old agriculture committee that the packer bill came and the farm loan proposals. It is important to big business that such ideas be discouraged promptly. Senator Norris of Nebraska, who would be the logical chairman of the new agriculture committee, is a man who might differ with big business on these points. Therefore it is now suspected that Senator Page of Vermont, the oldest member of the Senate and the ranking member on the agriculture committee, who is on the naval affairs committee as well, will receive intimations, following which he will declare that it is his choice to receive the chairmanship of the agriculture committee. In this way Senator Poindexter of Washington will have a free field to become chairman of naval affairs, and Senator Norris of Nebraska will be ousted from the chairmanship of agriculture and the clicking of the machinery will be soothing to the ears of big business.

The Senate has reelected Senator Cummins of Iowa as its president *pro tempore*, the Democrats proposing as they did at the opening of the last session the name of Senator Pittman of Nevada for the position. On this, the first party record vote in the new Senate, Senator Watson of Georgia voted with the Democrats, so that those who think the fiery new member from Georgia will take some spectacular action which will classify him with the Republican members, have had their expectations at least deferred.

IT is difficult to transact any business "up on the hill" these days because all the members are haunting the offices of the new cabinet officers who have patronage at their disposal. It seems more vital to the Nation that a Senator should be able to appoint two elevator operators instead of one, or twenty clerks instead of fifteen, than it does to secure good legislation.

The appointment which has been most unexpected and is at the same time of the greatest concern to women is that of Dr. Charles E. Sawyer of Marion, Ohio, whom President Harding has nominated as the White House physician, a brigadier general in the medical reserve corps of the army and the investigator upon whose findings there will be established the programme of public welfare, including such matters, as health, education and social justice. The appointment has given fresh alarm to the many supporters of the bureau of education and the proposed department of social justice, who have watched with disfavor the very violent attempts of public health officials to make their views the dominating factor in control of the Women's Bureau and the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor and the bureau of education, all of which are discussed as possible parts of the department of social justice.

MARJORIE SHULER.

Vermont Shows One Green Spot

OUT of a desert of legislative unachievement in the matters of greatest interest to women, both state and federal, comes one oasis.

The Vermont legislature has finally passed (both Houses) an Equal Guardianship Law, making the mother equal guardian with the father of minor children, and the mother sole guardian, if competent, if the father dies. Mrs. Olzendam stood by until she saw this bill through. It was a hard fight. The Senate turned it down and then recommended it with the result that it finally succeeded, the House having passed it without trouble.

Two other incidents of great significance were the grantings of public hearings to women before two state Legislatures, the story of which is told elsewhere in this issue.

THE SERVICES OF MARRIED WOMEN



ASSEMBLYWOMAN MINNIE J. GRINSTEAD

TO WHOM DO THEY BELONG?

IF you want to be considered a legal somebody, you will speak of the bill introduced into the Kansas Legislature this winter by Assemblywoman Minnie J. Grinstead, "The Lady from Seward," as the "coverture bill." That is its married name, so to speak. It is House Bill No. 57 and is "an act giving married women the right to their services during coverture, empowering them to recover for a loss or impairment of their ability to perform such services."

The text of the bill is, or was, as follows:

"Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Kansas:

SECTION 1. The services of a married woman during coverture including her services in the household and in the discharge of her domestic duties are hereby declared to be her sole and separate property as if she were unmarried, and she is empowered to recover for loss or impairment of her ability to perform such services.

SEC. 2. This act shall be in force and in effect from and after its publication in the statute book."

This bill caused much newspaper comment of a more or less jocular sort, it being generally misunderstood by the press, which made merry over it as an act to compensate housewives for their housekeeping services. It is, however, similar to those passed by several other states, and was designed to correct a manifest injustice which now exists in the law of Kansas.

As Mrs. Grinstead has explained to the WOMAN CITIZEN, the present condition of Kansas wives is this:

"Under the present laws of the state, if a married woman during coverture should receive or sustain a personal injury by the neglect of another, as often happens, in automobile or railroad accident, or in fact under any circumstances, she would have a right to bring suit against the person or corporation responsible for her injury, for damages from pain and suffering, only. If she lost a limb, eye or sustained an injury that impaired her ability to work, either temporary or permanent, she cannot maintain a suit for loss or impairment of her ability to perform work or services. Her husband could maintain a suit and recover for her loss or impairment of her ability to perform household duties, but she cannot. This is on the theory that the work and labor of the wife does not belong to her, but that she and her labor belong to her husband, and he alone can sue for damages for injuries which impair or destroy her ability to

labor, and whatever sum he may recover belongs to him as completely as would damages to his cattle. She can get no part of it except by the husband's voluntarily giving it to her.

"The wife can sue for damages for her pain and suffering. A husband can sue for impairment or loss of ability to work, just the same as he can sue for damages for the disabling of his horse. Thus even if the husband should be fair and just and give to his wife the amount received, it would require two suits to settle; one suit by the husband to recover for impairment or loss of ability to work, and one by his wife for pain and suffering.

"Yet the statutes of Kansas, Section 40, Chap. 72, provide:

'Any married woman may carry on any trade or business, and perform any labor or services, on her sole and separate account; and the earnings of any married woman from her trade, labor or business, shall be her sole and separate property and may be used and invested by her in her own name.'

"This has been the law since 1868. It certainly seems inconsistent that she should be permitted to do these things on her own account and recover for her work and labor. Yet if she suffers an injury that impairs or destroys her ability to work, she cannot recover for that injury, but the husband can. This proposed statute would permit her and not the husband to sue for such injuries. Two suits would require extra attorneys' fee, costs and time, and is not fair to the wife."

MRS. GRINSTEAD believes that the wife should not be placed in the attitude of servant of the husband; that if she was disabled she should receive compensation for injury.

Some newspapers have sounded the alarm that the wife could compel the husband to pay her wages, or could sue him for damages if she fell down the cellar steps, and that this law would deter men from marrying.

The bill was prepared by a Judge of the District Court who has been on the bench for several years, and by his experience is impressed that this is a just bill. It passed the lower house of the Legislature without a dissenting vote. There are in this Assembly one hundred and twenty-five members, twenty-five of whom are lawyers.

The bill failed to pass the Senate, in which body there were

some objections to details of its phrasing. Instead of amending it, however, the Senate committee to which it was referred killed it, and substituted another with the same purport and provisions. This was passed by the Senate, but has not yet come up in the House. The session is at its closing point and it is unlikely to go through this year. The chances are pretty fair that Kansas women will see another instance of the "law's delay." Meanwhile the wife will remain in more senses than one the "right hand" of her husband, who will continue to own her time, and the "fruit of her hands" which "she riseth up while it is yet night" to perform.

MRS. MINNIE J. GRINSTEAD has made "a proof of the pudding" record in the Kansas Legislature and is, at present, dean of the four assemblywomen in that state. She was elected in 1918, an experiment, so to speak. She proved her case so well that last year she was reelected from Seward County, and three other women were sent up to keep her company.

The Kansas House indeed went so far as to do an unusual thing a year ago. It passed the following testimonial resolution:

"A RESOLUTION by way of testimonial to Hon. Minnie J. Grinstead.

Be it enacted by the House of Representatives of the State of Kansas:

That in the closing hours of its session, this House bears testimony to the engaging personality and great ability of the first woman legislator of Kansas, the Hon. Minnie J. Grinstead. She has admirably responded to every demand made upon her time, patience, and endurance. She has been the fearless champion of every question which she believed involved the progress of this state in intellectual and moral advancement, as well as material prosperity and development. With unfailing good nature and generosity she has accepted victory and defeat alike, and has commanded and holds the esteem, confidence and respect of every other member of this body. In the chairmanship of the committee of the whole she has demonstrated rare aptitude as a leader, and set an example for the emulation of mere men. We are proud of her because she is a splendid example of Kansas womanhood, motherhood and citizenship, sublimed with a fervid patriotism and love of humanity.

Resolved, That we direct the speaker of the House to present to her in our name the chair she has graced throughout this session, and we trust that amongst the recollections that will be hers sitting at her own hearthstone "west of the 6th principal meridian" will be kindly remembrances of the 1919 House of Representatives.

Resolved further, That we, the brotherhood of this body, standing at attention, salute our sister and coworker, as we direct the chief clerk to specially engross this resolution and present the same to the Hon. Minnie J. Grinstead with our compliments and best wishes.

Adopted Mch. 15th, 1919.

W. P. LAMBERTSON,
Speaker of the House.

"THE LADY FROM SEWARD" is the wife of a lawyer of Liberal, Kansas, V. H. Grinstead of Grinstead and Cosgrove, who takes an active pride and interest in her career.

She is a native of Kansas, was a teacher for several years, has been a national lecturer for the W. C. T. U. for over twenty years has lectured in several states, and is regarded as a very capable and entertaining, popular speaker. She was very active in the suffrage campaign and was president of the Equal Suffrage Association in the Seventh Congressional District of Kansas in the campaign for equal suffrage. She has for years been very active in church and public welfare work. She was elected on the Republican ticket to represent her county in the state Legislature of 1918, and served through the regular and two special sessions, being the first woman ever elected to the state Legislature in Kansas.

It may interest those who do not know how a mother can serve the public to be told that Mrs. Grinstead has two children, her thirteen-year-old son, Wayne, having been a page in the Kansas House for two sessions.

Whata Small Town Exhibitor Thinks About Movies

I AM much interested in the question of censorship of the Moving Picture films, from the standpoint of the small town exhibitor, and one who has been a Sunday School teacher and a lover of children for many years. *Censorship should be of the Moving Picture Production houses.*

No film should be produced with wrong suggestions in it, and this can only be stopped at the fountain head the source of the play, the great production centers of California and New York, and other places.

It is here that the danger begins, not only to the thousands who will see the play, but to the players themselves, they cannot act in suggestive sex scenes without some reflex action on their own characters. The public is calling for clean pictures, but the small town exhibitor has a very hard time getting what he or she wants. I have one patron who wants all Western pictures cut from the program because of the saloons and dancing halls pictured in many of them. Another patron says there must be no shooting or murder scenes, another no sex problems, and so it goes.

ONE cannot please everybody but I won't have a slap-stick comedy if I can help it; we want a good comedy drama, but it is mighty difficult to procure. The advertisements that I get now about swamp me, so please don't publish my name. I wish you would advocate that all mothers should go to the theatre with their children. Awaken the mothers. Half of them are absolutely indifferent to what their children see. I try to have plays suitable for young and old, something amusing with good moral tone, but the distributors sometimes slip one over on me that I should not choose. We often have the reels come in an hour or so before we run them, and have not time to look them through, besides that is a costly addition to the business and in a small town of a few hundred people, every penny added to overhead expense has to be considered. Also our operator has other work and I have another business. There is little money in the small towns for the picture theatre on account of the high express rates, the Government taxes, 5% on every reel shown, and 10% on every ticket sold. If you have 25c. tickets, the Government gets 3c. And if we had to give up several hours a week to inspecting the films we are to run, many houses would have to close. State inspection would not do at present, as there are not enough films in some states to supply the theatres of that state. It might do to have censors at the chief distributing centers, like Atlanta, Ga., for the South, where so many of the producers have their representatives. *Every film from abroad should be inspected by a reliable group of mothers and fathers—SOCIAL PURITY leaders.* You are right, the small exhibitor has to tie up with the different firms for several different stars in a group, and they insist on your taking the whole when they can, and that is how some of the pictures are not what we want; for one does not know every star in America.

If the films were inspected at the source before they left the production centers the length of the film should be printed on the first reel. I was told that a certain picture was censored in one state so the objectionable feature was cut out, but the same picture was shown in an adjoining state with the objectionable feature left in!!! This could not be done if the number of feet to be shown and number of reels were on the first reel, with title. The Moving Picture Theatre is a wonderful thing for the small town, it brings before the children so many varied phases of life that they would never have understood from books. It has come to stay; it must be purified at its source, the production centers, for the sake of the actors as well as the theatre-going public.



The Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course Inside Stories About the Federal Departments

Trade Makes Peace

Part II

By P. J. Crogan
Department of Commerce

IN its broad work, the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce has not overlooked the beginner or the foreign trade student. Its literature contains much information of extreme value to anyone considering foreign trade as a life's vocation. Miscellaneous Series No. 97—"Training for Foreign Trade," for instance should be of special service to the beginner. It was issued to assist vocational education work in universities, colleges and schools, and in training persons engaged in or desiring to enter foreign trade. Gives outlines of courses of study, prepared by teachers and business men; has very complete study outlines, with full lists of reference works, for Latin America, Russia, the Near East and the Far East. "Paper Work in Export Trade," "Training for the Steamship Business" are other publications prepared for the special benefit of those wishing to add to their knowledge along export lines.

There are four hundred or more American consular officers and representatives of the Bureau known as Commercial Attachés and Trade Commissioners, whose reports are received and distributed to the business men of the country each day in an effort to fulfill the Bureau's purposes of helping the manufacturers and merchants of the United States to extend their trade to all parts of the world.

DURING the few years of the existence of the Bureau the growth of America's foreign trade has been phenomenal. During the fiscal years ending June 30, 1900, the total value of all classes of goods exported from the United States was \$1,394,483,082. The fiscal year ending June 30, 1910 witnessed very little increase. During that twelve months' period total exports were valued at \$1,744,984,720. In 1915 the trade had about doubled to the sum of \$2,768,589,340. It was at the end of the next five year period that the great jump was recorded. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920 the total value of all exports from this country advanced to the remarkable figure of \$8,111,000,000. This is the greatest export valuation ever recorded in the country's history.

To maintain this volume of business means much to the prosperity of the United States. Its loss would be felt not only in manufacturing circles but would extend to the farms, the ranches, the mines and to practically every branch of commercial and industrial effort in the country.

THE Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce is straining mightily to keep America's business men in the lead. Keen competition must be met, however, and it will come from the old experienced traders of some of the great industrial and commercial countries of the world, traders who have been in export business for years and years, business houses which have inherited not only a thorough knowledge of the game but the actual tried and proven facilities with which to carry on the business.

In order that the thousands of valuable reports received during the year may be thoroughly digested and prepared for proper presentation to the manufacturers and merchants who make and sell the goods which pile up the grand export total, the Bureau has been divided into several geographical divisions, each being concerned with a certain section of the world and charged with the responsibility of furnishing the very best information that can be had to inquirers interested in the markets under its jurisdiction. The Latin American Division, for instance, takes care of all South America, also Central America and the West Indies including Mexico. The Far Eastern Division looks after China, Japan, India, Australia and other countries in that part of the world. There is also a European Division. Another Division has charge of Near Eastern countries while still another is devoted to Russia. In this way the entire world is geographically arranged so that every atom of information received can be properly analyzed and indexed to be furnished to American business on demand.

Trade-Mark Pirates

IN some parts of the world, unscrupulous men make a specialty of stealing the recognized trade-marks of American firms. These foreign trade parasites are usually referred to as trade-mark pirates. In the countries in which they operate, the first person to register a trade-mark has all rights to that mark and it is necessary for the real owner to buy his own mark from the pirate before he can sell his goods

under that mark in that country. One of the duties of the Bureau's Division of Foreign Tariffs is to warn manufacturers when their marks are in danger of seizure in this way and to advise them what steps are necessary in order to be fully protected. This same Division is prepared to name the rate of duty which must be paid on practically any articles entering any foreign port. It can also tell about rules governing commercial travelers in foreign countries, about consular regulations, rates of internal taxes, patent regulations, trade-restrictions, and other associated subjects which are often of the utmost importance and yet not generally known by the average exporter.

The foreign trade statistics which are so often quoted in the newspapers are compiled in another Division known as the Statistical Division. Still another Division, known as the Division of Research, keeps close tab on the official statistical publications of foreign countries, so that American business men may be kept informed concerning the export activities of our principal competitors for world's trade. This Division is also engaged in conducting all sorts of research work with the sole purpose of aiding in the promotion of trade.

There are other Divisions such as the Correspondence Division; Foreign Service Division, which looks after the work of the Commercial Attachés and Trade Commissioners; Distribution Section, etc.

Guide Posts to Buyers

A COMPARATIVELY new section known as the Commercial Intelligence Section prepares the Bureau's trade list. These are the lists which contain the names of prospective buyers of American goods in all parts of the world. They are naturally in great demand for they hold forth possibilities of immediate sales. Consular officers and the Bureau's representatives collect and send in the names of local business houses from day to day. These names are arranged by commodities and countries with symbols indicating the nature of the business of each foreign house, whether retailer, wholesaler or special importer. They also point out the relative importance in the trade and community of each foreign firm and give other information so that the American exporter may be guided in preparing his sales literature, quoting prices and in arranging for calls by traveling salesmen.

IT will surprise some readers, I know, to learn that this same Bureau publishes a daily newspaper. It is not a very large newspaper but it is a live one nevertheless. It is distributed on a subscription basis, the price, \$3.50 a year, covering the cost of the exporting fraternity of the United States and is also used extensively in colleges and universities for educational purposes. The information it contains comes from the consuls, the commercial attachés and the trade commissioners, all trained commercial scouts who are constantly on the lookout for opportunities to sell American goods. The reports are general and specific. One may discuss in a broad way, possibilities for the sale of office appliances in France, for example, telling the kind of appliances in demand, local preference in such goods, if any, competing articles now on the market and similar information, usually accompanied by a list of the most prominent local dealers in or importers of such goods. Other articles take up cotton goods, boots and shoes, automobiles, hardware, wearing apparel and so on throughout the entire list of goods which the manufacturers of the country can offer for sale. There are announced definite and immediate openings for the sale of specific commodities. Suppose some large importer in Buenos Aires, for instance, desired to take on a line of American shoes. He would go to the nearest American consular officer or commercial attaché and explain his wishes. The official representative of the United States would carefully note all the details, ask for banking and similar references as a matter of good faith and immediately send off a report to Washington. This information would then be published in the "Commerce Reports" which is the name of the Bureau's daily paper, somewhat as follows:

"No. 32,785. Argentina.

Prominent importer in Argentina desires to purchase quantities of American shoes. Correspondence in Spanish. References."

Helps to Manufacturers

AMERICAN boot and shoe manufacturers reading this announcement in the "Commerce Reports" write to the Bureau in Washington or to any of its district or co-operative offices located in different parts of the United States, give the serial number of the notice and ask that they be furnished with the name and address of the inquirer, the bank references and such other confidential information reserved from the published announcement as is available. All applicants of American nationality are furnished with this reserved information upon request so that they can immediately communicate with the importer in South America. Practically every issue of the "Commerce Reports" contains at least a column of announcements similar to the foregoing and many are the letters

on file in the Bureau telling of business secured as a result of the service.

Experts Study Foreign Markets

AS the necessity arises, specially trained experts are sent abroad to conduct special commodity studies. For example an expert in the electrical goods trade will be sent to some part of the world to make a thorough study on the ground of possibilities for the sale of American electrical goods. He must investigate every important factor which may effect the sale of such goods in this or that country. He is frequently employed for months on this work. When he returns all the material he has collected is carefully edited and published in the form of a special report devoted exclusively to information concerning the sale of such goods in one or all the countries he has visited. The finished report tells the exporter about everything he need know in order to approach the market intelligently. First it will give him the outstanding features of the market, area, population, climate, characteristics of the people, transportation facilities, etc., followed by specific information concerning the various individual articles involved in a certain classification, such as batteries, flashlights, fuses, lighting rods, arc lamps, farm lighting sets and the like, should the study cover the markets for electrical goods. Following this, will be information about how to pack such goods for shipment, the best ways of advertising; local competition; means of obtaining credit information and the other various related subjects which should be thoroughly known to the exporter before he can hope to do any considerable business in a given market. Practically all of the more recent special market studies of this kind are arranged along the general lines indicated above. Every important cotton-goods market of the world has been covered by these special studies. Special reports are also available on many other classes of goods such as machinery and machine tools, jewelry and silverware, furniture, construction materials and machinery, canned goods, agricultural implements, and machinery, etc. Reports of this character are sold at the cost of printing and paper, the price averaging ten or fifteen cents per copy.

The Bureau has district and co-operative offices in New York, Boston, Chicago, San Francisco, Seattle, St. Louis, and other cities. The co-operative offices are established in chambers of commerce in important cities. They give practically the same services offered by the district offices. There is one in Cleveland, another in Cincinnati, one in Philadelphia, one in Los Angeles, one in Portland, Oregon, one in Chattanooga, Tennessee, and other cities.

Prize Essay Contest

THE annual prize essay contest of the American School Citizen League has a double bill this year. Two sets of prizes, known as the Seabury prizes are offered. The first set is open to seniors in normal school on the subject: "What education can do to secure cooperation as against competition between nations."

The second, open to seniors in secondary schools, is on the subject: "The essential foundations of a cooperating world."

Three prizes of \$75, \$50 and \$25 will be given for the three best essays in each set.

The contest closes June 1, 1921 and the conditions are as follows:

Each essay must be accompanied by a topical outline, and a bibliography with brief notes on each book. Essays must not exceed 5,000 words (a length of 3,000 words is suggested as desirable), and must be written, preferably in typewriting, on one side only of paper, 8 x 10 inches, with a margin of at least 1 1/4 inches. Manuscripts not easily legible will not be considered.

The name of the writer must not appear on the essay, which should be accompanied by a letter giving the writer's name, school, and home address, and sent to Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, Secretary, American School Citizenship League, 405 Marlborough Street, Boston 17, Mass., not later than June 1, 1921. Essays should be mailed flat (not rolled).

Each country participating in the contest, other than the United States, shall send the three best essays in each set (normal and secondary) to the Secretary of the League, these essays to be selected by judges appointed in each country. The United States judges will select from these and from the essays written by pupils of the United States, those which in their opinion should receive the prizes. All essays must be in the English language when finally submitted to the United States judges.

Information concerning literature on the essay subjects may be obtained from the Secretary of the League.

During the past two years, many teachers in the United States have introduced the contest as a part of the regular school work, and have sent to the League the best essay in the school. It is suggested that all schools adopt this plan.

AS before the war, the contest is now thrown open to pupils in all countries. The United States judges of prizes are: Paul Monroe, Director, School of Education, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York City; Wilbur F. Smith, Principal, Baltimore City College, Baltimore, Md.; Miss Elizabeth G. Breckinridge, Principal, Louisville Normal School, Louisville, Ky.; John P. McConnell, President, State Normal School for Women, East Radford, Va.;

(Continued on page 1093)

WOMAN'S MEDICAL COLLEGE OF PENNSYLVANIA

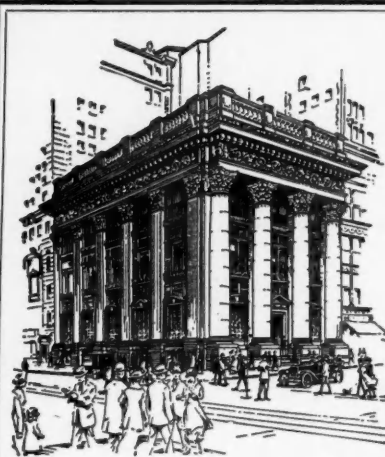
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Entrance requirements: two years of college work, including certain credits in science and language. Full laboratory and clinical advantages; dispensaries, clinics, bedside instruction, out-patient obstetrical service. Special eight months' course for laboratory technicians. Four months' preliminary didactic and laboratory course for nurses. The Anna Howard Shaw Memorial Department of Preventive Medicine is now being organized. It is hoped to announce a curriculum of work beginning Oct. 1921.

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Where Numbers Count

FEW may have stopped to think of the mass formation of women allied with the League of Voters all over the country and of the sheer weight of numbers made by the totality of these women. In many states where legislative councils or committees have been convened by the state leagues, the result has been that anywhere from ten to a dozen of the most important women's organizations are drawn together for legislative action, representing in bulk the majority of the educated women of the state.

This mobile and flexible group can easily reach out and touch every town and even every rural home from one end of the state to the other. This means a great deal in mere numbers. But its potency is enhanced by the fact

that the women who are thus mobilized are the solid women, the ultra frivolous and the under-educated being usually outside of these organizations. Their potency is also strengthened by zeal and conviction. The women who go out after such laws as are endorsed by the League of Women Voters, are usually those who, as Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton has recently said, "may be new to politics but are not new to righteousness." It is in extent and mass that these women are formidable. Their efforts are not sporadic nor spattering. The thing done in Massachusetts is being reinforced from South Carolina. Texas is backing Minnesota and so it goes from coast to coast and border to border.

Spring Styles in Legislature

TO meet the massed demand of women throughout the states there has arisen a new style in the procedure of state Legislatures this year. Meeting in joint session of the two houses, they are granting hearings of the Legislature as a whole, to women to speak in behalf of welfare legislation in which women are particularly interested. South Carolina set the fashion and Delaware followed as a close second.

Mrs. Maud Wood Park, Chairman of the National League of Women Voters, spoke in Dover, Delaware, not so very long ago, before the state Legislature on the legislative program adopted by the Women's Joint Legislative Committee of the state. This program included endorsement of sufficient appropriations for improved education, child welfare, health, and agricultural departments and for Delaware College and the Woman's College. Provisions concerning Americanization, the State Library Commission, juvenile probation, equal guardianship of children, mothers' pension and employed women and children were also made.

Although emphasizing the importance "of wise and economic measures" upon all these subjects, the Delaware Joint Committee has laid particular stress on child welfare legislation and it is upon this phase of the program that Mrs. Park dwelt particularly.

Mrs. Park had previously appeared before the South Carolina Legislature which convened in joint session for the purpose of hearing her address on the Age of Consent Bill which had been unfavorably reported by the committee having it in charge. After her speech, the measure was recommitted for further consideration and friends of the bill predict its passage.

A telegram from Mrs. Julian B. Salley, Aiken, South Carolina, Director of the Third Region of the League of Women Voters, says, "We consider that Mrs. Park's speech was sole cause of reviving the bill and making it a special order for immediate action."

Righting Old Wrongs

WEST VIRGINIA women have recently formed a joint legislative committee, convened by the state League of Women Voters. Composed of many state organizations this committee represents a majority of women of West Virginia. The committee is composed of Mrs. John L. Ruhl, of Clarksburg, state chairman of the League of Women Voters; Mrs. E. S. Romine, of Wheeling, legislative chairman of the League; Mrs. Woodson T. Wills, president of the West Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs; Mrs. H. D. Rummel, of Charleston, legislative chairman of the West Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs; Mrs. J. Walter Barnes, state president of the W. C. T. U. and Mrs. Ellis A. Yost, legislative chairman of the W. C. T. U. Thus womanhood of the state is well represented. While they are interested in many laws which are important and vital, the joint committee has thought best to concentrate on the following bills as their initial effort in influencing legislation at the next session at Charleston:

1. A (blanket) law removing the civil disabilities of married women.
2. To amend and re-enact section nine of chapter eighty-five of Barnes' code, relating to the marriage of a female representative. Allows a married woman to act as a personal representative, fiduciary, administratrix, etc. If a single woman, acting as administratrix, marries—her marriage extinguishes her authority to so act. Having been married, she is in the eyes of the law DEAD. Amendment removes a disability of a married woman now existing.
3. To amend and re-enact section 15 of chapter 144 of Barnes' code (1916), relating to the crime of rape. House Bill No. 431. Introduced by Mr. Hugus. Referred to the Judiciary Committee. Raising the age of female in case of rape from present age of 14 to 18 years. A very modern up to date bill, designed to effect and protect both girls and boys. Seventeen states, N. Y., Mich., La., Texas, Wis., Minn., Mont., Col., Kan., Cal., Utah, Idaho, N. D., S. D., Wash., Ariz., Wyo., have an 18 year standard. Why not West Va.?

Poll Tax to Music in Texas

THE El Paso, Texas, League of Women Voters, has shown a variety and ingenuity in its program of work which may give a filip to the imagination of leagues elsewhere.

Humanizing the poll-tax is one of the most novel expedients of the El Paso League. When the women heard from the tax-collector that, on account of pressure of business he could not furnish deputies outside the office, they determined to bring Mahomet to the mountain. Therefore they set up a beautifully appointed tea-table in Judge McCuntock's courtroom on the same floor of the courthouse as the tax collector's office and invited the taxpayers to come

in. There was a continuous musical program from 2:30 until 5 in the afternoon and nearly 300 women dropped in and paid their taxes—the tax office cooperating by furnishing extra clerks at the windows.

Previous to the tea the town was strewn with dodgers giving women these six reasons why they should pay their poll-taxes:

Because—it is an evidence of good citizenship.

Because—It will give you a voice in selecting four members on your school board this spring.

Because—It means you can choose your Mayor and Aldermen this year.

(Continued on next page)



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4. To amend and re-enact section 2 of chapter 64, Barnes' code (1916), relating to the age of consent. Present law from Virginia, 1860; was never changed until 1897; and never changed since then. Amendment raises age for girls from 16 (now) to 18 years, making it 18 for both sexes.

5. To amend and re-enact sections 1, 3, and 7 of chapter 82, Barnes' code (1916), relating to guardian and wards. Senate Bill No. 80. Introduced by Mr. Harmer. Referred to Committee on Judiciary. Provides that both parents be equal guardians over minor children. Permits a mother without restriction of "un-married or a widow" to appoint a guardian by last will; to be guardian although re-married, etc. No attempt has been made to change this law since 1872 on sec. 1, 1882 on sec. 3, 1882 on sec. 7.

6. To amend and re-enact section 15 of chapter 65, Barnes' code (1916), relating to a tenant by the curtesy. Senate Bill No. 94. Introduced by Mr. Sanders. Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. A widow has only her life estate in one-third of her husband's lands, while the husband has a life estate in the whole of the deceased wife's. Amendment gives the husband the same interest in the landed estate of the wife that the wife now has in the landed estate of the husband. Equal rights of inheritance.

7. To amend and re-enact section 2 of chapter 63, Barnes' code (1916), relating to the marriage of minors. House Bill No. 200. Introduced by Mr. Hilleary. Referred to the Judiciary Committee. Permits Mother or the father to consent to marriage of a minor child. Present law gives the father exclusive right.

IN addition to the above named, the West Va. League of Women Voters has indorsed and agreed to work for:

The Vital Statistics Bill, providing adequate registration of births, marriages and deaths. Introduced by Mr. Chapman. Senate Bill No. 51. Referred to the Committee on Medicine and Sanitation.

A bill to establish state training school for mental defectives. Introduced by Mr. Barnes. House Bill No. 363.

Adopting the Baby

IN January Mrs. George Gellhorn persuaded the Civic League of Muskogee, Oklahoma, to change its name to the Muskogee League of Women Voters at a meeting held at Hotel Severs. This is the first League to be formed in Oklahoma—the last baby. At the meeting, Mrs. C. H. Peeles suggested that as long as they had the baby League they had better clothe it and immediately offered some money to buy the baby shoes. Other women immediately raised money to buy the dress and cap, until at last the Muskogee baby League is well started with \$100 for its first expenses. Since then it is reported from Tulsa that the Tulsa women have likewise raised one hundred dollars to put the baby in a carriage. Mrs. Phil Brown is the chairman of the Muskogee League, which with this start should surely be a flourishing organization.



Keep the Beacon Burning

DURING almost half a century **Dr. Anna Howard Shaw** held aloft the Beacon to light women's way to Political Liberty and Progress.

AS a tribute to her memory and a continuation of her life's work \$500,000 is being raised to establish a Foundation in Political Science at Bryn Mawr College, and a Foundation in Preventive Medicine at the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania.

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In Texas and Elsewhere

(Continued from page 1089)

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Can you be a good citizen if you are not interested in these things?

El Paso League of Women Voters' Poll Tax Campaign.

THE League is supporting bills for a much needed home for delinquent girls to be known as the El Paso Training School for Girls; for a Juvenile Court and for other progressive legislation.

At the League's anniversary luncheon early in February, the following toast to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt was given by Mrs. R. E. Thomson:

"When man wishes to depict courage he portrays it with the figure of a woman, when he carves justice, he chisels the figure of a woman, when he paints love, he paints the form of woman and when he writes of wisdom he describes a woman. Thus we see all through the ages, woman has stood for those qualities that made the pagan world beautiful and have made the Christian world secure.

"Woman has been the symbol of mankind's aspirations and ideals. These are the characteristics that woman must carry with her, into her new realm of politics.

"We believe that men realized that these traits are needed in public life and that they are not removing woman from her pedestal, but that they desire to stand with her upon pedestal, where there is always room for two.

"Two avenues have long been opened to woman's activities, the home and the church. In these she has always shone and now comes politics. As there are certain rules by which a home must be preserved, as there are certain precepts that must be observed by good church members, so there are certain laws that must be followed in the game of politics.

"Business is exacting, science hard and unchanging, but politics is exciting.

To play this game successfully, woman must needs carry into her new sphere not only faith, hope, charity, but an abiding sense of humor, a mind that can forget, and a face that can smile.

"I ask you to drink to the woman who possesses these qualities, and who represents the best that women stand for—**CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.**"

THE newly enfranchised women of Texas are taking their civic and political duties with an earnestness and farsightedness which promises well for the future citizens of the Lone Star State. One of the first formal actions of the Texas League of Women Voters was to give hearty endorsement to the thrift, saving, and safe investment campaign of the Treasury Department.

At the convention of the League in El Paso, resolutions were adopted urging upon men and women the practise of thrift, that they aid the teachers of Texas in disseminating the principles of safe investment and the purchase of govern-

ment securities to the children of the state and help to establish a government School Thrift Savings Bank in every school.

The text of the resolution reads:

"**RESOLVED:** That in view of the imperative need of thrift, we urge upon both men and women the practice of Thrift, and a careful study of the Thrift Program sent out by the Treasury Department.

"**RESOLVED:** Further that they aid the teachers in the carrying out of the Earn, Save and Invest Campaign of the Treasury Department in the state of Texas.

"**RESOLVED:** Further that the Women of Texas League of Women Voters, do all that is possible to aid the teachers in the establishment of a Government School Thrift Saving Bank in every Public School in the State."

Boston's 2000

At a special business meeting held by the Massachusetts League of Women Voters its central organization made an impressive report.

There are now 56 local Leagues of Women Voters, many of them having large membership,—Boston leading with nearly 2,000 individual members, while several others have passed into the hundreds. Every section of the state has been reached by the League idea. From North Adams to Hyannis, from Danvers to Whitinsville, leagues are scattered and delegates from these Leagues predict with confidence that the next six months will find a League of Women Voters in every town in the state.

The printed report covering the first six months of the State League shows that during that time the committee on Education for Citizenship conducted 250 classes and 25 forums. It has prepared a correspondence school of two courses and has published much material to be used in the political education of women. Miss Mary E. Woolley, President of Mount Holyoke College, is chairman of this committee.

Wisconsin at Work

THE Wisconsin League of Women Voters has recently had a state convention in the public library of Milwaukee in combination with an organization meeting of the Milwaukee County League of Women Voters. The convention occupied two days and five sessions. Among the speakers were: Miss Mary McDowell, chairman of the Women in Industry Committee of the National League of Women Voters; Miss Maud Neprud, State Board of Control; Miss Martha Riley of the State Board of Health.

The convention was presided over by Mrs. Ben Hooper, president of the State League, and by Mrs. William Stark Smith, president of the Milwaukee County League.

"An Old Fashioned Woman, Who Is Up-to-Date"

WHAT with one thing and another, hold-ups, blow-ups and the new status of women, New Jersey seems to be much in the public eye.

Just now it is Hackensack and Mrs. Patrick Henry Maley who are under scrutiny. Mrs. Maley is young, pretty and a lawyer. She is the partner and assistant of her husband, Commissioner Patrick Henry Maley. Immediately she has been assisting him as counsel for the defense of a young man accused of murder, William Gleason.

Gleason is an ex-soldier, honorably discharged and a youth with a previous good record. He was arrested for the murder of policeman John Ritter of Ridgewood Park. Mrs. Maley believes him to be innocent and took up the defense because of her faith in him.

When the case came to trial in the last week of February the scene in the Bergen County Court of Hackensack, was interesting. The court was filled, many women being present to hear Mrs. Maley's plea. Her address was praised for its sincerity and poise by those who heard it. All the women present with Mrs. Maley's husband and law partner, were proud of the dignity and directness of her speech. Among other things, she said to the jury: "The manifest purpose of a trial is to secure the truth and promote the ends of justice," and in conclusion, "We are not endeavoring to convey an idea of self-defence, gentlemen, nor do we in any way plead an affliction in the case of my client. We hope to offer our defence efficiently and conclusively to the end of two Anglo-Saxon words: 'Not guilty'."

The final verdict of murder in the second degree with a recommendation for mercy, came as a surprise to Mrs. Maley who says, that after hearing all the evidence in the case she is more firmly convinced than ever that her client is innocent of the crime.

ONE is impressed with two features of the press reports of Mrs. Maley's action. These are the apologetic attitude towards her as a criminal lawyer and, in fact, as a practising married woman lawyer.

One interviewer takes off the curse of the last part of this arraignment by quoting her husband's consent and his testimony that she can cook if she wants to. And all Mrs. Maley's interviewers sigh with relief over the fact that she herself, rather disapproves of criminal

practice for women lawyers. She says that juvenile court work is her choice.

"I do not consider in an abstract or general way that criminal cases are a field for women's work or practice," she says. "Civic laws and chancery practice provide a much more extensive and more desirable field for a woman attorney. Too, the average criminal case has no appeal for a woman. She prefers that a man should handle it. In cases of juvenile delinquency, however, I think every one realizes they had best be handled by women.

"My own great ambition is to become judge of a juvenile court. With my experience in teaching school combined with my knowledge of law I believe I might qualify for that work."

It is evident that the Gleason case has appealed to her from its kinship to her chosen field—the youth and previous good record of the plaintiff.

WITH the popular opinion that rather forces such a choice on a woman lawyer, there might be a considerable discussion. Crime needs a woman's point of view as well as a man's, and there is plenty of precedent to show that women, as jurors, see guilt with clarity and good judgment. The woman's view concerning law breaking is no mawkish one. Why then should any woman, trained in the law, find a popular prejudice against her participation in any one of its phases?

Mrs. Maley qualified as a lawyer after her marriage in order to become her husband's assistant. She passed the New Jersey bar examinations four years ago.

As to practicing her profession when married, it must be said for Commissioner Maley that he has showed fine progressive attitude towards his wife's professional ambitions.

"We make our money together, and spend it together," he said. "We have been successful by working together. My wife is not a new woman," he said. "She is an old-fashioned woman who is up-to-date."

WHEREIN he demonstrated much sense. The old-fashioned woman worked by the side of her husband; she was not carried on his back. She cooked for him, when necessary. But there is no more need for a professional woman to give a guarantee to the world that she can cook than for a professional man to demonstrate that he chops the kindlings and cleans out the furnace.

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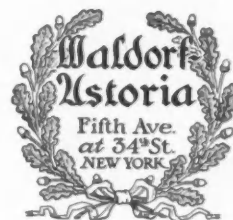
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A Pageant of Foremothers

A UNIQUE pageant, "The Foremothers of New England," was lately given by the Boston League of Women Voters, in commemoration of the tercentenary of the landing of the Pilgrims. It might well be given elsewhere, for the threefold purpose of awakening inspiration, spreading historical knowledge about the foremothers, and raising money for the Leagues.

It opened with Pastor Robinson's farewell to the Pilgrims, and his admonition that "the Lord hath more truth and light yet to break forth out of His holy word." Then came the landing of the Pilgrim Mothers on November 13, 1620, to do a big wash, after 63 days at sea. They and their little girls came in laden with bundles of clothes, knelt down by an imaginary brook and went through the motions of washing. In "Making the Home," the time was shown when they almost starved, and the scanty food was doled out to the children. The next scene was a prayer meeting held for rain, with the Indians in the background. Then came a Puritan wedding. The young couple were first shown searching the Scriptures for the "contractual text." It was the custom to let

When Abigail Adams Led the Woman Suffrage Party

them choose the text for the sermon preached the Sunday after the wedding. In dumb show first one and then the other picked out a text; they almost quarreled; but finally found one they both liked. Then came the weighing of Hannah Hull, whose dowry was her own weight in pine-tree shillings heaped into the opposite scale; then the wedding of Hannah Hull and Judge Sewall, and the "walking out" of the bride. Six couples in full Puritan costume walked before the audience.

The next scene represented the excommunication of Anne Hutchinson, when she courageously said, "The Lord judgeth not as man judgeth. Better to be cast out of the church than to deny Christ!" As she passed out, the Quakeress, Mary Dyer, rose and went with her, as a protest in behalf of freedom of conscience.

Then came "Setting the Watch." Women as well as men were obliged either to serve as watchmen or to pay a substitute; and "Widow Goose" and other women whose names have survived on Clerk Vergoose's list came on with their lanterns. These were the first women police.

AN amusing scene of measuring sleeves, etc., illustrated the laws concerning women's dress. In 1639 the General Court of Massachusetts forbade the wearing of "any manner of lace," and decreed that "hereafter no garment shall be made with short sleeves, and no persons whatever shall make any garment for women or any of their sex, with sleeves more than half an ell wide in the widest place thereof."

Then came the unveiling of the women. Roger Williams and other preachers maintained that women ought not to appear in public with unveiled faces; but John Cotton argued so strongly on the other side that the women were convinced, and discarded their veils.

Then there was a "Dame School." These schools were set up in village homes by appointment of public authorities and at public cost. Methods of instruction were primitive. Figures were made upon a sanded floor. The pupils did their sums upon pieces of birch bark with charcoal for pencils. Twenty-two weeks in summer was the school term. The Dames were required to behave in sober conversation, to be able to teach the various sounds and powers of the English language, reading, writing and English grammar. Female teachers were not required to teach arithmetic.

Then came the first umbrella. "An umbrella

was carried about 1740 by a dame of Windsor, Connecticut, whose husband had brought her various elegancies from the West Indies. It excited so much attention and satire that her neighbors mocked her on the streets, carrying sieves balanced on broomsticks.

MOTHER GOOSE, who lies in the Old Granary Burying Ground, was shown reciting her rhymes to a group of children, while Little Bo Peep and the other characters in the songs tripped on to the stage and off again.

The next scene showed Abigail Adams and Mercy Warren, each seated at her desk, pen in hand. Mercy was supposed to be writing to Abigail, February 7, 1776; "I write in a very great hurry or I should touch a little on politics, knowing you love a little seasoning of that nature in every production;" and Abigail to her husband, urging enlarged rights for women in the new code of laws which must follow the Declaration of Independence. She said: "If particular care and attention are not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound to obey any laws in which we have no voice or representation."

Then came the Boston Coffee Party, thus described by Abigail Adams in a letter written July 31, 1777: "There is a great scarcity of sugar and coffee, articles which the female part of the state is very loath to give up, especially whilst they consider the great scarcity occasioned by the merchants' having secreted a large quantity. . . . It was rumored that an eminent stingy merchant who is a bachelor, had a hogshead of coffee in his store which he refused to sell the committee under six shillings per pound. A number of females, some say a hundred, some say more, assembled with a cart and trunks, marched down to the warehouse and demanded the keys which he refused to deliver. Upon which one of them seized him by the neck and tossed him into the cart. Upon his finding no quarter he delivered the keys, when they tipped up the cart and discharged him, then opened the warehouse, hoisted out the coffee themselves, put it into the trunks and drove off. It is reported that he had personal chastisements among them, but this I believe was not true. A large concourse of men stood amazed, silent spectators of the whole transaction."

The next scene showed the two brave girls of Scituate who scared the British away from that town in the war of 1812. When the men were all from home, two boat loads of the enemy were seen rowing for the American flourships at the bar. The two girls performed with spirit upon the fife and drum, one saying to the other (in a poem commemorating the event):

"Make believe we're the milishy comin'. Girls be good as boys

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For some things—folks needn't tell me—jest as good ter make a noise.”
Fifing, drumming, panting, stumbling, half in fear and half in fun
When they dared to reconnoitre, then they saw the British run.

THEN came “Hannah by the window, binding shoes,” then “Westward Ho!”—pioneers from New England migrating towards the west and being welcomed at a settler's cabin.

The next scene was the “Baltimore slave case.” The return of two escaped slave girls from Baltimore was sought, under the fugitive slave law. In the words of Lydia Maria Child: “All Boston was in a ferment for and against the fugitives. The commercial world were determined that this Southern property should be restored to the white claimants, and the Abolitionists were determined that it should remain in the possession of the original owners until a bill of sale from the Almighty could be produced. By the vigilance and ingenious arrangements of ‘Father Snowden’ and Thankful Southwick, at a given signal the slaves were spirited away from the crowded courtroom, and out of the city. The agent of the slaveholders standing near Mrs. Southwick, and gazing with astonishment at the empty space, where an instant before the slaves stood, she turned her large gray eyes upon him and said ‘Thy prey hath escaped thee’.”

The work of the Sanitary Commission in the Civil War was next illustrated—two of Mary A. Livermore's granddaughters took part in this scene and the work of the Red Cross, founded by Clara Barton. A beautiful symbolic dance, arranged by the Noyes School of Rhythm, closed the entertainment.

A “Chronicle,” relating the events that were to be shown in dramatic form, had been written by Mrs. Paul V. Bacon, and was read (in sections) by Mrs. Herbert J. Gurney, a section before each scene. The historical material had been unearthed by Mrs. Porter Boyer.

“Dangerously Undernourished”

THAT 20 per cent of Detroit's children in three representative districts are “dangerously undernourished,” is shown in two reports recently made to the board of education. These reports were made after a department of health survey and the findings included well-to-do as well as poor children.

As a result a supplementary estimate was asked for to furnish school lunches.

Related to this is work of the women of the state of Michigan to provide adequate compensation for mothers. Governor Alexander Groesbeck is urging the club women of the state to help the passage of a bill to this end. The club women have agreed that \$12 a week should be a minimum income for a mother with one child, with \$2 a week additional for each child.

Advance Information

for those planning to attend the National League of Women Voters' Convention, Cleveland, Ohio, April 11 to 16

SPECIAL FARES

ARRANGEMENTS are under way for securing special fares for the Convention. All delegates should buy one-way tickets and secure certificates from ticket agent when buying ticket, and register with Mrs. Richard Edwards at the Convention, in order to secure reduced fare on return ticket. Further notice of this arrangement will be issued.

HOTEL RESERVATIONS

Delegates and visitors are requested to make their hotel reservation direct with the hotel management. Hotel Statler (hotel headquarters) and Hotel Winton (located two blocks from the Statler) are especially recommended.

SPECIAL LUNCHEONS OR DINNERS

Regions, states or groups desiring to arrange special luncheons or dinners may do so through Mrs. W. E. Shackleton, in care of the Cleveland League of Women Voters, 2728 Euclid avenue, Cleveland, Ohio. Applications for such luncheons must be made not later than April 1st.

HOTEL RATES

Hotel Statler

Rooms with shower bath, \$3.00, \$3.50 and \$4.00 per day for single occupancy, and \$4.50, \$5.00 and \$5.50 per day for double occupancy.

Rooms equipped with both tub and shower bath, \$4.00, \$4.50, \$5.00 and \$6.00 per day for single occupancy, and \$6.00, \$6.50, \$7.00 and \$8.00 for double occupancy.

Rooms with twin beds and shower bath, \$5.50 per day for two persons.

Rooms with twin beds, tub and shower bath, \$6.50, \$7.00, \$7.50 and \$8.00 per day for two persons.

Hotel Winton

Rooms with private bath (single), \$3.00, \$3.50, \$4.00, \$4.50 and \$5.00.

Rooms with private bath (double), \$5.00, \$5.50, \$6.00, \$7.00 and \$8.00.

Rooms with private bath, twin beds, \$6.00, \$7.00, \$8.00 and \$10.00.

Parlor, bedroom and bath, \$11.00 up, one person.

Parlor, bedroom and bath, \$14.00 up, two persons.

Parlor, two bedrooms and baths, \$20.00 up, three persons.

Parlor, two bedrooms and baths, \$22.00 up, four persons.

The Hollenden

Rates per day, European plan, with bath, \$3.00, \$3.50, \$4.00, \$5.00, \$6.00 for one person, and \$5.00, \$6.00, \$6.50 and \$7.00 for two persons.

With twin beds, \$6.00, \$7.00 and \$8.00.

Suites at various prices.

Hotel Cleveland

Rates single, \$3.00, \$3.50, \$4.00, \$4.50, \$5.00, \$6.00, \$7.00.

Rates double, \$5.00, \$5.50, \$6.00, \$6.50, \$7.00, \$9.00, \$10.00.

Twin bed rooms, \$7.00, \$8.00, \$9.00, \$10.00.

Parlor, bedroom and bath, \$12.00 up, one person.

Parlor, bedroom and bath, \$14.00 up, two persons.

Parlor, two bedroom and baths, \$20.00 up, three persons.

Parlor, two bedrooms and baths, \$22.00 up, four persons.

RESTAURANTS AND TEA ROOMS

Printed slips giving additional information as to attractive and inexpensive restaurants and tea rooms in the neighborhood of Hotel Statler will be furnished to delegates and visitors when they register.

Prize Essay Contest

(Continued from page 1087)

Willis E. Seiders, Principal, High School, West Chester, Pa.; Miss Anna Laura Force, Principal, Columbian School, Denver, Colo.; T. A. Mott, Superintendent of Schools, Seymour, Ind.; J. M. Gwinn, Superintendent of Schools, New Orleans, La.

The object of the American School Citizenship League is “to develop an American citizenship which will promote a responsible world democracy and a real cooperation among the nations.”

Ex-President William Howard Taft is the honorary president of this league. Its acting president is Randall J. Condon, superintendent of schools, Cincinnati, Ohio, and its secretary, Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews. Among its vice presidents are: Philander P. Claxton, Commissioner of Education, John H. Finley, Mrs. Josephine C. Preston, Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford.

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The Book Stall

Mr. Bennett Shows Women How

"SIT down and listen while I insult you some more," is the pleasant invitation handed out to his female readers by Arnold Bennett in *Our Women* (George H. Doran). Of course, there is this much to be said for Mr. Bennett, he is so pachydermatous himself that he doesn't always know an insult when he sees it.

"Discord exists between the sexes," says Mr. Bennett on his first page, smacking his lips over a condition which he does his best to perpetuate and aggravate. "In fact," he says, "the sex-discord may be the most exasperating thing in existence, but it is by general agreement the most interesting."

Evidently he had seen signs of its diminishment, therefore, he has gone to work to prod the female of the species and get her back up.

It is rather odd, but what Mr. Bennett says along the old, insufferable lines about its being the heaven-defined job of woman to charm and soothe the man, who is her mental superior now, as he has been from the beginning and ever shall be by divine decree, doesn't do a thing to her back, which, indeed, may be hardened to the outer air by the present style of dressing.

At all events if Mr. Bennett wanted "to start something" he has gone about it the wrong way. That "old wheeze" about man's superiority hasn't one kick left in it.

When Mr. Bennett perpetrates a thing like this: "Every man knows in his heart and every woman knows in her heart, that the average man has more intellectual power than the average woman," the listening lady just yawns. Then she remembers that Mr. Bennett is really defending his royalties when he says this. Suppose the public should get on to the fact that he isn't an "apostle even of the obvious," not an apostle at all in fact, but just a clever writer whose vein is running rather thin, and who has to bark up his masculinity, that being one asset that the on-stepping feminists don't want and can't get away from him.

Naturally it is a little hard for the polite, listening lady, not to smile when Mr. Bennett propounds that "with the possible exception of Emily Bronte no woman novelist has yet produced a novel to equal the great novels of men."

She can't for her life keep from flicking back the pages to a list of Mr. Bennett's own books and wondering whether after a hundred years

"The Old Wives' Tale" will stand up alongside "Pride and Prejudice."

Can any one of them even now measure up to Edith Wharton's "Ethan Frome" or to "The Three Sisters" of May Sinclair?

Mr. Bennett can't get a rise out of his listening lady even when he plays his trump card about its being Jill's highest duty to keep Jack entertained.

Isn't that what he is supporting her for? runs the obvious undercurrent of Mr. Bennett's thoughts. Isn't that her share of the matrimonial job? And then he drops a well directed tear upon the tragedy of woman's lost youth and the brutal fact that having lost her looks she has lost all.

Well, there it is, he shrugs. That's that.

"For a woman there is no full and genuine compensation for the departure of youth and freshness. All Jills, during the period of woman's first death deserve treatment infinitely respectful and sympathetic. They don't get it. Men in the incredible baseness of their masculinity say carelessly among themselves in discussing Jill: 'She's getting a bit long in the tooth.'"

Sentiments like these smack of the jungle. They make one wonder how the race ever crawled up at all.

And so by a little here and a little there the listening lady assembles the component parts of Mr. Bennett's philosophy about modern women and it runs about like this: "Let them think themselves emancipated. God bless 'em. We men still know very well how to put them in their place when they threaten to become rivals. It's not a bad idea to give them their head about earning a bit to help a fellow out now and again but when we need them back home, we'll just put the clamps on them and haul them in. But for holy money's sake don't let women get to a pass where we writing fellows can't make best-sellers by pretending to know more about them than they know about themselves."

All of these sentiments being about as old as the Eden Tree, Mr. Bennett's book on feminism is written some 6,000 years too late.

His Whole Bag of Tricks

MR. F. SCOTT FITZGERALD shakes out his whole bag of tricks in *This Side of Paradise* (Charles Scribner's Sons). He has used enough material in this one story for

a cycle and must find himself temporarily bankrupt. He has tried to settle all the twentieth century questions in the short space of three hundred pages and it can't be done.

Here are some of the problems concerning which Amory Blaine, egotist hero of the book, and his Princeton confreres have reached cocksure solutions:

The relations of parents and children;

Modern poetry with many samples written by Amory to show the world how;

Girls, "twosing," the record time in which a girl can succeed in getting a man to kiss her;

What is worth paying attention to in the college curriculum;

Final and unchangeable literary evaluations of Kipling, Booth Tarkington, Edna Ferber—last considered not much good—and others;

Psychic demonstrations;

Relative importance of the Catholic Church to well, say football.

Government ownership—opinion briskly arrived at on the spur of the moment with no previous study of facts;

Should girls bob their hair;

The injustice of expecting a young man to work at something he doesn't know until he learns—injustice of making him work at all when he doesn't want to.

THIS is some program.

Mr. Fitzgerald gets away with some of it—the part he knows the best—that is, life on Princeton Campus and in halls. He has some irregularly developed skill as a writer, much marred by youthful scorn and a bad technique.

What social theories there are in this book are undigested and would be inflammatory, if they made much of any impression upon the person receiving them. The hero's philosophy of life seems to be that it is a howling shame for him to be asked to endure anything he doesn't like to endure, and that the more idle and-untutored he becomes the more his character is in process of developing. He likes paradoxes, almost as well as does G. Chesterton. The story really sounds like a nice little red-checked boy out on a Hollowe'en masquerade. He is all dressed up to kill like a bandit and wears a pessimistic half-mask to make him look like a R-r-r-ussian.

It's quite a funny book if one can read at it long enough to get on to its funny side.



THE STUMBLING BLOCKS

THE WOMAN CITIZEN'S *Convention Number*

— APRIL 9th —

will tell the story of the country-wide work of the NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS for better legislation. Against what odds have not these women worked for these six bills in the 66th Congress:

THE SHEPPARD-TOWNER BILL, granting federal aid for maternity and infancy; the GRONNA BILL, creating a federal live-stock commission; the CURTIS-GARD CHILD LABOR BILL for the District of Columbia; the SMITH-TOWNER EDUCATIONAL BILL; the ROGERS BILL for the independent citizenship of married women, and the FESS HOME ECONOMICS BILL, providing a federal appropriation for teaching home economics.

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A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL
FOUNDED 1870

10 Cents a Copy

March 26, 1921



The Pope and Spanish Women

Garden Schools of England

By Hilda Loines

How I Made My Garden Pay

By Minnie Douglas Foster

Mary's Garden

By Mary E. Hutchinson

The Social Service Film

By Marie S. Barrell

Moonlight Schools in Kentucky

By A. S. B.



ASPIRATION

RESPONSIBILITY

How Terrible a Thing Silence Can Be

THE silent panic that spreads over a starved country is one of its most poignant features, writes Mr. Charles Davis Jameson, civil engineer in China for twenty-five years.

"To one who has not seen a great Chinese famine area under acute conditions of starvation, it is possible to do little more than outline the picture. In the first place, all the persons in a stricken area, when hunger sets in and the food is all gone, are wandering—not to any definite point, but to any place which changes the scene of their misery.

"Business is at once paralyzed. I remember that when I last passed through a famine district I never met a cart of any kind on the roads or in the streets. Not a mule or a horse, not a wheelbarrow nor a sedan chair was seen in motion. Not a coolie was encountered going to or from market with anything to sell, or money to buy with. It is as if a great fear were over the whole country, and the people are holding their breath and listening and waiting for a horror.

"At the villages and towns there is none of the usual curiosity to see the 'foreign devil.' No Chinese children crowd around as in normal times. None but the starving or sick are on the streets. Famine fever and typhus soon break out in every town and city.

"Outside the walls of these towns and on the highways are emaciated, half-demented men, women and children, going anywhere, sometimes with some few belongings which they cannot sell. Some may carry bowls or baskets containing leaves, twigs, straw or bark from the trees and shrubs. Nearly every tree is stripped of its bark and dying.

"The people walk until they can walk no more, and then sit down and die."

THE present famine in China surpasses the worst previous disaster of a similar nature in that country—the famine of 1878-1879—both in its severity and extent, according to a statement made for the American Committee for China Famine Fund by Dr. S. Alfred Sze, newly designated Minister from China to the United States.

Minister Sze, who has just come to this country from England, where he was Chinese Ambassador at the Court of St. James, declared that one of the largest wheat-producing districts in China is being ravaged by the famine. He pointed out that it was from this very district that the largest amount of flour exported from China to relieve the food shortage in Europe during the later years of the war was sent to aid the Allies.

Send your checks for the help of starving China to

Thomas W. Lamont,
China Famine Fund,
Astor Place, N. Y. C.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

FOUNDED JUNE 2, 1917

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AT 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the
cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

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Vol. V New Style

MARCH 26, 1921

No. 43

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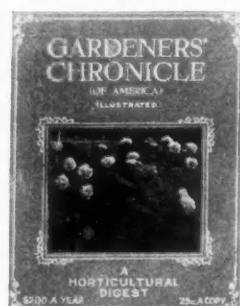
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IN NEXT WEEK'S ISSUE
LLOYD GEORGE—A Comment
By Carrie Chapman Catt

The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME V

MARCH 26, 1921

NUMBER 43

It is not to be understood that the WOMAN CITIZEN gives editorial endorsement to the opinions expressed in articles signed with name, initials, or pseudonym. Such articles may be at dagger's point with the editorial commitment, or in exact accord with it. They are printed because they seem worth printing and not because of any agreement in their expressed opinions. The editors speak for the magazine in the editorial pages.

THE INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE, at the meeting of its Board of Officers held in London last November, nominated Mrs. Anna Wicksell and urged her appointment as a member of the Mandates Committee to be appointed by the League of Nations. The Council of Women very readily endorsed Mrs. Wicksell and urged her appointment. She had served as Alternate in the Assembly from Sweden, and during the last session of the League did a good deal of helpful work. The Assembly acted upon the proposition of appointing a woman to the Mandates Committee and endorsed it. The appointment, however, rested with the Council. It is a pleasure to announce that Mrs. Wicksell has been appointed. The appointment will necessitate living in Geneva, but as her husband has retired from his position as Professor in the University of Lund, it is believed that she will accept. The world has produced no abler woman than Mrs. Wicksell. She is intelligent, well informed, quick witted, calm and judicial minded and possessed of an intimate knowledge of world politics. Since the Mandatories will have to deal with the social conditions of the peoples placed under their tutelage, it is fittingly proper that there should be a woman on guard to speak for the women and children in those countries. C. C. C.

THE political self-consciousness of Spanish women is so far developed as to have occasioned a book all to itself little known as this is to American readers. In his book, published in 1916, *Cartas a las Mujeres de España*, by the novelist and dramatist, Mr. Martinez Sierra, he analyzes the various types of feminist struggle in the great countries of the world. The feminism of France he finds "idealistic and revolutionary, based on philosophic and abstract reasons." That of England, he says, is "aggressive and disconcerting to the Latin temperament. To sympathize with it one must understand many causes and motives unknown to Spain." But the feminism of the United States he finds "clear, practical, transparent," the type "most likely to appeal to the Spanish mind as coming nearest to the general view of life held by Spanish women." In Mr. Sierra's opinion "American women have chosen the most efficacious way of winning their cause."

At the time of the Geneva Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, two feminist societies in old Spain were affiliated to the Alliance. One is the *Supreme Feminist Council of Spain*, with Madame Espinosa, a keen feminist and able business organizer, as president; the other is the *Union of the Women of Spain*, of which the Marquesa del Ter was formerly president, now followed by Madame la Doctoresse Alexandre. Since this conference was held a third society, the Catalina Suffrage Society, has applied for admission to the Alliance.

There is, in addition to these according to Leonora de

Alberti, editor of the *Catholic Citizen*, of London, England, "a great Catholic Society founded by the late Primate of Spain, called the *Accion Catolica de la Mujer*, which has suffrage on its programme. It was the president of this society who appealed recently to the Pope to ask his advice on the work of women, and to whom the Holy Father replied that it was a mistake to suppose that he desired women to confine themselves to religious and charitable works. It was the duty of all Catholics, men and women, to study social problems and fight for Christian principles in the political arena. This should ring the death-knell of anti-suffragism among Catholics. All Catholics will not necessarily become suffragists, but at least they will not be able to put forward their own prejudices under the guise of piety and Catholic tradition."

IT now transpires that the outcry in Great Britain, which followed the account of the unsavory evidence during a recent trial, referred to in an editorial in the *WOMAN CITIZEN* of March 12, has resulted in the introduction of a bill in Parliament making jury duty for women optional.

"In the first divorce case in which women served on the jury," says a United News dispatch to the American press, "the evidence was of so gross a nature as to make married men declare that they would pay the heavy fine rather than allow their wives to be subjected to such an unpleasant ordeal."

The British incident referred to was one in which a case was tried before a mixed jury of men and women, when the Court refused to permit the women of the jury to look at some indecent pictures brought in as important and necessary evidence.

America recently developed a similar instance when five women in Philadelphia, drawn for the March Grand Jury and eleven called for service on the Petit Jury, were excused after Judge Audenried had warned them that otherwise they would be compelled to hear evidence "not fit for the ears of women."

"A woman's place is in the home and not in court, unless she is compelled to come here as a witness or otherwise," commented the Judge.

When members of the panel had assembled, Judge Audenried said to the women called for the Grand Jury:

"If you want to hear the mysteries formerly heard by men only, then it is your privilege to stay; but it is my advice that you do not listen to the filth involved in the cases that will be brought before you."

This incident reminds one of a little town where the leading literary authority and the clergymen used to pass around to each other all the "shocking novels"—like *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*—which were then censored out of the public library by these experts on vice.

It never occurred to any of these gentlemen either in the Philadelphia court or the little town to think that the way to get evil out of the world might be to let the air of public understanding blow through it.

No, you collect filth, put it into a sealed jar, open the lid to a few males, who say, "How horrible!" and shut it up again to incubate for the private view of a few more males.

THE leaflet prepared by the Boston League of Women Voters, showing how our nation spends its income, has met with a warm welcome. The League has received many orders for it.

Women in various states have now begun to follow up the idea, and to find out how their own state spends its income. "The Beacon," the legislative bulletin published by the Massachusetts League of Women Voters, gave in its issue of February 19, a pictorial representation of the way in which that state's income for 1920 was apportioned.

By far the largest item of expenditure is for the care of mental diseases. This devours 21 per cent. of the state's total income, as compared with 15.08 per cent. for public works, 11.04 per cent. for public welfare (charitable), 10.03 for educa-

tion, 9.02 for interest and public debt, 5.5 for militia and war expenses, 4.1 for public health, 3.4 for correction, 2.5 for agriculture and conservation, 1.8 for civil service, labor and industrial relations, 1.4 for public safety and public utilities, etc.

Massachusetts is said to lead the country in her care of the insane, although this care is still far from being ideal. But what a commentary it is upon the maladjustment of human conditions that such an amount of insanity drains public resources!

Unfortunately, insanity is not confined to Massachusetts. When we look at some of the things that the last Congress has done and has neglected to do; and when we look abroad, the biggest item in the huge bill that the human race is struggling to pay seems to be still the same—the high cost of lunacy.

Hearings Before Congress

From the Woman Citizen's Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 21, 1921.

AN earlier article in this series commented on the hearings before Congress which were developing information of such interest to the country as to make them seem among the most important proceedings of the last session. Nothing has happened in the intervening weeks to lessen the value of the information presented, but the absence of action on the part of Congress upon this information raises a question which it is worth the while of the woman voter to consider, How can hearings be made to justify their cost?

Few intelligent observers of Congress would fail to endorse hearings as the best means for the people to tell their representatives what they desire. The publicity, which attends the giving of testimony in hearings, certainly has a valuable part in moulding opinion. But must it stop with opinion? What redress is there when Senators sit in committee hearings and assuming the mantles of attorneys for the defense bewilder and delay witnesses so that a practical filibuster is developed. This was the case in at least one hearing in the last session, so that the committee recommendations could not possibly have secured action in the few hours remaining after they were introduced.

Among the notable hearings of the last session were the tariff hearings in both Senate and House, which resulted in no legislation; the Senate immigration hearings which lasted all during the session in an effort to determine "whether an emergency does exist" and which brought no legislation; the hearings before the Senate reconstruction committee, which resulted in later hearings before the Senate manufacturers' committee on the coal situation and from which no legislation was secured; the hearings before the Senate judiciary committee on the methods of the attorney general in dealing with the deportation of alleged radicals and which brought no legislation: the hearings in both Senate and House on the Sheppard-Towner Bill, which failed of passage: various hearings before both Senate and House agriculture committees and the military and naval affairs committees in both Senate and House.

It is impossible at this time to learn the total cost of these hearings. It is probable that the committee which has expended the most money for investigation purposes during the 66th Congress is the so-called "select" committee of the House with Representative Graham as chairman to look into the war expenditures. Up to October first, and covering the time from its organization in June, 1919, that committee had spent \$121,672.53. A sub-committee visited Europe and another sub-committee investigated the spruce lumber situation, having hearings in Chicago, Milwaukee, Portland and California. Nineteen or twenty volumes will be required to publish the findings of this committee.

REPORTS of the committee cover the investigation of one year's food for 5,000,000 men, which was on hand at the signing of the armistice and which was ordered sold back to the people of the country, and the investigation of sums paid to contractors for war materials which the close of the war rendered unnecessary. Proceeding under the Dent Act, the repayment of \$24,000,000 of this money to the government was secured.

The expenditure of money for hearings in the House is always greater than for hearings in the Senate. The House has four regular stenographers at a salary of \$6,000 a year to report committee meetings. The other expenses are paid from the contingent fund and usually follow the passage of a resolution by the House ordering an investigation, although the chairmen of all committees have a certain amount of latitude in initiating investigations.

In the Senate various outside stenographers are engaged to transcribe the reports of the hearings at an average cost of \$1.25 a page. The stenographic reports of hearings in both Senate and House are published by the government printing office so that no cost is assessed for this. Copies are available without charge to those who write and ask their Senators or Congressmen for them.

The total expenditures for hearings in the Senate from the first year of the last session, July 1, 1919, to June 30, 1920, were \$135,000. No figures are made up as yet for the second year of the session.

It is clear from the itemized reports of hearings expenditures published in the annual report of the Secretary of the Senate, and free to applicants at the public document room, that the main cost for Senate hearings is the traveling expenses of committee members, stenographic services and an occasional expert witness. Most of the witnesses appear at their own expense or the expense of interested groups, either business or welfare organizations, who desire to have their case presented before Congress and in that way before the people of the country.

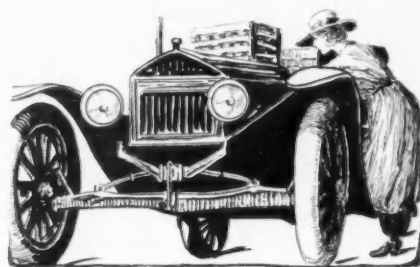
It would seem that in making hearings of the greatest benefit to the country and in keeping them free from abuse that, as in all other congressional proceedings, the interested understanding of the individual voters is the most potent factor. Many hearings have taken place this winter with a scant half-dozen spectators when the information divulged was of the most vital import to the whole nation. If hearings are to serve their best purpose, which is to inform, then the voters, as well as the members of Congress, must know what transpires there. Once public opinion is informed, delaying tactics will be impossible and action upon the information furnished will be obligatory.

MARJORIE SHULER.



GARDEN SCHOOLS OF ENGLAND

By Hilda Loines, F.R.H.S.



DURING the past summer I spent more than a month visiting gardening schools for women in England. As a delegate from the Woman's National Farm and Garden Association of America to the Woman's National Farm and Garden Union of England, in company with the director of an American school for gardening, I was given every facility to study the training of women in this work and also to meet many of the women who had made a definite success along agricultural and horticultural lines.

My work in the Land Army made me very eager to see what women were doing in agriculture and horticulture in England and how the training compared with that given in American schools. Thanks to the efforts of Mrs. Miles Benson, the charming and efficient secretary of the English Farm and Garden Union, many invitations were extended to us and an interesting itinerary planned.

We visited ten or fifteen separate schools, in addition to nurseries and botanic gardens, and the gardens of Miss Gertrude Jekyll and Miss Ellen Willmott, the two best known women gardeners in England. I also saw a government farm "manned" entirely by women who had been in service during the war. I questioned every one whom I met in regard to the possibilities of agriculture and horticulture as professions for women, and received many different answers, of course, but I came away feeling very much impressed both with the number of women who were pursuing this work today, and with the excellent record they had made for themselves during the war.

WHILE there have probably been isolated cases of educated women in all times who struck out for themselves, the definite entry of professional women into horticulture and agriculture dates only from 1892, when the foundation of Swanley and later Studley as separate horticultural colleges for women gave them an opportunity for instruction in that subject. These colleges were and are still largely attended by girls from towns and cities, because the healthy out-door life appealed to them; and since the war many girls who find that they cannot settle down at home to the old social round are flocking to the gardening schools to occupy their minds and hands.

There are three types of schools: (1) Collegiate Institutions,

(2) Gardening Schools, (3) Private and Commercial gardens run by ladies.

COLLEGIATE INSTITUTIONS.

1. The object of these institutions is to give a broad, general horticultural education. They have a definite staff of lecturers and demonstrators; and emphasis is given to the theoretical side. They correspond more nearly to the Massachusetts and New York State Agricultural Colleges, although a greater amount of practical work is required from the students in England.

GARDENING SCHOOLS.

2. These are of varied types, but generally speaking they are on a smaller scale than the Collegiate Institutions, both as regards staff and extent. The practical side predominates definitely over the theoretical, and each school has its definite characteristics, whether it is French gardening, colonial training, private gardening, or adaptation to the needs of invalids and delicate girls.

PRIVATE COMMERCIAL GARDENS RUN BY LADIES.

3. This type so closely resembles some of the smaller gardening schools that it is difficult to draw the line between them. They are semi-commercial gardens on a small scale where pupils are taken to help out the financial side of the enterprise by fees.

The regular courses of training are from one to three years, and short courses of from five weeks up in special subjects, are also offered, but for a profession two years is the shortest length of training advisable.

The Collegiate Schools give their own diplomas, but the majority of the smaller schools prepare for the Royal Horticultural Society's examination which is held annually in the spring. This is of great advantage to the schools, as it insures a uniform test and requires a high standard of work. The Royal Horticultural Society awards a medal to the candidate gaining the highest number of marks in the first class. For the National Diploma in Horticulture awarded by the Royal Horticultural Society, candidates are required to pass two examinations—the preliminary and final. In order to take the preliminary examination they must be at least 21 years of age, and have served at least four years either in a public or private garden or nursery, or in an approved horticultural institution, or in both.

The final examination is open to those who have passed the preliminary examination and who can produce a certificate show-

STUDENTS
WEEDING
AT
SWANLEY



R. H. S.
EXAMS
AT
WISLEY



"GREYCOTE," SAYVILLE, L. I.
WHERE LOUISE FORSSHIND (FOSTER) WROTE "OLD LADY 31"

ing they have been employed not less than six years regularly in garden work.

In both examinations, the principal part consists of tests of the candidate's practical acquaintance with plants and general garden work and practical knowledge of horticulture. The practical tests are conducted in a suitable garden or nursery and are supplemented by viva voce questions and written papers. Candidates are required to pass in all three parts of the examinations; but no amount of excellence in the written part will qualify a candidate if he fails in the practical.

We were visiting the Royal Horticultural Society Gardens at Wisley when one of the preliminary examinations was in progress and we watched the students with great interest, staking plants while three examiners stood by—note book in hand. One of the examiners was formerly head gardener to Lord Rothschild, while another was a professor at Bristol university. Students passing the preliminary examination should be qualified to act as foremen, and those passing the final examination as head gardeners. The withholding of the diploma from those who cannot pass the practical examination regardless of brilliant written papers, is a very wise precaution for enduring practical experience on the part of gardeners, and it would be a great incentive to better gardening in America if we might have such a national examination and diploma.

TO the first type of schools belong Reading College and Swanley, the first of the horticultural schools for women and perhaps the best known in America. Reading is coeducational, and corresponds more closely to Cornell. The scientific courses are excellent and the agricultural school ranks among the best in England. Tuition is low—£24 per year, and board, for the session of thirty weeks, varies from £54 to £64. At most of the other schools the rate for board and tuition ranges from £90 upward per year. Swanley has ninety students, Studley seventy and the other schools visited ranged for the most part between twelve and eighteen, save one dairy school of two pupils. This was a model dairy carried on entirely from the commercial viewpoint. The owner, Miss Powell, was a very capable Welshwoman, who said that she began with more students but they got in her way, and were a hindrance instead of a help. The girls with Miss Powell do all the work, and the dairy is very popular because they deliver the milk by seven in the morning, whereas the dairy-men will not go out before eight.

Another of the smaller schools is carried on by Miss Prior (who is the head gardener to the Earl of Clarendon, a Swanley graduate.) The students work on the estate and furnish a considerable part of the labor. They get training in packing and marketing as well as in the greenhouses and outdoor gardening operations, as the war has rendered it necessary to turn everything possible to profit in order to meet the oppressive taxation.

(Continued on page 1112)

How I Made My Garden Pay

By MINNIE DOUGLAS FOSTER

"Thank God for a Garden"

IT has been said that "the natural gardener is a genius, born rather than made, with the solid head of a cabbage, the heart of a lettuce, the strength of an onion, the rooting qualities of a carrot and the persistence of crab grass." It must have been that very sort of persistence in my make-up, together with the inborn, great love for gardening and friendliness with flowers which finally grew into my so-called "Greycote Gardens." I was born into hotel life—"the gentle art of keeping boarders" and have never wholly recovered.

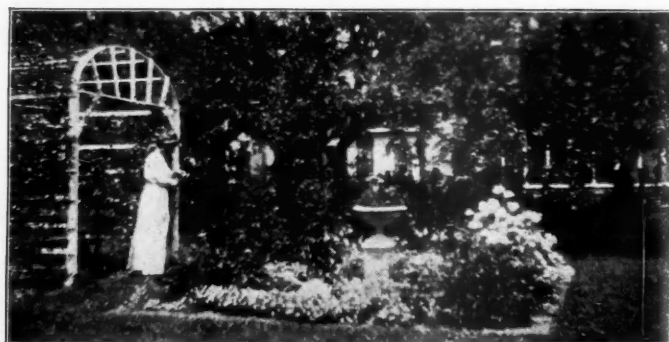
I always wanted a garden and it was always in the process of making. Every spare moment, every spare corner not devoted to the necessary vegetables was made to blossom. Flower lovers were attracted to my most informal garden, with its winding paths and cross paths, and friendly groups of flowers; perennials in masses and annuals filling in, the plan and work of my own hands, or under my supervision. Then came the question of "making my garden pay," making my flowers work for me.

Being possessed with this sort of "agri-horti-flori-cultural mania," I made use of a part of an old pasture lot across the way, capturing all the "volunteers" of my house garden, setting them out in prim nursery rows, raising much of my perennial stock from seed.

IT is but a few years since I made by first "sale," which was of Lily of the Valley. Since then I have shipped to market, sold from the garden, raised seeds for some of the best known seedmen in the country. One item last season being 20 lbs. of rainbow corn for Peter Henderson Company. (A Burbank production of a highly ornamental foliage plant.)

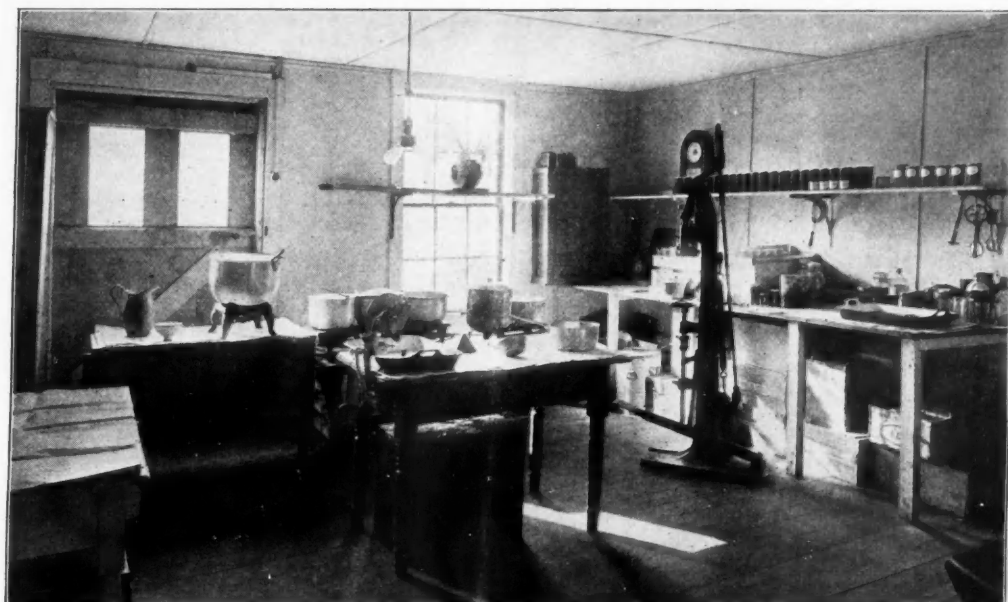
I "created" a dahlia, which George Stillman, "dahlia specialist," put on the market under the name of "Greycote." He recently named one of his newest for me, catalogues it this season under the name of "Minnie Foster." Circumstances do not allow me to devote all of my time to the work, it must be a "between-times garden" with me. I am a member of the Woman's National Farm and Garden Association, Dahlia Society, honorary member of the South Side Garden Club of Long Island, which has recently been made a member of The Garden Club of America.

There are so many sides to the work, which must ever be a joy for me, for you know there are few things in life to which we turn for relaxation and diversion that so completely lifts us, unawares, out of all meaner cares, as does a garden.



THE BIRDS' GARDEN AND THE GARDENER, GREYCOTE

HOW MARY'S GARDEN GREW



AND WHAT GREW IN IT

A CORNER IN CANNING

WHEN we decided to leave the city we found after a long search a place on high land with good soil and having already a fine supply of apple, pear, cherry, plum and quince trees and many grapes.

The head of the county agricultural school told us what varieties of small fruits were most successful in this locality.

During the first winter (1913) I attended a series of lectures on the growing of fruits, large and small, also vegetables and poultry keeping. I have found the County Farm Bureau and State Agricultural College of great assistance.

In the spring we planted raspberries, blackberries, gooseberries, currants and strawberries. Located within eight miles of Boston and in a town of 13,000, we find a ready market for all.

Our aim is quality in everything and once people know you grow the best fruits and vegetables, they will come for miles to obtain them.

A woman can care for small fruits which bring quick and satisfactory returns. Care means plenty of water, the proper fertilizer and continual cultivation.

Last summer my father (aged 90) and I did all the work, except plowing and gathering the tree fruits and the currants.

We have now about 500 currants, 100 gooseberries, 200 blackberries, 1,000 strawberries, a large asparagus bed, preserving cherries from 15 trees, 30 grape vines, as well as the large fruits.

A large vegetable garden furnishes us with everything for our own use both summer and winter and last year we sold over 100 dozen ears of yellow sweet corn, besides many other vegetables.

We grow many vegetable plants in our hot-beds, finding a ready sale for them to people who have small gardens. Tomato plants, grown singly in paper pots, will fruit three weeks earlier than those from a box of plants.

We keep bees to increase our fruit yield and find the honey a source of profit. A full colony of bees will produce in a good season from thirty to fifty pounds of honey and a colony of bees. The increase can be sold after you have all the colonies you wish.

We make quite an amount of honey vinegar, which is far superior to cider vinegar, and is especially fine in salads and pickles. Honey always sells and I use a quantity in a special honey candy as well as in cookies, preserves, jellies, etc.



MARY HERSELF

I make jams, jellies, etc., from the fruits and grow vegetables for a large variety of pickles, while from our windfall apples we make all the vinegar necessary for pickling.

We find the ever-bearing strawberries the most profitable and have standing orders for all we can grow. Last season we had strawberries from June 14 to November 1.

In the spring people send in their orders for the various fruits and these orders are filled in rotation after using what is needed for preserves, jellies, etc. We never deliver anything, yet we never can supply the demand.

During the summer we are so busy that the fruits for jam, etc., and fruit juices are put into large jars and sterilized ready to be made up during the fall and winter. Jams and jellies are fresh and far more satisfactory when made to order than when standing in the glasses for months.

Many apples are made into mince meat, including the tomato variety. The pears, except for our own use, are sold on the trees to fruit dealers, who gather them, paying by the bushel. We do not find the canning of vegetables profitable on a small place. They must be grown and canned in a large way to pay. With fruits you can save every one as they ripen and there is always a market for quality fruit and for jellies put up in attractive containers. Few people buy more than a pint jar of fruit or a six-ounce jar of jelly or jam. I use many two- and four-ounce jars.

A flock of forty hens furnishes all the eggs and chickens we can use and we sell the surplus for more than enough to pay the feed bill. Two pigs each fall give us six hundred pounds of pork to sell.

Our raspberries, blackberries and strawberries multiply so rapidly that each spring we sell every one we do not need.

We are planting this year an early variety of grapes to use for making grape juice.

We find room also in Mary's Garden for some fifty varieties of old-fashioned flowers. For two seasons we grew over 8,000 gladioli, but when the war came flowers were almost forgotten. These were the finest varieties and the bulbs were sold to well-known seedsmen, while the flower spikes went to the florists.

During the winter I find time to attend the local Woman's Club as well as one in Boston, also the Beekeeper's Meetings, held monthly at the State House. MARY E. HUTCHINSON.

The Social Service Film

By Marie S. Barrell

Showing the Movie as an Asset for Social Welfare

"I HAVE been following you for a block and you haven't raised your eyes from the pavement," called out a friend on lower Fifth Avenue, one crowded lunch hour.

"I am looking for a pair of run-down high-heeled shoes. We have got to shoot at the Y. W. in half an hour, while the sun is with us. There they are!" and I dashed off in pursuit.

I had been pavement-gazing for over an hour for just that particular kind of worn-down heels. Though startled by my precipitous proposal to come with me, the girl finally consented when I explained that we were making a picture on foot-hygiene and that her footgear illustrated a particular point. Ten minutes later I presented the example of pronated shoes to Carlyle Ellis, who was directing a scene with some 50 or 60 girls in front of their National Headquarters.

In its nation-wide campaign for natural-line shoes, the Bureau of Social Education of the Y. W. C. A. decided to employ every medium of education and, what has since proven most effective, the screen was included. So "*Foot Folly*" was planned, plotted and "shot."

TO boil down, concentrate and visualize in interesting and artistic form the truth regarding foot-hygiene and arguments for right shoes—that was the problem—in short filming an idea. And this filmed idea had to carry conviction. There was a three-headed dragon to attack. It is proverbial that nothing is more difficult to change than a woman's idea of what is good looking and stylish, for she is not only a victim of her own prejudice, but of man's notion of what becomes her and the manufacturer's guile.

In deciding on the form of screen presentation, romantic fiction was ruled out, for the facts themselves seemed more arresting than any fiction. In motion pictures as in magazines, the special article is often more interesting than the fiction, especially if the subject has human interest. "Real people, really doing real things require no sugar coating of fiction to make their actions interesting." That sums up Mr. Ellis' philosophy of picture making. "*Foot Folly*" represents in most complete form the application of this principle.

To laugh at and with people often drives home the message more forcibly than preachment. So by a series of episodes that impressed either by their humor, their common experience or contrasts, we made point after point.

Generations of wearing wrong shoes have deformed our feet and have given us the idea that they are ugly and something to be ashamed of, yet that they could be beautiful, witness the baby playing with her perfect little feet. "Most of us start life with feet strong, flexible and flawless. Their good looks would last through life if it were not for our shoe follies," are opening titles of the film. Then follow many charming views of children at the seashore, splashing through the surf, digging their restless toes into the wet sand. The perfection of their feet and the freedom of their movements carry their own message.

Then comes the story of the grown girl so familiar to most of us. Preparing for her first dance, a young lady goes to a shoe store. What with the smooth-talking salesman, she quickly falls victim to the high-heeled, pointed-toe pump. The party is spoiled by the torture her slippers cause; she is willing to be a

Marie S. Barrell was formerly a factory inspector, industrial investigator and labor adjuster. At present she is scenarioist and special research worker on Social Service and Health Films for Carlyle Ellis

wall flower to get the opportunity to slip off the pumps and rest her aching feet. Our young lady is not easily discouraged. She gives the fashionable shoes many tests until one day, while crossing a street, her heel catches in the car rails—a trolley approaches—with frantic jerking and the aid of a friend, she tears her foot out of the

shoe and escapes. In fearful repentance she buys a pair of shoes built to the foot's natural shape and for comfort and efficiency.

"What chance would the perfect foot of the Greek Venus de Medici have in a pair of our smartest pumps?" is asked and a plaster cast is thrown on the screen of this exquisite member. The beautiful lines and supple arch dissolve into a shoe of this year's mode. Another illustration of the absurdity of cramping the natural foot into a modish shoe is amusingly demonstrated. A group of soldiers—we found some convalescent soldiers at Fox Hills who were willing victims—all wearing women's high-heeled shoes, flounder about registering discomfort and pain; they make desperate attempts at military drill and show that the fortitude of the stronger sex under trials of this sort is very much less than that of women. "What is true for men in war, may be true for girls in peace." "Right shoes regularly fitted, are the answer to wrong feet"—and the essential points of the right kind of shoes are repeatedly demonstrated. And so, by the human appeal, "*Foot Folly*" teaches that shoes must be bought for comfort, beauty and grace of carriage—in short, for health, not for style.

That the screen has been effective is evidenced by the fact that last Autumn shoe salesmen began to report an increasing demand for women's low-heeled shoes with toes less pointed and manufacturers, approved by the Bureau of Social Education, found their sales increasing astonishingly. The film has been released a little over a year. This has been accomplished by non-theatrical showings only and apparently the work has just begun.

TO aid them, in their Golden Jubilee Drive to raise funds for a Baptist home for the aged, we were asked to make them a film. It was frankly a money-raiser that was to tell briefly and sympathetically the needs and problems of the old folks. Loneliness and poverty as motives—the home at present far too small to meet the demand, as a solution. We built a simple story and engaged an old lady and gentleman as leads, but for the rest every member of the Home, even to the ninety-year-old resident, played before the camera.

It is significant that the Government has been among the leaders to recognize the power of visualization. The various departments in Washington are more and more carrying on their educational work with films. In fact, the first picture we made as independent producers was "*Our Children*" for the Federal Children's Bureau. As all the succeeding pictures, this was not a studio production, staged for the occasion, but a bona fide picture record of a town's successful struggle to reduce infant mortality and improve conditions for little children.

With two trunks of lights, cable, the camera man and his outfit, Mr. Ellis landed in Gadsden, Ala., where a doctor and a nurse from the Children's Bureau met him. The Children's Health Conference week began. The town was our cast: babies, school

children, the woman's club, the local rotary club, even to the real mayor signing the document which secured the nurse to the town, and last, but not least, the town electrician, who connected and broke down "the juice," all worked in or for the picture. Here was the product of communal effort if ever there was one. Though "Our Children" is almost two years old, copies are still being purchased. Porto Rico ordered one the other day. In all there are about 50 prints in circulation among State Boards of Health, Welfare Organizations, Bureaus of Visual Instruction, etc. The Serbian Relief and League of Red Cross Societies each uses a print in their children's work abroad.

A rule isn't a rule if it cannot be broken. Recently in making "When Women Work" for the Women's Bureau, U. S. Labor Department, we deviated by using a story and centered the action around four characters. Our task was to dramatize the booklet of "Standards for the Employment of Women in Industry." Mollie carries the story of what good factory conditions mean to worker and employer. Her life in and out of the plant is pleasant and productive while in poor Rosa, the mainstay of her widowed mother and invalid brother, you see what a handicap adverse working conditions are.

This picture is stamped with authenticity; all the factory scenes were actually made in factories during working hours. The exteriors were played in a town that had been one of the industrial centers during the war. The street of dwellings showing the homes of Rosa and Mollie, had been built by the Government for munition workers. The Women's Bureau is showing this film before welfare, legislative, labor organizations, schools, Chambers of Commerce, etc.

Although this, as well as our other pictures, are getting non-theatrical distribution, yet all have been and are being shown in theatres. The local exhibitor, especially outside of first class cities, is willing to run these films when properly approached by the right people. To help them in their drives last spring the "Y. W." arranged to have "Middies and Bloomers," our camp picture, shown for one week at the Capitol Theatre, New York.

Indifference or antagonism to the screen, which is, after all, a medium of expression like printed matter, is based on trashy, impossible stories—in short, misuse. But the motion picture is the most wonderful medium in the world if rightly used. There is not a more popular or effective method to spread education or propaganda for "seeing is believing," and sight, of all our five senses, is most convincing emotionally and intellectually.

MEDALS FOR POEMS ON JOAN OF ARC

THE National Kindergarten Association announces the names of the three kindergarten teachers who have won the gold, silver and bronze medals for the best poems on Joan of Arc. They are Susanna C. Mabee, Ada M. Milne and C. Ranson. The first prize poem is given:

"Down thro' the changing centuries her image rides—
Youth calling youth to arm against varying wrongs,
And thronging from each generation, dauntless, vision-led
Youth answers to the call.

"Brave hearts, trustful as she, when but a child, freed from her tasks,

The voices taught her in Domremy's fields,
God grant that in these later clamorous times they only hear
The voice of truth and love."

SUSANNA C. MABEE

Professor John Erskine of the Department of English at Columbia University, Mr. Carl Van Doren, Literary Editor of The Nation, and The Joan of Arc Statue Committee were the judges of the poems submitted.

The three beautiful medals were provided by the Joan of Arc Statue Committee, of which Dr. George F. Kunz is President.



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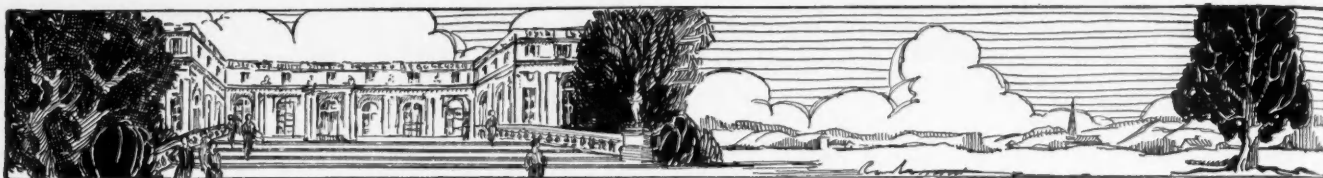
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The Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course Schools to Make American Citizens

THE first plank that the National League of Women Voters put in its platform was the wiping out of illiteracy. A remarkable piece of work in that line has been done by a woman and a suffragist, Mrs. Cora Wilson Stewart of Frankfort, Kentucky. The other day I had the pleasure of an interview with her. She said, in substance:

"America needs a citizenship that is 100 per cent enlightened.

"The census of 1910 showed that there were in the United States 5,500,000 persons who could not read or write. That is as many as the whole population of Denmark, and more than the population of Norway or Sweden. Those countries carry on all their activities and make all their achievements with a population less than the number of persons that we allow to go largely to waste because of illiteracy.

"When the war came, the draft called attention to the extent and depth of this illiteracy. A lieutenant told me he had in his company many men who could not count up to ten, and three men who could not count up to four. Other officers found men who did not know their right hand from their left. In drilling them, it was necessary to let them hold a rope in one hand and a hammer in the other, and to say 'Rope, hammer!' instead of 'Right, left!'

"IN 1911, I was County Superintendent of Schools in a little mountain county of Kentucky, formerly a 'feud' county. All around me I saw the people suffering from illiteracy. An old mother used to walk seven miles across the hills to get me to read aloud to her the letters from her daughter in Chicago which were the only bright spots in her life. A middle-aged man with a very intelligent face came to my office one day on business. He looked like a lawyer or a doctor. I offered him a book to read while he waited. He answered, 'I cannot read. I would give twenty years of my life if I could.' At an entertainment, a boy of twenty sang a beautiful ballad with a delightful voice. It was partly an old English ballad and partly of his own composition. I was so pleased with it that I asked him to write it out for me. He answered sorrowfully that he could not write. When his poem was praised, he said, 'I have had a hundred better ones than that come to me, but I forget them before I can get anyone to set them down.'

"I called a conference of the teachers in the

The Moonlight Schools of Kentucky

By A. S. B.

"It used to be whiskey and bullets; now it is lemonade and Bibles."

county, and asked how many would volunteer to teach an evening class of adult illiterates on moonlight evenings. They all volunteered.

"These illiterate people almost all had to work by day, and the roads were too bad for them to travel by night except when the moon shone.

"ON September 4, 1911—Labor Day—the teachers undertook a campaign of education to tell the people about the Moonlight Schools, and spread the news of what we were planning to do. A few nights later we began. There were 50 school houses, and we expected an attendance of about three pupils at each—150 in all. On the first evening, 1,200 came. They ranged in age from 18 to 86. There were old men walking with canes, and young girls, and women with babies in their arms.

"First we taught them to write their names; and they went away and wrote their names with frenzied delight on tree trunks, on barns and in every possible place. One school trustee came in order to learn to read, and afterwards attended the day school with his twelve-year-old son. Another trustee came to the Moonlight School with his wife who was the teacher. We taught two postmasters who could not read—their daughters had done the work for them—and four Baptist ministers who had been unable to read the Bible. One had heard the text read which says, 'Paul was an austere man,' and he told his congregation that Paul was an oyster-man. Another had heard that Jacob 'made booths for his cattle,' and he discoursed to his congregation on the kindness of Jacob in providing his cattle with boots.

"There were no suitable books for teaching these adult illiterates, so we published a little newspaper for them, and afterwards got out a primer of our own.

"We got the school trustees to make a census of all the illiterates in the county, giving not only the name of each, but everything about him—his age, history, family connections, religious denomination, and how he could be in-

fluenced. We adopted the slogan, 'Every one teach one,' and soon everybody who could read and write was teaching somebody else. Anyone who had not found at least one pupil felt disgraced.

"The aim was to wipe illiteracy entirely out of every county, and there was emulation between the counties as to which should be first. A man came into my office and said, 'By Monday morning this county will be clear of illiteracy. There is only one illiterate left, and he is my tenant, and I am going to run him out.' I said, 'Oh, don't do that! Teach him instead.'

"Another county was free of illiteracy except for one stubborn old woman, who would not learn. The schoolmaster found that she considered herself a physician; and when he had a breaking out on his skin he went to consult her. She was softened by the good judgment that he showed in his choice of a doctor, and while she treated him for erysipelas, he treated her for illiteracy. Another teacher went to board with another obstinate old woman, got on very friendly terms with her, and learned from her to knit. Then she said, 'You have taught me something useful, now I am going to teach your something,' and put the writing materials into her hands.

"When a county had wiped out illiteracy, we celebrated. Every man, woman and child came to the school house to take part in the rejoicings, and we gave each of them a Bible. There was great enthusiasm; and the Jezebel of the community stood with the Bible in her hand and pledged herself to lead a new life. Lemonade was served out from a big can on the table, and one of the mountaineers said: 'Three years ago you couldn't have held a meeting here without shooting through the windows. It used to be whiskey and bullets; now it is lemonade and Bibles!'

The state established an Illiteracy Commission, with Mrs. Stewart at its head. They called for volunteers to teach illiterates. "We were overwhelmed with volunteers," said Mrs. Stewart. "We started a press campaign, and had all the editors preaching the wiping out of illiteracy. We had a campaign of the State Federation of Women's Clubs; their members raised money for school supplies and also taught. We had a ministerial campaign, and a 'No Illiteracy' Sunday, when the pastors all preached on education; and a traveling sales-

men's campaign, and the salesmen pasted our slogans on their baggage; and a prison campaign, and the wardens in all the prisons started schools for the prisoners; and a bankers' campaign, with the bankers urging all their illiterate depositors to learn to read and write; and a campaign among college students, in which we placarded the walls of every college with the statistics of illiteracy in the counties represented among its students. We even enlisted the politicians, and got some service out of them.

"Many useful new organizations grew out of the Moonlight Schools—agricultural clubs, good roads clubs, home economics clubs, etc.

"When the war came, the State Superintendent of Education said our work would have to stop; but we got a list of all the illiterate men liable to draft, and started schools for the prospective soldiers. We gathered 10,000 of them, and taught them before they went to camp.

"Our peace-time primer dealt with good roads, spraying fruit trees, and other things related to their daily life; also with good citizenship. We made them write over and over again, 'The man who sells his vote sells his honor.'

"We now got out a special soldiers' reader, dealing with the facts of their daily life in camp, and we provided pencils in red, white and blue. Our teachers met them when they came before the draft board, and 'gave them first aid'—that is, we taught them to write their names, and pledged some comrade in their company to keep on with their teaching.

"This movement spread to all the training camps, and even abroad. The Government sent 50,000 of our readers to France."

The Moonlight Schools developed methods by which men and women learn very quickly to read and write, though not to spell. "While they went around saying it couldn't be done, we went right on doing it," said Mrs. Stewart. There are people who think that the mountaineers learn so rapidly because they are of pure native stock. But I have taught classes of foreigners by the same methods, and they learn just as readily."

Mrs. Stewart told of one soldier bridegroom who was very eager to write to his bride. He put in a period of intensive study from 10 A. M. to 10 P. M., and then was able to write her a letter. But this was exceptional. In most cases several lessons are needed.

Moonlight Schools have been started also for the colored people, and have spread through the South.

Up to this time Mrs. Stewart and her colleagues have taught 130,000 adult illiterates to read and write; and it has all been done by volunteer labor.

The Store School of Providence, R. I. Conducted by the City League of Women Voters By One of the League

THE Providence League of Women Voters with the co-operation of the United League of Women Voters has recently completed one more of those "lively experiments" for which the small state of Rhode Island is famous. A free non-partizan citizenship school for women, conducted in The Outlet Department Store, for two weeks each day from two to five o'clock during the first part of February, far exceeded the hopes of its two principal promoters, Mrs. James W. Algeo, Chairman of the Providence League and Mr. Leon Samuels, senior owner and manager of the Outlet.

As this is the first time, so far as the writer knows, that such a school has been conducted in a large department store it may be of interest to readers of the *Woman Citizen* to know more about it in order that if it meets with their approval they may "go and do likewise." The school was not conducted for the employees as has been done in the past, but for the shoppers in the large rest room provided for the public. The excellent facilities provided by this store for women from whom store keepers admit they receive more than 90 per cent of their trade were admirably suited for a delightful school-room and furnish a good example to those shopkeepers who use all their valuable space for display, regardless of the comfort of their customers. The sanitary arrangements in some stores are so bad that it would be well for the women of the country to rise in their wrath and demand that they be made better. Now that women are citizens they should examine more closely into the conditions under which women shop as well as work.

TO come back to our school: It was conducted on store principles; the customer is always right and must have what she wants and the best. Informal conferences were held from two until three to learn the wants of the women and to direct the work along their lines. The first question asked and one repeated many, many times during the school was, "How can I become an American citizen?" Sometimes it came from the Rhode Island-born woman who had married the stubborn Englishman or Canadian who has always treasured the dream of going home. Sometimes it came from the wife

of the alien enemy with whom this country is still at war. Sometimes it came from the woman who had been in this country for many years and who has never received the invitation to become a part of it. All such questions were answered by expert Federal authorities who willingly lent their service.

From three to four experts gave addresses on subjects of especial interest to homemakers and from four-to-five tea was served.

From three to four hundred women were in attendance at the school for at least part of the time each day and the eagerness with which it was received, the disappointment when the Closing Day Party came, were indubitable signs of its success.

The school was run absolutely without expense to the Providence League. The advertising, the services of the speakers, the tea and wafers, all were freely contributed. The subjects which appealed to the women most were naturalization, the simple elements of law, such as making wills, tax returns, contracts, etc., and all subjects relating to food, the home, the city, etc. It was extremely gratifying to an old suffragist to see how the women of Rhode Island prize their citizenship after all these years of struggle to get it.

THE program was as follows:

Tuesday, Feb. 1, 1921—Welcome by Hon. Richard W. Jennings, General Treasurer, State of Rhode Island; "Good Citizenship," Mrs. Henry A. Whitmarsh, Treasurer United League of Women Voters; "The Price We've Paid," Miss Elizabeth Upham Yates.

Wednesday, Feb. 2, 1921—"The Housekeeper as a Citizen," Mrs. Howard K. Hilton, Chairman, Food Committee, United League of Women Voters.

Thursday, Feb. 3, 1921—"Good Citizenship as Applied to the City," Mr. John Hutchins Cady, Secretary, City Plan Commission.

Friday, Feb. 4, 1921—"Good Citizenship and Child Welfare," Dr. Elizabeth M. Gardiner, Child Welfare Committee, United League of Women Voters.

Saturday, Feb. 5, 1921—"Scientific Temperance Instruction," Miss Carol Hodge.

Monday, Feb. 7, 1921—"After the Vote—What?" Mrs. James E. Cheesman, President, United League of Women Voters.

Tuesday, Feb. 8, 1921—"The Process of Naturalization," Mrs. James W. Algeo, Chairman, Providence League of Women Voters.

Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday, Feb. 9, 10, 11 and 12—Model Course, United League of Women Voters, Director, Miss Jessie V. Budlong, Ass't Chairman, Citizenship Committee.

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Getting Acquainted With State

THE call to the second annual convention of the National League of Women Voters has been sent to more than 2,000,000 members throughout the country. Within the twelve-month the League has not only perfected its national organization, but has organized leagues

in every state in the Union with subsidiary district, county and city organizations, and at Cleveland, Ohio, from April 11-16 will report what has been accomplished during the year past. Here are some advance stories about various leagues and their recent activities:

Open Covenants Openly Arrived At

FOR many years the Boston City Council conducted its business in the following manner. At the regular weekly session practically all of the general business is referred to the Executive Committee. The Council then adjourns, subject to the call of the President, goes into a small room and there reassembles under the name of the Executive Committee. This session is often a prolonged one. The members speak their minds and the business is thrashed out. Unlike the Council sessions, no stenographic report of speeches or votes is kept. The press is admitted, but their reports deal only with the more striking events, and members often claim to have been incorrectly quoted in the papers. It has been generally understood that the public was not admitted.

When all business has been debated and voted upon, the members reassemble in the Council Chamber and adopt the recommendations of the Executive Committee. Of course this is usually done in an absolutely perfunctory manner, occupying five or six minutes, as it is only when some member seeks the lime-light, or absents himself from the Executive Committee, that there is any purpose in having the same nine men re-debate the same business. From time to time various Councillors have criticised this private method of public business.

IN January the Boston League of Women Voters sent the following letter to the members of the Council:

"The Boston League of Women Voters wishes respectfully to urge that the public business of the City Council should be transacted in the open sessions rather than in the Executive Committee. We feel that this would encourage citizens to attend the meetings of the Council and to follow the affairs of the city, and that such active interest on the part of the citizens is a fundamental requisite of good government."

As a result, the women were invited to appear before the Executive Committee, and a considerable delegation attended. They were received very courteously and were assured that, contrary to general impression, the public was welcome at all committee meetings. Councillor Hagan then introduced the following:

"All committee meetings of the Boston City Council shall be held in the Council Chamber with a stenographic report of the committee work, and the business session of the committee shall be conducted along proper parliamentary rules as is the practice in City Council proceedings, and said committee meetings shall, at all times, be open to the press and public." In support of this order, Mr. Hagan pointed out that although it might be said that the public were now admitted to committee meetings, the main door of the committee room, opening upon the corridor, is locked, and only the initiated know that they can gain admittance by passing successively through an ante room, the office of the Clerk of Committees, and an entry used as a lavatory and locker room. In the course of the debate that followed, several members expressed their willingness to vote for such a rule, but insisted that as a matter of form it should be referred to the Rules Committee, which was eventually done.

AT the next meeting of the Council the Rules Committee reported a rule stating only that the public should be admitted at all committee meetings, and that proper parliamentary procedure should be observed. The members who favored full publicity voted to substitute Mr. Hagan's original order, but were defeated. They in turn defeated the rule brought in by the Rules Committee, feeling that it did not change the existing situation in any way, but would be used as an excuse against taking any further and more satisfactory action.

Thus the matter stands at the present time. The women having been assured that all meetings are open to them, representatives of the Committee on Municipal Affairs of the Boston League of Women Voters are attending every meeting of the Council, going into the Executive Committee session, and returning to the gallery of the Council Chamber when the Council reassembles. The Council meets every Monday, at two o'clock, and any woman interested in municipal affairs and desiring to observe a meeting of the Council is invited to join the Boston League representatives at any time.

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Leagues of Women Voters

"Little Rhody's" State Plans

THE National League of Women Voters has established itself in Rhode Island under "The United League of Women Voters of Rhode Island." The reason for the name will be apparent as the history of its formation and its program of work is outlined.

Many organizations existed here bearing the title "League of Women Voters" and our Regional Director inspired and aided the formation of an organization broad enough for all and recognizing all.

This was accomplished at a mass meeting for all Rhode Island women in October last. Our scheme is, therefore, a whole, and not a state center with "branches." Into our membership we invite any club or other organization of women interested to join in our work, such "organization-members" entering on an equal footing and having the right to send as many delegates as they choose. This can be made fair by the rating given by our constitution of all such "delegates" as "active members" simply and purely. This insures a truly democratic assembly in which one member is the equal of every other. On this basis we have now 12 "organization-members" and 1275 "active members" (including, of course the delegates).

In case there is a spot anywhere that needs a league unit of its own, having no already organized society which could take over local work—and such spots are rare!—the state league helps organize a unit which in turn joins the United League.

As Rhode Island is so small in territory the centralizing of our committee activities is a gain economically not only but also for worth and efficiency. We have, therefore, a central office and all our committee work heads up there. We shall, as soon as the work progresses far enough, establish branch offices (called "sub-stations" in our constitution) at strategic points.

All our work is *citizenship* work, no matter what name the committee bears. Instead of having a separate committee on citizenship schools or classes we approach the same end from different angles hoping thus to arouse an interest in a greater number of women. We now have two committees functioning, the American citizenship, which has classes in the science of government and politics, and the child welfare, which holds classes in the duties of citizenship in regard directly to the well-being of all children.

We are now planning to launch our com-

mittee on "Food Supply and Demand" and this will again mean public lectures, as in the two other cases, and classes to arouse and inform on the subject of citizenship responsibility in the matter of food!

OUR committees begin with the holding of a so-called "normal course" in which the object is to find and prepare teachers for other groups, to follow, throughout the state. Only members are eligible to these *normal classes*, but the endless chain of classes which will follow are open to all, older or younger, men as well as women, without regard to membership in our United League.

Other committees will follow, some presumably for research primarily and some for interest in "welfare legislation," but always the one essential must be *citizenship* and the awakening of the women voters to duty and opportunity.

Our class scheme is to a degree unique, we believe. Every organization has membership lists, programs, lectures, but this United League has already started a movement capable of indefinite expansion from the initial impulse in its classes. It is for the League to direct this force and see that it keeps itself true to the underlying principles of the national movement among women towards better government.

We believe that even in a state geographically larger the same general idea could be used by making "districts" or "counties" the "sub-stations" for translation to even remote points on the inspiration engendered at a central starting place, and that thus real and vital unity of purpose not only, but of effort, could be secured.

Early in the year the state W. C. T. U. "joined" our ranks, thus ensuring a sisterly feeling and true co-operation. This act on the part of the W. C. T. U. brought us an immediate backing of over two thousand women, a much needed moral support.

The United League has held a meeting each month, also two conferences outside of Providence, as our constitution permits the holding of meetings anywhere in the state. Besides there has been held a course of four lectures by our citizenship committee open to all members of the League free and to their friends at a small fee. We have been favored by visits from Mrs. Park and Mrs. Gellhorn besides our own director, Miss Katharine Ludington, who addressed us the day of organization in October.

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Garden Schools of England

(Continued from page 1104)

OF course, in these smaller schools the students do not get a great deal of the scientific training, but they receive excellent practical training in every phase of gardening work from washing flower pots to growing peaches and grapes under glass.

Thatcham, one of the best gardening schools, has specialized in intensive gardening on the French system. Enormous quantities of manure are used and every inch of soil is utilized. This is profitable where manure and labor are cheap and land is high, but it has become so difficult to obtain manure in large quantities that it is a question whether this method can be made profitable in face of the present competition from Dutch gardeners. Miss Hughes-Jones, the principal, a very able woman, told us that the chief difficulty in regard to the graduates was to make them realize the ultimate advantage of taking subordinate positions for several years, and thereby gaining much more

varied experience. The majority are apt to feel that they should have better positions because of having spent several years and considerable money on their training; but Miss Hughes-Jones strongly advises women to try themselves out thoroughly under competent direction before attempting to start out.

Three sisters, the Misses Cornelius-Wheeler, one of whom had training at a horticultural institution, and then taught her two sisters, built up a large nursery business on the South Coast. The business was started as a market garden, but they gradually built up a school and nursery. Now they have moved to Aldersey Hall, near Chester, where they have a flourishing school. Two of the sisters do most of the teaching, both theory and practice, while the third has charge of the housekeeping end. The school rents a stall at Chester Market for one day a week and the students take turns in assisting there. This gives them excellent practice in preparing flowers for sale and in learning the practical details of marketing.

THESE examples will serve to show the different types of schools, and now for an average student's day.

During the working hours she must water and ventilate the greenhouse when she is in charge, see that the temperature is right, mix compost, trench the garden, train espalier trees, and in short learn the thousand and one details, the practice of which must become as intuitive as driving a car, before one can truly be called a gardener.

A fairly strenuous day surely—and whether the proportion of theory is greater or less the practical work is thorough and students are not encouraged to take courses in many different subjects but to concentrate on one and to learn that thoroughly. One feature that always attracted our attention was the bootery, an outside room with lockers where the girls kept their garden boots, and changed them before coming into the house. Even at Studley, where the Principal prided herself on having practically all the work, including grooming the horses, done by the students, the boots were cleaned and polished by one of the servants, a law of the Medes and Persians in English households.

As to the value of the girls' work I questioned the King's under-gardener at Windsor, who told us that during the war they had nine girls in the greenhouses in place of the men.

"Why," said he, "people ask me what sort of gardeners the women made, and I tell them they're very much like the men, some are good, and some aren't, some are lazy and some work hard, but the girls we had were a fine lot, and one of them was as good as any man at ditching."

Certainly the girls looked as though the work

agreed with them, and appeared very sturdy and neat in the coat, breeches and boots which were the customary uniform.

At Wantage I visited a farm called Angel Down that is run entirely by women in connection with the Government Farm for ex-service men. There were seven women, including the manager, and they were paid on the basis of 6 days a week of 8 hours, with time and a half for overtime. The agricultural labor law, constituting a day of 8 hours for farm laborers was passed, I believe, in 1920, and is very unpopular among most farmers; it includes both men and women, and was not simply a rule for this Government farm.

THE minimum wage, without overtime was 35 shillings a week (less than \$9 at the present rate of exchange), or 7d. per hour. The women were all ex-service workers—most of them members of the Association of Land Women from which they could purchase their uniforms at a cost of £2.

An account of work done in each field was kept by the manager, Miss Walker, and pay sheets were sent in every week to the office of Capt. Trollope, the Director of the whole enterprise.

This place was especially interesting as it was under Government auspices and only men and women were eligible who had done work for the Government during the war. Angel Down was nestled in a woody hollow on a wide sweep of downs and on a sunny day must be a cosy little nook. On a bleak, rainy day it was a little gloomy, and we had to pick our way through the mud to the farmyard where two of the women were throwing out manure from under the sheds.

They lived in an old farmhouse with few conveniences and had not even running water, though it was hoped to secure the luxury of hot water and a bath tub before long. The farm had been in operation only a short time so that it is still in the experimental stage but Dame Meriel Talbot, head of the Women's Division, of the Department of Agriculture, is doing her best to foster it and make it a success.

The war sent thousands of women into agriculture and many of them want to stay. With a large surplus of women in England it becomes increasingly necessary for many of them to find both suitable means of support, and a satisfactory outlet for their energies. English traditions of outdoor life and fine gardening make it a natural avenue of occupation for them, and the country is greatly in need of their help in solving the problem of agricultural unrest. Therefore from every point of view it is desirable that the experiment should prove a permanent success, and from my experience of the ability and persistence of English women I have little fear of its being a failure.

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Where Does the Land Army Go from Here?

MANY people think that the Woman's Land Army, which claimed public attention during the war, as did every other war activity of both men and women, was the very first blush of women's interest in agriculture in this country, and was a mere flash in the pan which died down when the boys came home.

As a matter of history, the Land Army of war times was a temporarily inflated expansion of a long established movement among women, to get back to the land which their primitive mothers had always found a lively field of endeavor. This super-normal stimulation during the war years has brought about lasting results.

The Land Army recruited for an emergency, has been largely demobilized as an untrained national guard for food production, but has settled down into a permanent factor in the agricultural development of the country.

It has no special publicity nowadays because it needs none. The originator of the Land Army idea was the Woman's National Farm and Garden Association which itself had been launched in Philadelphia in 1913, long before the events which set the world on fire. This association, which was, at first, the Woman's National Agricultural and Horticultural Association, now has a membership of 2,500 women, representing practically all the states. It is closely affiliated with the English Farm and Garden Union, and so is to all intents and purposes, an international organization.

THIS American association functions in five different ways: It stimulates and encourages women to undertake farm and garden work, either as a vocation or an avocation; it maintains a bureau of information and a clearing house for all the agricultural interests of women; it offers scholarships at state colleges and agricultural schools in order to prepare women for an agricultural profession; it helps to secure positions for women workers on farms and in gardens, and it furnishes a market for the farm woman's produce.

It also tries to make intelligent the cooperation between the producer and consumer. It is not enough to open a market for the jellies, preserves and hand work of the rural housewife, if these are not suited to city standards. Therefore the Farm and Garden Association from its various centers, conveys commercial information to the rural producer on just such points as the United States department of Commerce conveys information to the commercial world. Are the goods attractively put up; are they satisfactorily packed; are they of such quality, or in such sizes as the city housewife will buy?

Especially active are the National Farm and Garden Association's marketing centers just before Christmas. Last year \$7,500 worth of rural housewives' wares were sold in three days at Massachusetts Horticultural Hall in Boston. Many of the farm women whose produce was listed in the Association's bulletins closed out all their summer orders long before summer came.

The Bureau of Information under the charge of Miss Stella H. Webb, 414 Madison avenue, New York City, supplies all sorts of help for all sorts of needs.

DOES one want to know where roses on their own roots may be had; which are the best varieties of peonies, dahlias; advice as to garden lay-out, an appeal to Miss Webb will bring an answer.

Better still, becoming a subscriber to the Farm and Garden Association's monthly bulletin, will furnish all the knowledge needed. For in this bulletin are listed the names of specialists and experts. It is a Who's Who among seeds, a social register of plants. Through its pages an aspiring garden maker may find out how to make her garden pay; how to organize a flower show. Small producers are encouraged in building up a mail-order business.

On the association's list of experts are women who have excelled in producing a genuine aristocracy amongst petunias, dahlias, seedling iris, straw flowers, peonies.

The national association has secured thirty scholarships for women in agricultural schools, and these have been given mainly to girls who found through their work in the Land Army that the soil was the thing they loved.

The New England branch of the National Farm and Garden Association has furnished recreation rooms in the new women's dormitory of the Massachusetts' Agricultural College and has secured five scholarships for women. This indicates one direction the Land Army has taken—into scientific training for higher agricultural posts. Already the placement bureau is finding its resources taxed to find trained women, the demand for whom is now greater than is the supply.

The national bureau alone has placed more than fifty women as farm managers, green-house assistants, or in special orchard and nursery positions. Several women have been called for to fill positions as managers of farm work in women's reformatory institutions, a modern development in penology being the back-to-the-land prison farm.

A community asset is the work carried on by the mid-west branch of the national association, which has offered prizes for the best designs in town backyards and for treatment of a town garden. Some landscape garden schools have

entered into cooperation with the association and are using these plans as school problems.

When war needed mobilized women as food producers, one great problem that faced the Land Army was housing. It was manifestly unsuitable for women to go out singly as farm laborers running the chance of sleeping where a man farm laborer must often sleep, in stables or detached buildings. Therefore the Land Army Camp was instituted where girls lived in a community of their own and were transported to their day's work—carriage becoming an economic and mechanical difficulty.

At present the placement bureau is sending women out to fill the demand for woman farm labor to nurseries, orchards and similar places, in small units of from eight to ten girls. The farms provide housing and a cook for the women workers, who can thus continue their own independence. When possible this is also a relief to the farmer's wife who does not have the burden of preparing meals for so many laborers.

Incidentally and as a by-product, this need for community housing may help clear up the farm labor situation and put it on a more self-respecting basis than it has ever had.

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Information About the Cleveland Convention

For railroad fares, hotel rates, etc., see the *Woman Citizen* of March 19

Tickets on certificate plan may be bought from April 6-12.

AS representation in the convention of the National League of Women Voters, according to their constitution, "shall be in accordance with population and shall be on the same basis as the state's representation in Congress," about 1,000 delegates and alternates are expected to come to the second annual convention, to be held in Cleveland Ohio, April 11-16.

Preceding the six-day convention will be a three-day conference and business meeting of the National Board of Directors to complete the business of the year. An informal reception will be held Sunday evening, the night before the formal opening of the convention. Monday will be given over to all-day conferences of the Standing Committees and the state delegates, wherein will be discussed the programs which are to be presented later to the convention for final decision and action. Seven dinners, each presided over by the chairman of one of the seven Standing Committee, will close the day.

Instead of a conference dinner at the opening, Mrs. Edward P. Costigan has arranged a lunch-

eon on April 11th for her committee on Food Supply and Demand.

This will give the delegates who have committee conference dinners an opportunity to hear the discussions on Food Supply and Demand, and Mrs. Costigan and her committee will be free to attend any one of the other six conference dinners in the evening.

SPECIAL LUNCHEONS OR DINNERS

Regions, states or groups desiring to arrange special luncheons or dinners may do so through Mrs. W. E. Shackleton, in care of the Cleveland League of Women Voters, 2728 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio. Applications for such luncheons must be made not later than April 1st.

BANQUET AND CONFERENCE DINNER TICKETS

Tickets for Conference Dinners, specified luncheons and the Convention Banquet must be reserved in advance. To insure reservations, accompany all orders with check or Post Office Order. No tickets will be mailed. Call and secure the tickets which you have reserved at the Bureau of Information, Hotel Statler.

Conference Dinner Tickets—Conference Dinner tickets at \$2.00 each for Monday, April 11th, should be reserved by writing to Mrs. H. B. Mallette, 2728 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.

Banquet Tickets—Banquet tickets, \$2.50 each,

for Thursday, April 14th, should be reserved by writing to Mrs. H. B. Mallette, 2728 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.

FOURTH REGION CONFERENCE LUNCHEON

Miss Elizabeth Hauser, Chairman of the Fourth Region, has arranged for a Luncheon Conference, to be held Wednesday, April 13th, at 12 o'clock, at Hotel Winton. The luncheon tickets are \$1.50. The number of those attending is limited to 250. Therefore, only persons living in the Fourth Region—Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, West Virginia and Wisconsin—may attend this luncheon. Those desiring tickets reserved, send check or money order with reservations to Mrs. W. E. Shackleton, 2728 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.

CONFERENCES

All committee conferences will be held in the Hotel Statler and will be called to order promptly at 10 o'clock, Monday morning, April 11th. The chairmen of the committee will preside at these conferences as follows:

Election Laws and Methods: Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.

Child Welfare: Mrs. Larue Brown.

American Citizenship: Miss Esther Lape, for Mrs. Frederick B. Bagley.

Protection of Women in Industry: Miss Mary MacDowell.

Social Hygiene: Dr. Valeria H. Parker.

Unification of Laws: Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch.

Food Supply and Demand: Mrs. Edward P. Costigan.

These conferences are open to all delegates, alternates and the public, who may participate in the discussions, but only the State Representatives on each National standing committee may vote. The day's conference of each committee will terminate with a dinner and evening program open to the general public. These dinners will begin at 6:30 and will all be held at the Hotel Statler.

HOSPITALITY

Sunday evening, April 10th, 8 to 9:30, the National Board will be at home informally to delegates and visitors to the Convention at the Union Club, immediately adjacent to the Hotel Statler.

Tuesday evening, April 12th, a dinner for the Executive Council of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association will be held at the Hotel Statler.

Privileges of various women's clubs will be extended to the members of the Convention.

Friday, April 15th, The Cleveland League of Women Voters will give a tea for the Members of the Convention at the Art Museum. Automobiles will be provided by the local league to convey guests from the general session of the Convention to the Art Museum. A delegate's badge will serve as admission to the Art Museum throughout the week. Regional headquarters, with local hostesses to look after the comfort of delegates and visitors from the various regions, will be located at Hotel Statler. The following will serve as hostesses:

Regional Hostesses—Miss Amy Maher, Chairman; Mrs. John N. Stockwell, Jr., Mrs. Fred C. Merrick, Mrs. H. F. Deverall, Miss Elizabeth Hibben, Mrs. John W. Raper, Mrs. A. S. Maschke, Mrs. Cary Alburn.



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— APRIL 9th —

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FOUNDED 1870

10 Cents a Copy

April 2, 1921



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Lloyd George—
A Comment

By Carrie Chapman Catt

The Gentle Art of
Filibustering

By Marjorie Shuler

Shall We Have National
Parks?

By Robert Sterling Yard

Home Economics and
the Farm Women

By M. S. B.

Continuing the
Carrie Chapman Catt
Citizenship Course



ASPIRATION

RESPONSIBILITY

The Second Annual Convention of the National League of 1921 Women Voters 1921

THE League has called its state auxiliaries through their elected delegates to meet in convention at Cleveland—Statler Hotel—April 11th to 16th.

A dream has come true. Equality of suffrage is a fact. It is the result of a crusade, an exalting and holy crusade. The world has seen none more wonderful. Women will have need again and again to draw on this example of tireless effort and high courage bequeathed to them.

By faith women have won the fight for suffrage. By belief in the efficacy of the ballot and the value of good citizenship, they have come thus far.

The woman voter has already proved herself an earnest and selfless worker.

A functioning League of Women Voters meets to celebrate the close of its first and successful year, and to plan with broad vision and renewed energy for the months ahead.

It has not wasted its year. The League now stands organized in every state in the Union.

The League is established. The League has power.

How best shall this power be made a vital and helpful force in the country?

How best may women continue in the work of educating a conscientious, well informed electorate?

The convention will answer these questions.

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THE WOMAN CITIZEN

FOUNDED JUNE 2, 1917

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THE WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION

AT 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

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Vol. LI Old Style
Vol. V New Style

APRIL 2, 1921

No. 44

IN order to make up three full sets of material for the National American Woman Suffrage Association archives, the following books and pamphlets are asked for:

Woman's Journal—1 full set *Woman's Journal* through 1916.

Suffrage Convention Proceedings:

Any early Woman's Rights Conventions, also earlier Convention Proceedings of N. A. W. S. A. Proceedings of N. A. W. S. A. for 1902.

International Woman Suffrage Association:
Proceedings of 2nd and 3rd Conferences.

Books: Another life of Susan B. Anthony (3 vols.) and 1 set of Vols. I-III of the History of Woman Suffrage.

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IN NEXT WEEK'S ISSUE

Who's Who and Who's Where

in the

National League of Women Voters

The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME V

APRIL 2, 1921

NUMBER 44

Good-by Everybody, and Good Luck!

WITH the next number of the WOMAN CITIZEN, I cease to be its general manager and editor, and as I am devoting that number to the convention of the National League of Women Voters and its clarion calls to progress, I shall commandeer a page or two of this issue for a goodbye word.

As years count, it is not so long ago that I came before you with the WOMAN CITIZEN's first appeal and program. But as events count, it has been a long time. Then we stood knocking at the gates of political freedom, we American women. Now the gates swing wide. Then, in our effort to impress the ideal of political justice upon men, many of whom did not even know how to spell an ideal, much less establish one, we were having to translate into the most elementary terms the passion for liberty that flamed in our hearts. Now that flame has burned away the barriers even of ignorance, of stupidity even. Then we ranked as negligibly as children, imbeciles and criminals in the eyes of the political boss. Now that boss's watchword is 'how we goin'-a handle the woman vote?'

STATE work and federal! Detail by detail, it comes flashing back as I turn the pages of the record of these fleet four years, compact in the bound volumes of the WOMAN CITIZEN. The thrilling drama of the New York campaign of 1917—we knew, that tense November night when New York was won, that the country was won—1918, year of forced state marches, when the politician must needs saddle state campaigns upon us, though all our thought was concentrated on Washington—and then, just for good measure, Michigan, Oklahoma and South Dakota coming gloriously over the line—Washington, D. C., eternal Washington, everybody breathlessly brooding over the Capitol, the eternal journeyings back and forth—our famous suffrage conventions—the gathering of the great lobby—the days and nights at 1626 Rhode Island Avenue—the stiff, pallid strain of it all—Mrs. Catt's incomparably wise generalship—the dauntlessness of Dr. Shaw, Miss Hay, Maud Wood Park—that January day in 1918 when the world rocked for us as the House voted for suffrage 274 to 136—the long-drawn, crass resistance of United States Senators—Republican Wadsworth telling the world that there was nothing green in his eye—Shields, the Democrat, using an anti-suffrage speech as the vehicle for a really impressive ability to mispronounce language—someone insisting that in the Senate Chamber one looks for dignity, erudition—someone else pointing out: yes, but one looks in vain—calls at the White House—calls and calls again at the White House—a June day when we asked the President sadly, bitterly, "Mr. President, what is the matter with the United States Senate?"—the good behavior of his mouth and eyes as he answered, "It's a large question, ladies"—a September morning in the office of George Creel, chairman of the Committee on Public Information—Mr. Creel lending one ear to our case while he kept the other cocked toward the telephone and his personal defamers with his wonted joyous belligerency—"There's one chance left for the amend-

ment, just one, and that's for the President to go before the Senate in person"—"It's a forlorn hope. He won't."—"Will you do what you can?"—"Oh, yes, that, of course."—September 30, 1918, in the Senate Chamber, the President pleading for the 19th amendment—pleading in vain.

STATE work and federal! For every suffragist memories like these must come piling—names may be different, the experiences must be the same—into it all and through it all, lacing it as with gold and silver, the exquisitely balanced judgment of Mrs. Catt—often I knew that she was more indignant, nearer white heat than any of us, but ah, the majesty of her control! It is so easy to be belligerent, it is such an art to hold one's self in leash for new effort!—the eloquence and humor of Dr. Shaw—the never-lost memory of Susan B. Anthony, of Lucy Stone, of all that mighty host of old whose proud successors we were—the dawn of victory—defeat—treachery—victory dawning again—1919 with success assured—the dullness of success after having been so long deferred, so grudgingly withheld. Spoiling everything, blurring the readiness of just men, the stubborn and selfish and scared, oh, most of all scared, reluctance of unfair men—the petty futility of it—old and dull and heavy, or younger and slippery and sinister, there they stood, trying to block women, block the world. And stood how futilely! But they are developing an agility. Already they have been about, asking women for their votes. By 1924 they will be saying, "Yes, aoh yes, always a suffragist." Aoh yes, indeed!

WELL, it's over now. Women still have many disabilities to work out from under, even many political disabilities, but there is one advantage the more, the ballot, on their side. And just as the *Woman Citizen* did, I hope and believe, play a helpful part in the suffrage struggle of the final four years, so it can and will, I trust, play its part in the struggle still ahead—the struggle for the removal of women's remaining legal and economic disabilities, the struggle to make war impossible, the struggle for real recognition by the political parties, for admission into the inside of party government, the struggle of the abler party women to develop and modify the present manifest disposition of the party boss to limit women's participation in party politics to the using of a few adaptable women on the party fringes, the struggle for a fair division of governmental authority between men and women, the struggle for an intelligent electorate, an improved citizenship. Now more than ever women need a woman's political magazine to follow and further these further political and economic adventures of women. Now more than ever is the time for a woman's political magazine that shall take cognizance of the whole case of woman's progress and her relation to the world's progress. Always in the past the WOMAN CITIZEN has had to bridle itself, keep out of controversy that was not suffrage controversy, but always we have said to ourselves, "just wait until suffrage is won, then we can talk, then we can have

opinions, then we can fight." That on my part was to reckon without the combination of neuritis and rheumatism that has finally made me yield as gracefully as I can to their peculiarly unamiable exigencies. But it was not to misread the future of the WOMAN CITIZEN.

NOTHING but the knowledge of my own shortcomings in energy and vigor, and my realization that new and unjudged talent was available for service on the magazine, could have induced me to give up at this so vital juncture. For, though I am going, the magazine stays. Mrs. Catt's enlivening announcements concerning the new manager and the new editor follow in the next number. And Mrs. Catt remains, as always, at the helm. Up to now, the WOMAN CITIZEN has been in part a gift of the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission to our readers. Few magazines of any kind have become self-supporting in the first four years of their history and the WOMAN CITIZEN's record to date, hampered though its career has been because of the official limitation on its range, has topped that of most magazines of opinion. Thirty thousand dollars' worth of gilt-edged advertising was written on the books last year, and while that means nothing in the larger magazine world, it affords an unparalleled record in suffrage journal annals. But even with that and even with the increase in subscription price made in 1919, we have not been able to keep pace with the rising cost of production. The difference that we pay for printing a page of the magazine today as compared with the first issue is a difference of 70%. For the paper we print on we have to pay about 65% more than we paid in 1917, and at that we have always had an inside price on paper. In the open market paper has frequently sold in the last twelve months at 150% more than it did in 1917. In 1920 our cash receipts totaled \$18,824.99 more than in 1919 and in 1920 what we had to spend on manufacture alone footed up \$18,389.58 more than it did in 1919. So long as the magazine was needed for the help it could give in the suffrage struggle, we could count an adequate return in propaganda value, if not in dollars and cents. Today, with suffrage won, the old propaganda value is gone and the magazine must be put on a strict basis of dollars and cents. To that end the new manager is working out a valiant program of economy, in the application of which I bespeak the acquiescence of all our readers. I do not want to anticipate Mrs. Catt in introducing her, but must express here my supreme personal satisfaction that the choice has fallen on her.

I CAN only hope for her and her associates as friendly and inspiring an association with the WOMAN CITIZEN's readers as I have had. To be sure at times the Republicans have said I leaned to the Democrats and to be sure some famous Democrats have at times cancelled their subscriptions because I was too Republican to suit them. And after being anathema to all Republicans because of our advocacy of the League of Nations, I was told last week that we did nothing for the League, nothing, utterly missed our great opportunity. It will be evident that when I have been given a jerk on one side I could count on being shortly jerked on the other side, so that a fairly erect posture has been maintained for me without much effort on my own part. And withal, I have had a happy time, definitely a happy time.

In my immediate associates I have had unmitigated satisfactions. I have had, for one thing, in the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission a wonderful organization to deal with. It is not often that so capable and fair a group of women get together under one aegis as that little group of seven, headed by Mrs. Catt—Mrs. Pennybacker, Miss Hay, Mrs. Robins, Mrs. Wells, Mrs. Slade, Mrs. Upton—to each of them I feel a special indebtedness, each of them in her own way having made my work pleasanter, more interesting. As for Mrs. Catt herself, one who works with her,

as I have worked with her, does not try to get the benison of it into words.

In editorial and business associates I have been blessed, too. First of all, there has been Alice Stone Blackwell. Others might growl—and, in the beginning, did, feeling very grievously the loss of the beloved old *Woman's Journal*—but "A. S. B." never. Always she stood by, understanding, helping. It is not only what her tireless pen has contributed to the WOMAN CITIZEN that has helped to make it, it is, as well, what her beautiful and generous spirit has contributed to the day's work for the rest of us. To Mary Ogden White belongs a great meed of acknowledgment for her constant shouldering of double burdens and for the reckless devotion with which she has directed her wide range of abilities to the WOMAN CITIZEN's program, particularly during my illness. Mary Sumner Boyd, the "M. S. B." of some of the WOMAN CITIZEN's most striking surveys and analyses, has been another able and dependable associate. To Marjorie Shuler, fell, among other things, the conduct of the Washington Bureau, and the value that I personally place upon her work has been constantly corroborated by letters from WOMAN CITIZEN readers. Another associate, not with us now but who has given great help in the immediate past, is Rose Lawless Geyer. To Mrs. L. L. Dittenheimer goes the credit for most of the work of building up the WOMAN CITIZEN's advertising clientele.

Finally, not many offices, I think, can boast so effective and enthusiastic a clerical staff as that which has helped put the WOMAN CITIZEN over week by week. The beauty of the service of these young women has lain not alone in their intelligence, but in their suffrage spirit. The suffrage struggle was all along theirs as much as anybody's.

Readers and Commission, editorial associates and associates on the business end—we are going our different ways now, but in the magazine itself we shall have, I hope always, our old common meeting ground. Hoping that and believing that, I can in this one paragraph be glad while I am being sorry, call a happy hail to the incoming management at the very minute that I must write—goodby, everybody—and good luck!

ROSE YOUNG.

Lloyd George—A Comment

MR. LLOYD GEORGE is the most outstanding figure in world politics and far and away the most interesting. He alone of the political leaders who carried their nations through the tempestuous years of the Great War holds his place. The clear white of his eye, the vivid pink of his cheek, the unruffled brow, the frank smile, all belie the fact that he has stood at the very vortex of a world cataclysm for years. They also offer one reason why he is still there.

Yet even he has not escaped the inevitable fate of all leaders through times of national stress. He is loved and revered as few men have been for the unquestioned greatness of many characteristics and which his worst enemy would not deny that he possesses; but he is hated violently, fiercely, because he is not more the superman than he is. He is the target of the usual shot and shell of passion aroused by the jealousy of political rivals and the enmity of parties. The reformers, the idealists and the radicals are disappointed, betraying it in varying degrees of emotional expression, that he has not brought to pass all of the high aims set forth by his matchless eloquence; the conservatives and the reactionaries are boisterously resentful because he has established so much that is forward looking.

So day by day, amid the hail of fierce and unfriendly denunciation, he deals with problems which would put all but the millionth man wholly out of the running. How does he do it; what is the secret of his power?

One, who professes to believe him a failure, has said: "No

man of our period, when he is profoundly moved, and when he permits his genuine emotion to carry him away, can utter an appeal to conscience with anything like so compelling a simplicity. * * * The spirit of the intuitional reformer, who feels cruelty and wrong like a pain in his own blood is still present in Mr. Lloyd George. * * * He entered the war with genuine passion. From the first no man in the world sounded so ringing a trumpet note of moral indignation and moral aspiration. Examine his earlier speeches and in all of them you will find that his passion to destroy Prussian militarism was his passion to recreate civilization on the foundations of morality and religion. He was Peace with a sword. Germany had not so much attempted to drag mankind back to barbarism as opened a gate through which mankind might march to the promised land." A Cabinet minister testified that "often Mr. Lloyd George put heart in a Cabinet that was really trembling on the edge of despair."

THIS eulogy of Mr. Lloyd George's spirit of optimism falls far short of the truth. His eloquence rang around the world. He put heart not alone in the leaders of Great Britain, but in those of every nation. His unyielding faith in the righteousness to come out of the war pronounced in the most appealing urgency awoke hope and aspiration where there had been none before; and finally the entire world was lifted to a vision of things before undreamt of. More than any one man he produced this effect, and the effect won the war. It became a battle between the souls of peoples and the allied vision was far more destructive of German resistance than were fighting men and munitions.

Now, says the same critic, "After a victory so tremendous, was there any demand on the generosity of men's souls which would not gladly have been granted? The long struggle between capital and labor might have been ended; the heroism and self-sacrifice of the war might have carried forward the labors of reconstruction; the wounds of Europe might have been healed by the charities of God almost to the transfiguration of humanity." And these things Mr. Lloyd George did not do. "So * * * one may see in him a soul of eagle force striving to rise above the earth on sparrows' wings."

How false this philosophy. A very exceptional man may rise to the illimitable heights of a transfigured humanity where sense of the gross passions which drive the average are forgotten; but he cannot live there, nor stay long. The miracle is that he has risen to those heights at all—for there God dwells. When such a man has lingered in those heights longer than other men who have attained them, it is no wonder that he was driven back beneath the scourge of party journalistic whips before an election and campaigned with the slogan that "Germany must pay." He was only betraying his relationship to the masses who had quickly deserted the world's high vision with the signing of the armistice, and with feet safe on the old earth again began throwing mud at everyone who had not come down from the mountain tops where visions are seen.

Just why those who have only seen visions infrequently and then dimly, should think that others may quite normally see them all the time and clearly, is incomprehensible.

Ere long the waiting voters will throw Mr. Lloyd George on the scrap heap of political wreckage, for democracies elect men to high responsibilities and then flay them alive because they do not prove themselves gods. But those who come after will judge him one of the greatest of the great Englishmen and those seeking truth for many a generation will find their vision clarify with the reading of his countless, eloquent, epigrammatic appeals to conscience. He will continue to speak to millions yet unborn as the dauntless "spirit of victory," the unfailing "voice of righteousness."

Oh, yes, he has not done all that ought to be done; but he has performed a superman's super-task—he lifted the world to heights

unknown and gave it a view of what might be, and the view will return again and again to haunt the souls of men until humanity has really scaled those heights and made them its own.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

Training the Girl

SPEAKING of the new attention paid to the affairs of women in all public documents of the day, a feminist movement with which the New York *Health Bulletin* has concerned itself is an article on "Training the Girl for Tomorrow," by Christine R. Kefauver, supervising inspector, Division of Industrial Hygiene. In this article the writer sums up some of the agencies which are educating and protecting women as prospective or potential or actual mothers. The marriage license laws have in New York State thrown an additional safeguard from venereal disease around young brides. The clinics, books on child hygiene, public health movements have shown young women how to be better mothers. But, between infancy and school age there is a veritable No Man's Land in which the child is the business of no one in particular, and the young mother has no real instruction except the "follow-up" work of the school nurse and doctor. There is also another missing link in the endless chain which fastens together the welfare of mother and child. This is the after school period for young industrial workers when they need the oversight of just such an agency as the Division of Industrial Hygiene which follows the girl into the factory and preaches the doctrine of conservation of health. It picks up the work the school clinic started and urges upon these girls of today who will be mothers tomorrow, the need for annual or semi-annual physical examination, for reasonable out-of-door exercise, recreation and hygienic food and rest.

Council Call

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, has issued a call for a meeting of the Executive Council of the National American Woman Suffrage Association at the Statler Hotel, Cleveland, Ohio, April 13th, at 10:30.

The object of this meeting will be to hear the report of programs toward dissolution of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

The League of Women Voters will be in session at the same time, but no other opportunity for holding this meeting being presented by the very full program, this call must be made.

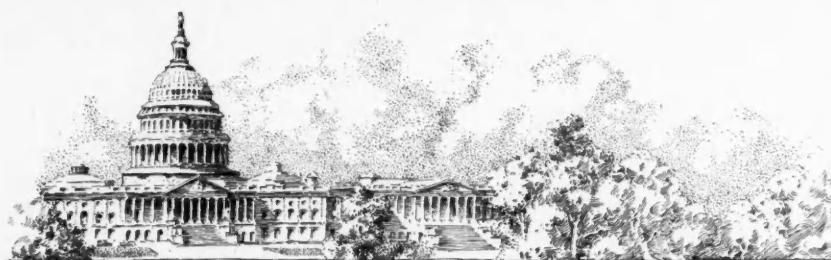
The Executive Council of the National consists of its Board of Officers, together with all chairmen of state branches, chairmen of national and standing committees and special committees, the presidents of affiliated suffrage organizations and one member from each affiliated organization which pays dues on a membership of 1,500 or more, such member to have no proxy.

It is to this Council that the official board of the National American Woman Suffrage Association was empowered to report, according to a resolution passed at the last convention of the National held in Chicago last February.

THE bill relating to the rights of married women has passed both houses of the Kansas Legislature and has been signed by the Governor. This bill differs a little in phraseology from the original one proposed by Mrs. Minnie Grinstead, an account of which was published in the WOMAN CITIZEN of March 19th.

WOMEN registered voters outnumber men in 14 cities of Los Angeles County, California. Pasadena is the woman's stronghold with a majority of 2,018; Long Beach is second, with 1,591; Pomona with 1,099; Glendale, 472; South Pasadena, 350, and so on. Yet for all that the county is safe for male democracy as it still holds a majority of nearly 10,000 men voters.

THE
GENTLE
ART



OF
FILIBUS-
TERING

From the Woman Citizen's Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 28, 1921.

AS the organization of the new Congress proceeds, some of the progressive senators who have heretofore most vehemently opposed the filibuster, are pointing to it as their strongest weapon against threatened reactionarism.

With the overwhelming Republican majority, there will no longer be any need to make concessions to the small group of progressive Republicans. Floor tactics will be absolutely in control of the party leaders and the minority within the party will be hopelessly outvoted on the floor, as one prominent senator said the other day. In other words, the progressive Republicans are facing an even more hopeless situation than the progressive Democrats faced at the opening of the last Congress.

Under these conditions the filibuster may be resorted to even more freely than it has in the past. It is interesting in this event to notice the way in which those who condemn it have used it when they felt a need. For instance, in the filibuster at the close of the last session, Senator McCumber of North Dakota suggested that he would like to bring the soldiers' bonus bill to a vote, if he felt certain that continued debate would not result, thus endangering the naval appropriation bill, which had the right of way on the floor.

Repeatedly the Senator from North Dakota urged this point of view until the long legs of Senator Thomas from Colorado were finally untangled from his desk and that gentleman, in his driest of tones, stated that his throat was not in the finest condition, but that he was prepared to do his best. With ludicrous haste the Senator from North Dakota withdrew the soldiers' bonus bill.

And yet Senator Thomas, whose long speeches on the floor have frequently delayed legislation which he deemed unwise is one of the strongest opposers of the filibuster. Just before leaving Washington to give place to the incoming Senator from Colorado, Samuel D. Nicholson, Senator Thomas gave the following statement for the *Woman Citizen*:

"THE rules of the Senate with very few amendments were adopted considerably over a century ago. They permit indefinite discussions and require unanimous consent for final consideration on nearly every subject except motions to adjourn. Hence the ability of two or three senators, or sometimes even one to obstruct and prevent the final consideration of bills and resolutions.

"Common resort to the use of this power, however, is of recent origin. Its occasional use in times past led to the remonstrance of such distinguished senators as Henry Clay and David M. Hill, but without avail.

"The senators from the South successfully resorted to it in the administration of the second Harrison to defeat the force bill then championed by Senator Hoar of Massachusetts. Their success served to make filibustering into a weapon for the defense of cherished rights and a means of protecting the sovereignty of States against Federal encroachments. With the constantly expanding activities of the national government, particularly regarding appropriations from the Federal treasury, filibustering has been constantly championed and defended by senators south of the Mason-Dixon line, with here and there an exception.

Inasmuch as filibustering can be invoked against all sorts of legislation the impossibility of amending the rule with regard to it is obvious so long as there are members who uphold the practice.

"I have served through four Congresses, the last three of which closed with filibusters. In the 1914-1915 session the filibuster was directed against the shipping bill, in 1916-1917 against the armed ship defense bill, in 1918-1919 against the appropriation bills. On each of these occasions the Senate was in session night and day and in each of them the filibuster was successful. In the first instance, the early effort of the administration to establish an American merchant marine was defeated so that actual ship construction was postponed for some two years. In the second instance, the sorely needed authority to arm merchant vessels for defense against the submarine and torpedo was withheld. In the last instance, the President was obliged to call Congress into special session in the following May, since the rapidly approaching end of the fiscal year was leaving the government without funds for administration. This was the end desired by the Republicans, who came into power in the special session.

"The most pernicious element of the filibuster is the advantage it gives any and every senator whose constituents desire or demand appropriations of questionable expediency or justice and which cannot pass the scrutiny of the appropriation committees. The great appropriation bills seldom come to the Senate before the last ten to fifteen days of the session, which is shortly prior to the close of the fiscal year so that immediate action must be taken if the bills are to pass in time to meet the public requirements.

"In these emergencies it is common practice to offer amendments to the appropriation bills and secure their acceptance under the actual or implied threat of a filibuster.

"Thus the Treasury is successfully mulcted of millions of dollars, which could not be done under more systematic and more desirable legislative methods. This is the bulwark of the practice and for this reason the effort to enact any budget law of consequence will probably end in defeat. The budget bill which President Wilson vetoed, for example, was a farce since it placed no limitation whatever on the right of individual members of either House of Congress to propose and secure appropriations without regard to the budget estimates.

"In 1917 the so-called cloture amendment to stop debate and thus block filibustering was adopted by the Senate. This action was due to public indignation consequent to the defeat of the armed ship defense bill, but the amendment has been largely a delusion. It can only be brought to a vote upon the lapse of thirty-six hours after its proposal and can be carried only by a two-thirds majority. After it has been carried ninety-six hours of debate may still take place, which means sixteen days of six-hour sessions, six hours being more than the length of the average daily session. The filibuster is really dangerous only when invoked at the end of sessions, so that it may readily be perceived that a remedy so little drastic as this is no remedy at all."

IN the famous filibusters of the past, it is recalled that Senator Allen held the floor for twenty-one hours when the repeal of the Sherman act was under consideration, that Senator Carter managed eighteen hours over a rivers and harbors appropriation bill, that Senator Smoot held forth for fifteen hours during the 1915 filibuster and that Senator La Follette has one of the longest distance records of all.

In defense of filibustering Senator La Follette has made the following statement for the *Woman Citizen*:

(Continued on page 1127)

Have Motion Picture Producers Too Much Power?

WHAT A PRODUCER THINKS ABOUT IT

THE exception in the case of motion pictures does not prove the rule. Because there have been a few objectionable photoplays, does not mean that the entire industry merits censure, any more than an occasional indecent play, or ill-advised book opens all play producers or book publishers to condemnation. It is a fact, subject to proof by anyone who cares to make an unbiased investigation, that the great majority of motion pictures are entirely in accord with accepted moral standards, and that the industry has developed strength within itself to prevent the distribution of any films that violate the conventions.

With millions of dollars invested in the making of photoplays, it would be a poor business policy, if nothing more, to make pictures of a character that would be likely to offend the great majority of theatre-goers. No one realizes better than the producers of motion pictures that the attitude of the American public toward its entertainment is essentially wholesome and that the pictures which score the greatest success are those that depict life in its true colors.

I have watched the picture theatres take thousands of men out of the saloons, keep millions of young boys and girls off the streets, bring travelogues to myriads of mentally starved and bored people in small towns, and I know that they have reduced and not increased crime.

For every sensational picture put out by the studios, there are many sweet, simple stories showing good, clean, home scenes and depicting the rise of worthy young men by virtue of hard work, honest service and straight living. That is not bad for youth.

OPPONENTS of motion pictures accuse us of exaggeration, of playing up the morbid, of increasing juvenile crimes. Very well. I wish to ask them what they would say if any motion picture company in the world should just once reproduce what they read in the headlines of their daily papers every day?

Of course, they charge the papers with playing up crime, as they charge us with the same thing. But the papers are printing actual occurrences, the acts of living men and women, far more sensational, infinitely more cruel, vastly lower in moral tone than anything ever yet produced on the screen.

The Goldwyn Company is following a policy of securing the best fiction writers that the country affords and giving them a free rein in the development of their stories for the screen, whether they are original stories or adaptations of novels or plays. These men and women are all authors of high repute, who would not under any circumstances lend their names to works of a questionable character. They are one of the greatest forces, if not the greatest force in the production of motion pictures today and their influence is bound to become more and more potent in elevating the artistic and moral tone of the screen.

Among the names now included on Goldwyn's roster of authors are those of Rex Beach, Rupert Hughes, Booth Tarkington, Gertrude Atherton, Mary Roberts Rinehart, Gouverneur Morris, Basil King, Leroy Scott, Rita Weiman, Katherine Newlin Burt, Anzia Yezierska and Kathleen Norris. All of these writers have shown their keen interest in contributing to the progress of motion pictures, not alone by writing original stories for screen production, but, in a number of instances, by spending considerable time at the Goldwyn Studios in Culver City, Calif., to assist in the actual filming of their works. Surely it is not

within reason to suppose that writers of such irreproachable reputation would lower standards when writing motion pictures.

Naturally, there will always exist minor differences of opinion about what is and what is not suitable for public presentation; but on the main points of what constitutes clean, beneficial entertainment, all right-thinking people are in agreement. It would be folly for producers of motion pictures to defy the great consensus of public opinion in this country, even if they were disposed to do so, which they decidedly are not.

During the past ten years, the motion picture industry has been built up to its present position of importance on the basis of wholesome stories in pictorial form, stories not designed for any particular element of the community, but for all classes of men and women. It has always been recognized that the screen must be kept clean, also that there must be nothing to give offense to those of any sect or creed.

Sometimes in giving a true depiction of life, it is necessary to present scenes of crime and wretchedness, but care is taken to enforce the moral that crime must inevitably reap its own reward, and that whatever the seeming handicap, virtue will in the end be triumphant.

SAMUEL GOLDWYN.

WHAT ONE OF THE PUBLIC THINKS

ON March 21st at a hearing before a Senate Committee in Trenton, New Jersey, appeared a group of ladies and ministers, all well-intentioned, all anxious that "something should be done to improve motion picture conditions," and hence all earnestly requested the committee to report favorably on a bill establishing a state board of three censors to be paid \$2,500 a year each.

Opposed to the bill were representatives of producers, distributors and exhibitors—all financially interested in the motion picture business—and of the National Board of Review, not so interested. The audience was large; feeling ran high. The promoters of the bill declared that they represented many thousands of citizens, included in Parent-Teachers Associations, Methodist congregations, etc.

The opponents brought forward such arguments as: If you pass this law you will lose what you have of alert public sentiment, and your regulations will not be obeyed—any more than the present law about attendance of minors is obeyed; three people whom you may hire at \$2,500 will not have the requisite intelligence to pass on the products of a developing art like this; it is against the spirit of democracy to censor any publication before it is published; the editing now done by the National Board of Review is a much more American way, being volunteer and uncorruptible, than to have 48 politically appointed state boards; the present state boards contradict each other in their rulings; the Pennsylvania state board is now being violently criticized by the very people who once fought to get it; the Pennsylvania state board has arbitrarily changed the plot of a novel which ran as a piece of literary art, and as a drama on the legitimate stage for many years, so as to make a case of bigamy where none before existed.

Then appeared Mr. William A. Brady. He said, in effect: "You can't control this business, but I can. I am the president of the Producers' Association, and with two or three other men I control every foot of film shown in the United States. What we say goes. We can decide what shall be shown on

(Continued on page 1130)

Shall We Have National Parks?

By Robert Sterling Yard

Executive Secretary, National Parks Association

SEVERAL million warm-blooded Americans are suffering from a state of mind just now because of the assaults of a very short-sighted commercialism on our national parks. The news of it is spreading fast, and it will not be long before a good many millions more are not only interested but hard at work in their defense.

The more the better. This is an issue which concerns every voter in America. It is one in which women can and should play a strong and active part because it is an issue between materialism on the attacking side, and conservation and education on the defensive. The beneficent participation of women in the full control of American affairs can have, to my mind, no greater justification than this issue. The General Federation of Women's Clubs and the new National Federation of Business and Professional Women are both working in it already with enthusiasm.

It is well for the good cause that women wield the weapon of the vote. Not that this issue is coming to a popular vote. If it were we should have no shadow of doubt concerning the result. This is a matter of protest, and the fact that women can vote and will vote is what gives their protests power.

This is a matter of influencing our representatives in Congress, not to vote right, for we have potential votes enough in Congress, if all were cast, to win several times over, but to watch and act promptly when emergency calls.

As the reader of the WOMAN CITIZEN knows, our twenty-one national parks excel the whole civilized world together in the variety and the sublimity of their scenery. The era has arrived when these spectacles shall bring many thousands of tourists annually to our shores; consequently they are a national income asset of importance. Also they are the headlines of our new startling era of domestic travel, which is doing so much for the business of our country and is bringing together into better understanding the people of the four corners of the land. They are famous playgrounds for our people.

But they are so much more than this.

THEY are our National Museums of Native America. That is their real purpose. In them we preserve small but magnificent examples of the wilderness which our forefathers tamed. In them we see what our native forests look like when untouched by the axe. Here alone we can study nature's own dealings with her own wilderness. Here only we can study our native wild animals, straight descended from prehistoric ancestors, living their natural lives in their God-given homes, and unmolested and unafraid.

And this priceless, unreplaceable heritage it is our duty and pleasure to pass on to our children and their children.

Not only are these national parks the greatest school-rooms of nature in the wide world (no other nation has conserved primeval nature) but they are the laboratories of botanical and zoological science for all future time. Any tampering with these lakes and streams will ruin them utterly as scientific examples.

And, mark well, if we are to preserve them we can not permit one single commercial project, however innocent in itself, however little it will injure its lakes or streams, to enter any national park. Why? Because, in this land, Congress may pass no special legislation. The rights it grants to one it must grant to all. The first precedent that commercialism secures in any national park will doom all national parks, for, on the borders of all, organized ranchers have long cast longing eyes upon their waters, upon the wild-flowered meadows on which their cattle

would fatten, and upon the wild animals which in their eyes are "game."

For fifty years successive Congresses have faithfully defended the complete conservation of our national parks, resisting the many attempted encroachments.

But the Congress which has just gone out, rent with dissensions, absorbed in financial and international questions, and facing a national election which offered no temptation to take partisan chances in any state no matter how small its electoral vote, gave the commercial interests their great opportunity. It passed the Water Power bill with the national parks and monuments safely tucked in the list of national reservations to which it applied. Probably in the wild rush of events few noticed they were there. We on the outside had no chance to know it till the last day of the session, when we made a valiant but ineffectual effort to keep the bill from signature till these reservations could be stricken out of it. Also, the Senate passed a bill permitting a reservoir to be built in the Falls River Basin of the Yellowstone National Park, and the House was just about to pass it when a gallant but pitifully small band of hastily summoned conservationists kept it stopped until the session's end.

What a situation, then, at the beginning of the last summer confronted the national parks defenders!

BY giving the newly created Water Power Commission the right to grant leases in national parks and monuments at will and without publicity, Congress had wrecked the principle of complete conservation! In practise this amounted to nothing else. This absolutely had to be amended at the next session. And confronting us, also at the next session, were the still undefeated Falls River Bill, and a very dangerous bill looming in Montana to dam Yellowstone Lake.

And the people were wholly unawakened to their danger.

It was evident, if the first session of the 66th Congress could yield itself so readily to such legislation, that nothing less than a popular uprising could prod the second session of the same Congress to undo the damage and make the parks again safe. To that we addressed ourselves.

We have been sounding the alarm bell from ocean to ocean. And the people are responding. Will women, with all the experience and political power which they have acquired in their own successful war for freedom, come to the rescue of our national parks and monuments?

Here is the work to be accomplished:

We conducted an offensive campaign to pass the bill introduced in the Senate by Senator Jones of Washington, and in the House by Representative Esch of Wisconsin, to remove the words "national parks and monuments" from the Water Power Act. The effect of this will be to return the national parks and monuments to the open forum of Congress, where they have always been and where they belong.

And we conducted defense campaigns against Representative Smith's bill (H. R. 12466) in the House (it has passed the Senate) to authorize a reservoir in the Falls River Basin of the Yellowstone National Park; and against Senator Walsh's very dangerous bill (S. 4529) in the Senate to authorize a dam at the foot of Yellowstone Lake.

All the influence you can bring to bear, personally and collectively, upon these Committees especially, and members of Congress generally, will help. And your influence is very great!

And this influence should be brought to bear without delay,

for these bills pending in the last Congress will undoubtedly be re-introduced in the 67th session.

NINETEEN of our national parks are within the borders of the United States. All are reached by fine automobile roads and by main railroad systems. All are equipped with excellent hotels and hotel camps. All have fine roads through them and most of them have adequate transportation facilities. All have extensive trail systems. There is no person, young or old, who cannot visit and study these parks in entire comfort.

They have been carefully chosen as examples of the great diversity of the American scenic exhibit. They cover its range. They overlap scarcely at all. They are not, you must remember, essentially recreational areas, but museums. As such, each has its own special purpose, its own separate message. Each is distinctly individual.

The Swiss Alps, except for several unmatched individual features, are excelled in beauty, sublimity and variety by several of our own national parks, and these same parks possess other distinguished individual features unrepresented in kind or splendor in the Alps.

The Canadian Rockies are more than matched in rich colorings by our Glacier National Park. Glacier is the Canadian Rockies done in Grand Canyon colors. It has no peer.

The Yellowstone outranks by far any similar volcanic area in the world. It contains more and greater geysers than all the rest of the world together; the next in rank are divided between Iceland and New Zealand. Its famous canyon is alone of its quality of beauty. Except for portions of the African jungle, the Yellowstone is probably the most populated wild animal area in the world, and its wild animals are comparatively fearless, even sometimes friendly.

Mount Rainier has a single-peak glacier system whose equal has not yet been discovered. Twenty-eight living glaciers, some

of them very large, spread, octopus-like, from its centre. It is four hours by rail or motor from Tacoma.

Crater Lake is the deepest and bluest accessible lake in the world, occupying the hole left after one of our largest volcanoes had slipped back into earth's interior through its own rim.

Yosemite possesses a valley whose compelling beauty the world acknowledges as supreme. The valley is the centre of eleven hundred square miles of high altitude wilderness.

The Sequoia contains more than a million sequoia trees, twelve thousand of which are more than ten feet in diameter, and some of which are the largest and oldest living things in the wide world.

The Grand Canyon of Arizona is by far the hugest and noblest example of erosion in the world. It is gorgeously carved and colored. In sheer sublimity it offers an unequalled spectacle.

Mount McKinley stands more than 20,000 feet above sea level, and 17,000 feet above the surrounding valleys. Scenically, it is the world's loftiest mountain, for the monsters of the Andes and the Himalayas which surpass it in altitude can be viewed closely only from valleys from five to ten thousand feet higher than McKinley's northern valleys.

The Hawaii National Park contains the fourth greatest dead crater in the world, the hugest living volcano, and the Kilauea Lake of Fire, which is unique and draws visitors from the world's four quarters.

These are the principal features of America's world supremacy. They are incidental to a system of scenic wildernesses which in combined area as well as variety exceed the combined scenic wilderness playgrounds of similar class comfortably accessible elsewhere. No wonder, then, that the American public is overjoyed with its recently realized treasure, and that the Government looks confidently to the rapid development of its new-found economic asset.

These are worth working to save, are they not?

The Gentle Art of Filibustering

(Continued from page 1124)

"WHAT is a congressional filibuster? It is an attempt on the part of a minority to prevent the majority from executing its will. It is resorted to by a minority, sometimes a very small minority, to delay or defeat a majority of the House or Senate from voting upon and passing a bill or perhaps a number of bills, which the minority cannot otherwise defeat at the time should such measures come to final vote.

"Upon its face it appears to be an unjust and unwarranted interference with the rule of the majority in legislation.

"It is often denounced as undemocratic, and revolutionary, and a reprehensible interference with the right of a majority to exercise its constitutional power.

"But in the view of the framers of the Constitution the majority may at times abuse its power. It may become arrogant, tyrannical, reckless, wantonly extravagant and wasteful of the public revenues, and it may even become corrupt in the conduct of the public business.

"It was therefore deemed wise by the framers of the Constitution to provide in that instrument the means by which the majority might be restrained or defeated in its undertakings at least for the time being.

"To that end they made it possible for one man to defeat the action of the majority of Congress. They gave the President power to veto any bill.

"The makers of the Constitution did not stop with that check upon the will of the majority.

"They provided that one-fifth of those present could at any time and as often as they deemed it necessary demand the calling of the roll upon any pending motion.

"That is a powerful weapon for delaying the action of the majority. It can be so used as to defeat the passage of any measure in the closing hours of a session when the time for final adjournment is fixed and certain.

"The fathers thus deliberately by constitutional provision

armed a small minority with the power to filibuster. They gave this power the sanction of constitutional authority.

"These wise men well understood that majorities are not infallible; that they are sometimes misled; that they are sometimes driven by passion to unreasonable extremes; that under the stress of great excitement the very power which a majority possesses might intoxicate and carry it beyond rational limits.

"There are times in legislative proceedings especially near the final adjournment of a session when something akin to the mob spirit takes possession of a majority, and bills of all kinds, bad bills and good bills, and bills partly bad and partly good are "railroaded" through without a semblance of intelligent consideration.

"Nearly a billion of dollars was saved to the American people, the difference between the amounts called for in the appropriation bills which were defeated by the filibuster at the close of the 1918-19 session and those same bills as they passed the following session, as is shown by the following table:

	Amount as of 1918-19 session	Amount as of 1919-20 session
"Third deficiency.....	\$ 842,096,813	\$ 24,395,929
Deficiency for Federal Railroad Administration		750,000,000
Indian	15,430,000	11,131,397
Agricultural	31,673,022	33,899,761
Naval	824,709,521	616,096,838
Army	1,238,282,000	772,324,877
Sundry Civil.....	850,513,210	605,160,207
District of Columbia.....	14,446,364	15,364,421
	\$3,817,151,030	\$2,824,283,432
	\$2,824,283,432	
Saving to the people.....	\$ 992,867,598"	

MARJORIE SHULER.



The Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course

States Relation Service

Department of Agriculture
Extension Work with Women

By Mary Sumner Boyd



IN 1908 President Roosevelt's Country Life Commission, appointed to study the causes of the increasing migration from country to town, reported as one main cause the need of "better living conditions on the farm," and the President himself in his preface to the commission's report pointed out the seriousness of this condition, for, he said, "Our civilization rests at bottom on the wholesomeness, attractiveness and completeness, as well as the prosperity, of life in the country."

A few years later an expert in rural matters wrote the U. S. Department of Agriculture that he felt that it ought to turn its attention to the home life of the woman on the farm. Said he: "The women are the most neglected factor in the rural problem and especially neglected by the Department of Agriculture."

Taking this charge as their occasion, the department sent letters asking for a frank expression of their needs, to the wives of its more than 50,000 crop correspondents, and published their replies in 1915. Meanwhile the Smith Lever Law was passed the year before these letters came out; its object was to use Federal state and local funds "to aid in diffusing useful and practical information on subjects relating to agriculture and home economics." This aid was to supplement the work of the schools and to be given entirely in the home and on the farm. The passage quoted from the law shows that home economics (now called extension work with women, or, more commonly, home demonstration work) was put on a par with work on the farm. Yet from the beginning it was made subordinate and to-day there are now appointed under the Smith Lever Law only about a quarter as many home demonstration agents as "county agents" for farm work, and to home demonstration work is allotted very little more than a sixth of the total Smith Lever Fund.

This was through no ignorance of the needs of the country home, for twice the country women have themselves stated these needs. It was because livelihood was put before life, the farm product before the home; a policy almost fatal in this case, for the procession of the young, and especially the young women, from the farm continues apace, and what will be the use of the farm acres if the family is not there?

The collection of farm women's letters of

THE Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course was begun in the WOMAN CITIZEN a year ago, as the logical result of the Citizenship School held at the conclusion of the National League of Women Voters' Convention in Chicago, February, 1920. At first the Course concerned itself, as was natural, with the immediate questions of the mechanics of voting in order to prepare women for their duties in the Presidential Election, so strong was the faith of all fighting suffragists that women would be voting all over the country on November 2nd. And they were.

Detailed articles on Government, from the Federal to the village type, followed. The course has for the past four months made way for stories of the Federal departments told from the inside by people in official capacities and experts on their subjects. That series is rounded off today by a story of the work done for the rural women of the country in home economics by the Department of Agriculture. It is written by Mrs. Boyd of the Research Committee of the League of Women Voters, and it approaches the subject from the point of view of the rural woman and her vast needs.

Beginning with the next issue, that of April 9th, the Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course will enter upon a new series of studies under the direction of Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead. This will be devoted to fundamental subjects essential to every woman—subjects necessary to an understanding of the high cost of living. These are concise and simple studies of money, its meaning, value, buying power, etc. To enable women to think correctly about public expenditures some such brief course in political economy is imperative.

1915 is one of the most interesting documents on women's condition ever issued. The women's charges against rural life fall under the heads of domestic and labor, economic, educational and social. Many a woman, on the domestic and labor side, complains that, in the words of one, her kitchen is so laid out that she "cannot get a meal without walking a mile and clear it away without walking another of them." Innumerable others, that their day lasts from "5:30 a. m. to 9 p. m." Others that "The women here carry their water a quarter of a mile and go a mile for their milk." They ask that

the Department of Agriculture "treat houses as you have begun on barns and silos, giving plans and approximate costs." They ask for advice about practicable kitchen equipment, directions how to make a fireless cooker, so that when the men "go on a Sunday jaunt the wife can go along too and find dinner cooked when she gets back."

On the economic side the farm wife asked for a stated income, and since she could not get anything but her "keep" for her labors in the house, she asked from the department bulletins for "women's crops,"—such as chickens, butter, kitchen garden crop.

Bitterly she complains of loneliness, lack of recreation, rural nursing, sanitation and health instruction, books to read and all those things that the woman in the city has, to take or leave. She sums it up: "the trouble with the country is isolation, stagnation, ignorance, loss of ambition, the incessant grind of labor and the lack of time or opportunity for improvement by reading, by social intercourse." She asks for "tactful lady demonstrators," like the men's demonstrators on the farm, to help her to solve the problems of the farm home.

The Smith Lever Law gave her these tactful lady demonstrators—a few of them—and one of the best things this small group of women has done is to make last year a survey of farm home conditions in thirty-three states of the north and west. The study of 1915 gives life to the 1920 study; the survey proves that the letters of 1915 did not represent isolated cases.

Almost 10,000 women answered the enquiry and their answers were tabulated under certain heads. Let us take the domestic situation in 1920: 32 per cent have running water in the house, 22 per cent have power to use in lightening their household tasks, 95 per cent have screened windows and doors, 95 per cent have sewing machines, 72 per cent have telephones, 62 per cent have automobiles, 24 per cent have vacuum cleaners, 47 per cent have carpet sweepers, 21 per cent have some kind of a lighting system, and 26 per cent have gas or electric irons; 43 per cent have washing machines, 54 per cent have oilcloth in their kitchen, no rough boards to scrub. These are the fortunate ones, fortunate in one respect or another; but the other side of the story is that 68 per cent have still to carry their water, a few from the kitchen only to the other rooms,

but over 50 per cent from outside the house; almost 80 per cent have oil lamps to care for, though on half these farms electricity is used for farm purposes. As for the rest of these conveniences, only in the case of sewing machines, telephones and automobiles do a majority of the women enjoy them and in most cases it is a small minority.

Is the labor of the farm woman lighter than in 1915? Less than a quarter of these women have any "help" for housework and those who have this help have it for only a small portion of the year. The group as a whole has a working day of thirteen hours in summer, ten in winter, half of them are up at 5 o'clock, 87 per cent have no vacation, can never loaf and stay in bed late a luxurious week or so in the year. Besides the daily drudgery of preparing food and keeping the house clean for an average family of five in a seven room house, 96 per cent do the heavy dirty laundry work for workers on the farm, only a small percentage, as we have just seen, having the work made easier by a washing machine, 94 per cent make their own bread; 92 per cent do some or all of the family sewing. As few have heating systems 90 per cent tend two or three stoves all day, half of them building the fires, carrying the coal or wood to feed them from the cellar or outhouse, 60 per cent make butter.

SO much for women's work within the rural home, but there is light work for ladies outside also. Eighty-one per cent of all poultry are cared for by women, the flocks averaging 90 chickens; 36 per cent milk or assist in milking the cows and 80 per cent add to the eternal dishwashing in the home, the washing of milk pails and often of separators. More than half do gardening and 25 per cent help with farm work part of the year, or with bedding and feeding the cattle.

Do they get any material rewards for combining women's work with men's? Apparently not, most seem still, like the farm wife of 1915, to be working for their keep; few even have outside earnings of their own. Of the 81 per cent who care for poultry, only 22 per cent are allowed to keep poultry money and only 16 per cent egg money. Though they are the butter makers and help with the cows, only 11 per cent have the butter money for their own.

As for health, sanitation and the decencies of life, only ten per cent of these families have indoor toilets and bathtubs; the family doctor is five and a half miles away and the hospital 14 miles.

Nor have the social conditions of rural life been substantially improved since 1915. Neither school nor church is an effective social center, because they are too far apart and because the community has had little guidance as to how to make them social centers. Small wonder when the average distance to a high school is six miles, three miles to church, and five miles to market.

What can the home demonstrators do to make life more liveable? The answer is to be found in what with their small personnel the home demonstrators have done already. The Home Demonstration agent does not hold classes nor does she hand out unsolicited information to farm women, who may themselves have much to teach her. She enters the farming community to learn and at the same time to pass on what she may have learned in other communities. As the county agent's work is on the farm and not in the agricultural college, so the home demonstrator's work is in the home and not in the school room. She consults with the housewife herself.

PERHAPS the housewife has a problem that she has met and seen solved by others. In that case the home demonstrator can help. Perhaps, on the other hand, this home has something to teach her. If so, she passes the secret on to others. Perhaps a condition exists that she is not herself able to cure; in that case, as an agent of the national government, she is in touch with the national agency that can. She is the center for co-ordinating and correlating many agencies in many fields. Or the case may require another kind of treatment. She may know of something—some kind of household equipment, we will say—that will help the farm woman, or which she believes will help her, and she persuades her to try the experiment or install the improvement and, if successful, to pass the knowledge of it on to her neighbors. This is entirely in line with the agricultural work of the county agent, who persuades some interested farmer to try some innovation, say a certain crop, which he believes it would pay this particular community to raise.

But the greatest work of the home demonstrator, and that which distinguishes her most from the home economics teacher, is the discovering and developing of powers of leadership among the rural women themselves and the organizing of home makers for the solution of their own problems.

Around the county agent and the home demonstration agent of the Department of Agriculture have grown up the Farm Bureau or the Farm and Home Bureau, a democratic organization under local leadership, with the department's representatives serving somewhat the function of the "executive secretary" known to other organizations. These executive secretaries have helped to gather information and to co-ordinate and correlate the efforts of all organizations, local, state and national, that can help the rural people work out their problems.

Small as has been their equipment, the home demonstrators have already accomplished substantial results along the lines suggested by the farm women in 1915. In 1919 they went into 75,000 homes in the north and west and reached a million and a half people. Their "projects," to use the government word, have been many. Here is a story of how one dem-

onstrator met the equipment and arrangement problem. "How can I have things more convenient in this hole of a kitchen?" asked a housewife. Together the neighbors and the agent tackled the problem, each one giving a suggestion or a bit of experience from her own method, with the result that the kitchen was literally turned end to end, the side brought to the middle, and the mistress of it agreed to try it out. If the arrangement worked she would pass on the information to other women. As a result of this little beginning a dozen kitchens in that community were re-arranged or supplied with new equipment. The women had begun to study their housekeeping methods and household equipment for the purpose of lightening labor. In a number of counties where agents are working, so small a thing as a poorly placed work table, or a sink too low for the worker, has been the initial step in planning a county-wide project to lighten the labor of the farm home.

The home demonstration agents' methods of calling attention to domestic conditions have shown a knowledge of publicity values. At one county fair were set up two miniature cottages, "Home Demonstration House" and "Any Old House." They were equipped so as to bring out the difference and above them was the caption "Do You Treat Your Livestock Better Than Your Wife?"

Last year in the north and west 1,019 kitchens were re-arranged in some respect under the guidance of the home demonstration agent and nearly 7,000 pieces of labor-saving devices, ranging from power machinery to pressure cookers and washing machines, were installed in rural homes as a result of a new interest in home-making brought about by the influence of the home demonstration work.

ON the economic side—to help the farm wives earn a penny of their own—some of the things the agents have done were to plan for her 3,200 kitchen gardens and in some cases also help establish curb markets in towns near by. Under their direction 3,213 flocks have been "culled" and many thousand chickens which were not good layers and were "eating their heads off" without any return have been sent off to market.

Ninety-two per cent of the farm women are, as the survey showed, doing their own sewing. The home demonstrator has called in the dress-making and millinery expert to give classes in thousands of rural communities. But the thing that has made her most popular has been the paper dress form, which she has taught thousands of women to make out of an old shirt, a sponge, patience and a 40-inch roll of gummed paper. Hereafter, by their help, and at a total expenditure of 90 cents, every lady in the country can make herself the glass of fashion and the mold of form, without any help from the town. And the women appreciate this, for in thinly populated Big Horn County (Wyoming)

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no less than 68 forms were made in a season; 84 in a couple of months in Gray's Harbor County, Washington.

The health project is perhaps the most important of all. The home demonstrators have it in operation in 32 states of the north and west and the thirty-third has at least installed the hot school lunch. More than 200 counties are concerned for the health of the family, and the endeavor to help the homemaker understand her responsibility for keeping her family well demanded much thought and attention from the home demonstration agents. The health problem varied from preventive hygiene, properly selected and prepared food, better ventilation, running water in the home, sewage disposal, sanitary out-buildings, fly screens and fly campaigns, to child feeding, first aid and care of the sick room, and the rudiments of home nursing. Some of the results of this activity in 1919 included the installation of 388 sinks, 152 septic tanks, 31,722 families were instructed in the care of the sick, and of this number 10,412 families reported having put into practice all or a part of the suggestions given by the home demonstration agents or the specialist in matters relating to health. 93 counties reported families feeding and caring for children according to the directions of the home demonstration agent, and 54,905 children were reached through the hot school lunches which were established in nearly 3,000 schools.

Education in the value of milk for children is reported as having large-scale results in many states. In one the home consumption of milk rose by almost half a million quarts a day.

At the 1920 convention of the National Farm Bureau Association held in Indianapolis women were given full voting rights. They were given a place in the sessions they never had held before. The rural home was given a place in the deliberations it never had held before. Mrs. Ketcham, leader of women at these sessions and member of the executive board of the Michigan Farm Bureau pointed out that today in work under the Smith Lever Law farm men were showing "frenzied activity" on the economic side, but that it was a mistake to concentrate on this side because the farms were being deserted "too rapidly for us to wait till farming could be shown to be a sufficiently paying enterprise to keep them." The home, she felt, must be the first thing that holds the country population and for that reason more attention must be given to living conditions.

Within the last five years farm profits have risen from 4 to 7 per cent. This is not enough to tempt. The possibility of profit in living offered by changed home conditions is infinite

and this avenue of profit must be intensively cultivated. To do this more money is needed, a fairer share of the Smith Lever Fund and perhaps something added to that. Many projects of vital importance to country living cannot be developed because this side of the work of the Department of Agriculture is starved. We are told that in Minnesota five years ago there was one co-operative laundry and one co-operative live stock market. Both were eminently successful and very popular, but to-day there is still one co-operative laundry while 500 live stock markets are in operation. The farm woman can demand a greater investment in home conditions now, since she has a political status equal to the farmer, and once equipped with adequate funds she can, through the democratic organization of the Farm and Home Bureau, turn home demonstration work into whatever channels she thinks best.

What the Public Thinks

(Continued from page 1125)

every screen in the nation. There are some other companies independent of us, but we control their output also. For all we have to do is to say to the exhibitors: 'What we tell you goes' and not one of them will attempt to go against us. If they were to, we would withdraw our films from them and break them."

He then promised to put off the screen any film containing long, purposeless love-scenes, anything that makes vice attractive, and anything that tends to hold up to ridicule any clergyman, priest, rabbi, official, or law.

At this the representative of the National Board arose to protest a protestor. "If this public boast of the dictatorship of the producers did not violate the principles of our forefathers it would still destroy our hopes for the nation's future," said she. "And if this group of powerful men had exercised their power, as they proclaim they intend, before the last election, and the owners of newspapers as well as of screens had been constrained to obey them, then the present Republican government would never have come into power."

Where are the officers of the Federal Government that they do not bring suit against a monopoly as insolent as this? The entire propaganda power of the screen is absolutely at the behest of three or four men, selected by themselves on the score of wealth. They can make or unmake what and whom they will. Their spokesman brags of their law-defiance in a legislative hall before a Senate committee. And all the senators and assemblymen and clergymen and citizens shake when Jove nods.

It is time for women citizens to wake up before Nero buys a harp.

ONE WHO HEARD MR. BRAINY

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Our First Political Campaign

By Sadie S. Matthews

WELL, we have been through a political campaign and this time we were inside looking out. Now that the tumult and shouting has died, what are the impressions that remain?

At a suffrage public meeting held to celebrate the ratification of the amendment, a tired old man, long an office holder, in the course of an otherwise dull talk, said something to which I paid little attention at the time, but which came back to me many times later during the campaign. He said: "I can only hope that you women may never know the feeling of satiety, the taste of dead-sea fruit that follows even a successful campaign." We realize now something of what he meant—the compromises, the lowering of ideals which, whether necessary or not, at present accompany any political fight.

We suffragists thought we knew something of politics and politicians before, but this campaign held revelations that left us, like the wedding guest, wiser and sadder. It brought home to us as never before the most amazing feature of political life—namely, the hold that parties have upon men. "Stronger than truth or honor, deeper than religion, unreasoning, unreasonable, intolerant, narrow, prejudiced—I know of hardly a loyalty that compares with it." It is a superstition, a reverence, an awe. Men whom we always regarded as broad, fair, reasonable, above reproach in private affairs, will boldly assume that anything is justifiable if it is for the good of the party; that the end justifies the means, that party loyalty is above private morality or conscientious scruple, and they look with horror almost upon anyone not sharing these views and acting accordingly.

I HOPE and believe that the party idea will never gain such a strangle hold on the women. I see some reason for its hold on the older men of the south—historical reasons. We, however, come to the franchise too late to be blinded by these memories, as do, or should, the younger men of our time. Of course, many women—the majority doubtless—voted this time according to the traditions of their families—they enrolled themselves as hereditary or geographical Democrats or Republicans. But let not the party organizations take too much comfort from this first election; there was little time to prepare for it; the women were timid, frightened, overinfluenced. Many did as they were told against their better judgment and secret inclinations; sacrificing their preferences this time in order to indulge them later. But they are thinking.

The second outstanding feature which struck us was the general lack of information among political leaders. We could never get any definite information from the leaders for the excellent reason that they did not have it. They did not read the papers; they were not "up" on the issues. The fact that their party was for or against a certain issue was sufficient; there was no use to go into it and see if the party leaders were right in their stand. A prominent Republican told me he did not have to read the text of the League of Nations to know that he was against it. I could not find a man who was familiar with the amendments to be voted upon. Most of them knew of the one regarding roads and took sides upon it since tax money was involved; but those concerning schools and city government meant nothing to them. I asked a leader what chance the amendments had of passing, as I did not see how anyone could vote either for or against an amendment without knowing what it provided. He replied that they had a good chance; that the average voter would reason that any change must be for the better. On the other hand, I know a large class of voters oppose any change and have a haunting fear of increased taxes. Either the class that is willing to take a chance is more numerous, or the women must be credited with carrying the amendments by making them known, since they did pass.

OTHER things that kept me gasping with astonishment through various political meetings held by both parties were the methods of the speakers and the reaction of the audiences. Most of the speakers whom I heard—and some of them were regarded as very shining lights indeed—showed either an utter lack of training in the fundamentals of logic and argumentation or an utter disregard for truth or reason. They mis-stated, they misrepresented; they argued from false premises, used analogies that were not analogous and examples where the conditions were not similar. They used statistics where these favored their cause, and sneered at others from the same or equally good sources if they supported the other side. Men who had not even read the text of the League made speeches on it and offered to answer questions regarding it. They handed out predigested misinformation prepared in advance by party leaders. If a question "cornered" them, they resorted to quibbles about the meaning of words or bursts of oratory.

(Continued on page 1134)

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The Woman Preacher

To the Editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN:

MAY I congratulate you on the article on "Woman Preachers" in a recent number? I, for one, tried in the past year to obtain the information contained therein from several large city libraries, but without success. Here's hoping that some of our college girls may have seen it, and be led to consider the ministry as a profession—the highest profession of all. For it is true here as well as in

With Our Contributing Editors

England that "the splendid young women of our universities who are so responsive to the appeal of the Student Christian Movement and foreign missions have yet not heard this call."

Speaking of England; it would perhaps surprise some of the *Citizen's* readers to know how much public attention the subject of woman and the ministry is receiving in that country. Not long ago a public debate on the subject was held in a large hall, and we are told that so great was the crowd that hundreds could not gain admittance. Nothing like that here yet; perhaps this is because we here have only indifference to cope with, while our English sisters have to contend with active antagonism. Consequently, some of the brainiest women in England are girding themselves for the conflict, women of large mentality, of fervent spirituality, and of widest training. A. Maude Royden is one of these.

THOSE interested in the subject of woman and the ministry will read with pleasure an article by M. Madeline Southard in the *Methodist Review* for December, 1919. I wish I could quote the article here entire; but time and space and copyright laws forbid. Here are bits. In reference to woman's physical fitness for the work—

"Numbers of women have spent many strenuous years in the most strenuous kind of preaching, the evangelistic. Deaconesses have walked innumerable miles and climbed innumerable steps in pastoral visiting. Recently a superintendent from a mountainous region was presenting to a body of seminary students the opportunities of his district. He told of a deaconess who had travelled great distances and opened up charges which he thought would now support a man pastor. Probably the deaconess would then go farther west and continue her sheltered feminine activity!"

And again in speaking of the appeal to Scriptures—"The abandonment of the proof-text method permits a survey of the whole field that makes it almost certain that women preached in the early church. * * * Paul cautioned women to wear their head-covering when they prayed and prophesied, but Paul defined prophesying as 'speaking unto men to edification, exhortation, and comfort'. If that isn't preaching, it is what preaching ought to be."

"Perhaps preaching is not essentially inimical to motherhood. Catherine Booth, a great preacher, bore eight children who were infatuated with the ministry. * * * This whole argument from nature loses much of its weight when we remember that it is the time-worn



word of woman's sphere that has so long deprived her of educational opportunity and political justice."

And lastly here is a penetrating word—

"Very much social effort fails through social vision, much religious effort fails through lack of practical human contact. * * * For the masculine and feminine minds are ever complementary, and only the blended wisdom of the two can give a symmetry and wholeness in home and church and state."

Women are needed in the ministry. Women are fitted for the ministry. Women are entering the ministry. The hour has struck.

EUPHEMIA DRYSDALE

East Boston, Mass.

Man's Thoughts on Motherhood

To the Editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN:

IN a recent edition of the *Woman Citizen* there appears a short item, "Vicarious Mothers," in which is expressed a rather sweeping statement of Counsellor Clark's, of London. He says, "Early marriage is the salvation of most men and of all women and motherhood is the only worthy career for a woman." (Not questioning the worthiness of motherhood, I wonder why it is that men do not up-hold the ideal of fatherhood for themselves as much as they up-hold motherhood for women.)

Early marriage may be the salvation of most men and of many women,—but certainly not all women. For some women, in fact, early marriage is the antithesis of salvation; and while motherhood is indeed a most worthy career for a woman it is not the "only worthy" career.

There are many childless women who are not seeking to "exert a masterful authority over their own sex," or the opposite sex, for that matter, who are doing more for humanity and making more self-sacrifices than many a woman is who has children.

There is a reason for everything. Some women, as some men, are physically unfitted for parenthood. Others are mentally unsuited. The woman whose strongest inclinations are toward things mental and spiritual would be as miserable with physical children as the woman with different tendencies would be without them. It is true that some individuals are a combination of the three qualities, but such is the exception.

The same hat does not fit every head, and what is one person's meat is another's poison.

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"I LOVE the unimproved works of God," said an old nature lover. To all such an invaluable book may be suggested—Mr. Horace Kephart's *Camping and Woodcraft* (The Macmillan Company). It is a guide *de luxe* to camping, and that is a very different thing from being a guide to *de luxe* camping.

Mr. Kephart's brand of out-of-door life is the real thing; but the reason why his book is so good, is twofold—no, it is threefold. It is firstly a comprehensive guide-book and tells just what to take on a camping expedition and how to fix it. It supplies cuts showing how tents are to be set up—beds and tables and folding chairs made and it even furnishes camp cooking recipes. Next it gives a complete idea of where to go and what to do when camping, what to do when lost, how to find a trail, where to pitch a tent, how to follow "nature's guide posts," what to do in accidents and

Some Books to Pack in Your Old Kit-Bag

emergencies. And finally, it is a book actually possible to carry along with one. It is light and small, well printed, well divided as to subjects, bound and indexed in a serviceable way.

You can find poison ivy on page 464 and ptomaine poisoning on 453. Rabies and rattle snakes are taken care of and "to find the sun on a cloudy day" is listed as well as sunstroke remedies. This is verily and in truth a book for the kit-bag of an adventurous spirit.

THE late strenuous times have seemed to put away forever types of books like Thoreau's *Cape Cod*, John Burroughs' *Wake Robin* and Stewart Edward White's *The Mountain*. They were the literary voices of out-of-doors, half poet visions and half nature-lover's observations—books loved by a few proud aristocrats belonging to a cult of literary-nature worshippers.

Henry Van Dyke once belonged to the same high-priestly interpreters of wood and river and sea and sky before he entered into the strain of international politics. Even now he is quick to usher into recognition a beloved new member of this exclusive group of prophets—Miss Marian Storm.

Dr. Van Dyke says of the tone and spirit of Miss Storm's *Minstrel Weather* (Harper and Brothers): "It is native American, yet subtly flavored through and through with memories of Greece and Italy and Elizabethan England. It is realist to the core, and therefore, being human, it is idealist. Marian Storm does not fall into the modern error of thinking that your caveman is your only true lover and comprehender of nature. She looks on the wide and varied world with a vision at once cleared and enriched by wise reading. She describes nature with her eye on the object and her imagination beyond; her first book—in clear, spicy prose—is alluring and refreshing.

A PLEASANT comradely book is Winifred Cotter's *Sheila and Others* (E. P. Dutton Company). The Canadian author calls it "the simple annals of an unromantic household." It is that, and more, the simple, kindly, fine-spirited record of a succession of domestic servants who drifted through the life of the writer. Some of the stories are full of humor, some touched with pathos.

"The faultless Adelina" is one of the best of Mrs. Cotter's pleasant tales. It rehearses an experience, not uncommon to mistresses, of finding themselves *de trop* in their own domains. Adelina did what was right to such an extent that there was but one will in the family—and that was Adelina's.



A GRATEFUL public owes much to the Four Seas Company for issuing the International Pocket Library. When books went up in price and down in quality of paper and print, these 25 cent editions of well-known masterpieces cheered the buyer. Among the excellent selections made for this series is John Trevena's *By Violence*. Those who only know Mr. Trevena as the author of rather slow-moving and introspective novels will welcome this fine and strong short-story of the man who left the world to live with nature and find truth. But as he carried with him his intolerance of human freedom, it was only by violence that the kingdom of Heaven became his. The story is admirably sustained in its relentless insistence that the most sordid soul must go untrammelled.

Keep the Beacon Burning

DURING almost half a century Dr. Anna Howard Shaw held aloft the Beacon to light women's way to Political Liberty and Progress.

AS a tribute to her memory and a continuation of her life's work \$500,000 is being raised to establish a Foundation in Political Science at Bryn Mawr College, and a Foundation in Preventive Medicine at the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania.

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120 Broadway New York

About the Cleveland Convention

GAY in blue and buff, the chosen colors of the National League of Women Voters, Cleveland, Ohio, will welcome the League when their second annual convention opens April 11. And this color scheme will be repeated in all the decorations at the hotels, on the badges, and fluttering from automobiles during the week's stay of the delegates.

The Statler Hotel has been chosen as the League headquarters.

The Cleveland League of Women Voters will act as hostess, and Mrs. Walter B. Laffer has been chosen chairman of the Convention Committee. With real business efficiency, sub-committees have been named to look after the arrangements of the convention and care for the comfort and entertainment of the 1,200 visitors who are expected.

Miss Belle Sherwin, Chairman of the Cleveland League of Women Voters, has issued instructions to the League to so arrange all work that "even in a case of murder there shall be no hitch in arrangements—even for an hour," for "this is an undertaking which cannot be permitted to suffer, no matter what may happen to any one person."

The courtesy of the Women's City Club and the Women's Club will be extended to the National League of Women Voters. Miss Belle Sherwin, Chairman of the Cleveland League of Women Voters, which acts as hostess to the National League, is chairman also of the Women's City Club. Miss Sherwin says she can fill both positions at the same time because "both clubs have at heart the same aim—the civic betterment of women." Miss Sherwin ranks among Cleveland's most useful and public-

Dates for Purchasing R. R. Tickets Changed

Dates for purchasing railroad tickets to Cleveland on the certificate plan have been changed from April 7-13 to April 6-12. Those going to the convention may secure the special rate on the round trip of fare-and-one-half by purchasing a one-way ticket on the dates specified—April 6-12—and getting from the ticket seller a certificate showing such purchase. These certificates, validated at Cleveland when the delegate arrives, will then be honored for one-half the return fare if return tickets are purchased on or before April 20th. This concession is contingent upon a stipulated number of delegates attending the convention, but reports already in the National office indicate that this number will be greatly exceeded.

spirited citizens, and as head of the Cleveland League of Women Voters, will deliver the welcoming speech at the opening of the convention.

CONVENTION COMMITTEES

Chairman Ohio League of women voters: Miss Amy G. Maher.

Chairman Cleveland League of women voters: Miss Belle Sherwin.

Chairman Convention Committee: Mrs. Walter B. Laffer.

Vice-Chairman: Mrs. A. C. Waid.

Secretary: Miss Margaret Johnson.

Badges and Signs: Mrs. Frank Mulhauser.

Banquet and Dinners: Mrs. H. B. Mallette.

Bureau of Information: Mrs. A. B. Pyke.

Decorations: Miss Selma Sullivan.

Publications: Mrs. E. E. Hill.

Finance: Mrs. Albert Levy.

Headquarters: Miss Prudence Sherwin.

Hotels and Transportation: Mrs. W. A. Fay.

Mass Meeting: Mrs. E. S. Bassett.

Music: Mrs. Nicola Cerri.

Pages and Ushers: Miss Helen Mulliken.
Press and Publicity: Mrs. Howard Thayer.
Program: Mrs. John T. Webster.
Program Advertising: Mrs. Allard Smith.
Reception and Local Transportation: Mrs. W. G. Waitt.
Credentials and Elections and Registration: Mrs. Harris R. Cooley.
Regional Hostesses: Miss Amy G. Maher, Chairman.
Seating of Delegates: Mrs. E. E. Purington.
Social Committee: Mrs. Malcolm L. McBride.
Special Luncheons: Mrs. W. E. Shackleton.
Woman Citizen: Mrs. Alton Smith.

TRAIN COMMITTEE

Local Committees wearing badges will meet trains at railroad stations, Sunday, Monday and Tuesday, to direct delegates and visitors to hotels.

PRESS REPRESENTATIVES

Special arrangements will be made for Representatives of the Press. Correspondents and Magazine writers who plan to attend the Convention, kindly notify Mrs. Howard Thayer, 2728 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio, the probable date of arrival and bring credentials from the paper they represent. All Press Representatives are urged to register immediately on arrival and to secure Press Badges in order to assure prompt admission to the Convention Hall and Press Table.

There will be information bureaus in all the large hotels under the general supervision of Mrs. A. B. Pyke, Chairman of the Bureau of Information, while Mrs. W. A. Fay is Chairman of the Transportation Committee. Mrs. E. S. Bassett has charge of arrangements for the mass meeting which will be held in Masonic Hall. Mrs. Park is to preside at this meeting, and among the speakers nationally known are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Judge Florence Allen, and Mrs. F. Louis Slade.

Our Political Campaign

(Continued from page 1131)

IF the speaker was a Republican he stupefied us with figures regarding Democratic waste in the World War and entertained us with horrible predictions of what would come to pass if we should go into the League of Nations. He would plead with Southern Democrats to forget the Civil War, lay aside sectionalism and be one country; in the next breath, appealing for a more narrow sectionalism with reference to the world, preaching a shameless doctrine of selfishness which he called "Americanism." The Democratic speaker invariably pursued the same course of contradicting in the second half of his speech all he had urged in impassioned voice in the first. He would exhort the audience in the name of Southern tradition, of all the party has done for the South to stand by the Democrats, going back to the Civil War and rattling the dry bones of the spectre of "negro domination;" then when he reached the League of Nations he would launch into a noble appeal that provincialism be forgotten, that a world vision be cultivated—in short that a totally op-

posite spirit be exercised from that which he was so recently invoking.

YOU gasped and wondered. Was he sincere? Could a man of his position be so inconsistent, so illogical, or was it a form of intellectual dishonesty? Was he deficient or was the whole thing intentional? Was it party policy based on a large contempt for popular information and intelligence, perhaps evolved from experience? If the latter, one had to admit, it seemed justified, for next to our wide-eyed wonder at the methods of the orators was our open-mouthed marveling at the attitude of the audiences. I did not see an egg thrown; I saw but little indignation. Generally speaking, Republican audiences went to hear Republican speakers and applauded them right through even when they flatly contradicted what they had just been saying, and Democratic audiences gave their own speakers the same reception. Newspapers pursued the same simple course—figuring in black type whatever ap-

peared to advance the party they espoused and subordinating or suppressing the rest. Any effort to be fair or truthful was conspicuously absent. If a new woman voter, trying to discover a path through this maze of contradictions entered a question, she was regarded with suspicion, as being little better than a "damn Yankee."

Another surprise for us lay in the sudden cessation of interest as soon as the vote was counted. Who talks politics today? Apparently the whole matter is shelved until another campaign approaches; only the "professionals" remain on the job.

To sum up: we are more than ever convinced that the crying need of our nation is education—all sorts of education, but particularly citizenship education—government—politics, if you will; not party propaganda, but impartial, unbiased study of public questions. Do we need a League of Women Voters? I'll say we do!—(Reprinted from the Norfolk, Va. HOUSEWIFE.)



THE STUMBLING BLOCKS

THE WOMAN CITIZEN'S *Convention Number*

— APRIL 9th —

will tell the story of the country-wide work of the NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS for better legislation. Against what odds have not these women worked for these six bills in the 66th Congress:

THE SHEPPARD-TOWNER BILL, granting federal aid for maternity and infancy; the GRONNA BILL, creating a federal live-stock commission; the CURTIS-GARD CHILD LABOR BILL for the District of Columbia; the SMITH-TOWNER EDUCATIONAL BILL; the ROGERS BILL for the independent citizenship of married women, and the FESS HOME ECONOMICS BILL, providing a federal appropriation for teaching home economics.

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"Without popular education, no government which rests upon popular action can long endure."—President Woodrow Wilson.



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THE Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL FOUNDED 1870
TEN CENTS A COPY **APRIL 9, 1921**

**WHO'S WHO AND WHO'S WHERE
IN THE NATIONAL LEAGUE
OF WOMEN VOTERS**

**HOW THE GOVERNMENT SPENDS
YOUR MONEY**

A NEW LIGHT ON THE MOVIES

THE FIFTEEN NEW SENATORS

Gowns of Silken Beauty To Peep Out from Lightsome Wraps

A host of wondrous new creations graces our Women's and Misses' Salons—thoroughbreds, every one. Each possesses that enviable air of tone and individuality which imparts to the wearer an appearance of exclusiveness.

The creations of Canton Crepe are loveliness itself, especially some of Dove Grey bedecked with sparkling beads and those of varying tones of Brown. The Taffetas, too, are charming, with their vivacious flares, touches of gay color and rich embroideries. So soft and alluring are those of Charmeuse, Crepe Meteor, Crepe Satin and Georgette Crepe one longs for several.

New Evening Gowns are here, too, in a profusion of delicate or vivid tones—demurely simple in mode or elaborate with scintillating sequins.

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Excelsior Quilting Co.

NEW YORK CITY

The Producers of Motion Pictures Are Rigidly Censoring All Productions

The following resolutions have been adopted by every motion picture company

THE producers and distributors of motion pictures, of the National Association of the Motion Picture Industry, at a meeting held on Saturday, took drastic, concerned and binding action to keep the screen clean and wholesome. After careful deliberation and thorough consideration of all the problems of motion picture production, a definite and concrete plan was agreed upon which will insure against the production of questionable films and will prevent also, the exploitation of pictures in a manner offensive to good taste.

The conferences which resulted in this concerted action were attended personally by executive officers of Associated First National Pictures Corporation, Associated Producers, Inc., William A. Brady Picture Plays Company, Educational Film Exchanges, Inc., Famous Players-Lasky Corporation, Fox Film Corporation, Goldwyn Pictures Corporation, D. W. Griffith, Inc., International Film Service, Inc., Metro Pictures Corporation, Pathe Exchange, Inc., Realart Pictures Corporation, Robertson-Cole Distributing Corporation, The Selznick Corporation, Norma Talmadge Film Company, Triangle Distributing Corporation, Universal Film Manufacturing Company, United Artists Corporation and the Vitagraph Company of America, nearly all of whom are producing and distributing members in the National Association of the Motion Picture Industry, which represents approximately 90% of the motion picture production in the United States and whose productions include all of those in which the great stars appear.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted in order to put into effect a remedial plan:

RESOLVED: that the National Association of the motion picture industry reaffirms its emphatic protest against the production, distribution and exhibition of all motion pictures which are obscene, salacious, indecent and immoral, and be it further

RESOLVED: that while the creators of the art of the motion picture must in no way be hampered or prohibited from depicting honestly and clearly life as it is, to the end that this art may not be hindered in its movement toward the dignity of other arts, the motion picture should not be prostituted to a use or as a means towards arousing bawdy emotions or pandering to a salacious curiosity, or in any other manner injurious to public welfare; and be it further

RESOLVED: to the end that the motion picture be held in that high plane which it has already attained, that the producers of motion pictures refrain from producing such motion pictures

(a) which emphasize and exaggerate sex appeal or depict scenes therein exploiting interest in sex in an improper or suggestive form or manner;

(b) based upon white slavery or commercialized vice or scenes showing the procurement of women or any of the activities attendant upon this traffic;

(c) Thematically making prominent an illicit love affair which tends to make virtue odious and vice attractive;

(d) with scenes which exhibit nakedness or persons scantily dressed, particularly suggestive bedroom and bathroom scenes and scenes of inciting dances;

(e) with scenes which unnecessarily prolong expressions or demonstrations of passionate love;

(f) Predominantly concerned with the underworld or vice and crime, and like scenes, unless the scenes are part of an essential conflict between good and evil;

(g) of stories which make drunkenness and gambling attractive or with scenes which show the use of narcotics and other unnatural practices dangerous to social morality;

(h) of stories and scenes which may instruct the morally feeble in methods of committing crime or by cumulative processes emphasize crime and the commission of crime;

(i) of stories or scenes which ridicule or deprecate public officials, officers of the law, the United States Army, the United States Navy or other governmental authority, or which tend to weaken the authority of the law;

(j) of stories or with scenes or incidents which offend the religious belief of any person, creed or sect or ridicule ministers, priests, rabbis, or recognized leaders of any religious sect, and also which are disrespectful to objects or symbols used in connection with any religion;

(k) of stories or with scenes which unduly emphasize bloodshed and violence without justification in the structure of the story.

(l) of stories or with scenes which are vulgar and portray improper gestures, posturings and attitudes;

(m) with salacious titles, and subtitles in connection with their presentation or exhibition, and the use of salacious advertising matter, photographs and lithographs in connection therewith; and it is further

RESOLVED: that this association record its intention to aid and assist the properly constituted authorities in the criminal prosecution of any producer, distributor or exhibitor of motion pictures, who shall produce, distribute or exhibit any obscene, salacious or immoral motion picture in violation of the law, to the end that the recognized public good accomplished by the motion picture shall be preserved and advanced; and be it further

RESOLVED: that any member of this association willfully refusing to carry into effect these resolutions, shall be subject to expulsion as a member of the association, and further subject to such other penalties as the association may fix; and be it further

RESOLVED: that all exhibitors, producers and distributors of motion pictures, not members of this association, be urged to co-operate to carry into full effect these resolutions.

This action is expected to prove most effectual in keeping the screen entirely free from questionable matter.

National Association of the Motion Picture Industry

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Vol. LI Old Style
Vol. V New Style

APRIL 9, 1921

No. 45

Continuing THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL (founded 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell,
and published from 1870 to 1917)

PUBLISHED BY

THE WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION

AT 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the
cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

DIRECTORS OF THE CORPORATION

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Miss Mary Garrett Hay
New York City

Mrs. Raymond Brown
New York City

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New York City

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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME V

APRIL 9, 1921

NUMBER 45

We March On

WITH the next issue of the WOMAN CITIZEN comes a change in the managerial and editorial staff. Miss Rose Young, editor and manager of the WOMAN CITIZEN, and director of publicity for the National American Woman Suffrage Association as well, has resigned and will seek a merited and much needed rest. Miss Young yielded to a bad case of fatigue last August but not until the last suffrage gun had been fired and the victorious amendment had been safely written into the constitutional law of the land.

For four years she served in this dual capacity although either task was burden enough for one person even when supported by the ready assistance of a capable staff.

There are no vacations, no week-ends, no holidays, no evenings, no Sundays that are really free for such a chief. There are no eight-hour days, no fifty-two-hour weeks. "Publicity" must go when "stories break," no matter when. The paper must carry the news even though "forms are made up" when it arrives. If news comes in at midnight, the weary vigilant must receive it and let it go at once to centers of distribution in order that the world may read it at the breakfast table next day. It cannot wait until morning. Indeed there is no tomorrow with a publicity department nor a newspaper. It is always now or never.

MANY were the times during the campaign when Miss Young, home from an overtime, nerve-racking day of unremitting work, was forced to put in more hours at the telephone because there was fresh news which would not keep. Her duties, the most exacting demanded of any national officer, were so patiently, so cheerfully, so enthusiastically rendered, that her co-workers scarcely realized the overweight which rested upon her. It is not too much to say that without her, ratification would not have been won at so early a date.

The tribute which is far more intimate and an even better test of her truly remarkable gifts, is the love, understanding and devotion of the fifty-odd persons who during the height of the campaign worked with her in the national headquarters. Her never pausing faith in the ultimate victory, her amazing energy, her initiative, her brilliancy of achievement earned, and held, the unswerving admiration and high esteem of the entire staff of every department.

She has recovered so far that for some weeks she has been at her desk, but it is clear that complete restoration will not come that way. Nature demands the full penalty of overdoing. Absolute rest with freedom from responsibility is the sole cure for all around tired-out-ness. This she will now have and will come back to normal. The world will have plenty of places awaiting her return from her furlough and a long and brilliant future lies before her.

In the past the WOMAN CITIZEN has been the organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. It has been the national propagating agent for the enfranchisement of women by any and all legal processes with the ultimate aim of

finishing the task by Federal Constitutional Amendment. It has served this purpose first, last and all the time and often at the cost of excluding from its columns material far more desirable to the average subscriber than that which it has carried.

For example, many numbers have been especially designed to meet the needs of particular states under campaign and in order to make these issues really valuable to such local uses, much old material familiar to the general reader had to be used. The character of its contents changed direction not infrequently through information received at national headquarters and which, not being known to its readers, must have puzzled them oftentimes. In preference to its subscribers, the WOMAN CITIZEN has served the cause to which it was consecrated by the Blackwells when as the WOMAN'S JOURNAL it was by them established in 1870. Those days are over. The cause to which the paper was dedicated fifty years ago has been won. What next?

THE Leslie Commission, which acquired the WOMAN'S JOURNAL, authorized the change of its name and form and met its annual deficit, carefully considering this question. Shall the paper, having helped to attain the object for which it was brought into being and which is now achieved, be suspended? The Leslie Commission has answered that question with plans for its continuance.

Mrs. Raymond Brown, was elected a director of the Woman Citizen Corporation and made managing director of the magazine. Her connection with magazine circles, her well established executive and business record, her devotion to the woman's cause, and her wide understanding of all its ramifications, equip her with a most unusual combination of abilities for the successful management of the WOMAN CITIZEN.

The editor will be Miss Virginia Roderick, for several years the managing editor of the well known magazine, *Everybody's*. That she has been connected with so able a magazine for a long period offers satisfying evidence of her very exceptional talents and achievements. Much surprise has been expressed in newspaper circles in New York that so talented an editor would voluntarily leave so widely known and thoroughly established a firm as Buttericks, the publishers of *Everybody's*. Yet this she has done of her own volition inspired by the sole motive of a desire to serve the woman's cause more directly and intimately. No stronger endorsement of choice of editor, and no stronger assurance that the magazine will as boldly as ever defend that cause could be offered to the subscribers of the CITIZEN.

WHY continue the WOMAN CITIZEN? Because winning the vote did not end the woman's campaign for equality and justice. Many a hard fought battle lies ahead and its field will be found in unexpected places. Laws still on the statute books of some states which permit a father to will away an unborn child, and a dissolute husband to collect and spend the wages of the wife, the unfair distribution of family property and countless other discriminations against women demand immediate attention.



MISS VIRGINIA RODERICK, THE
NEW EDITOR OF THE
WOMAN CITIZEN

The denial of degrees to women of equal training with men as in Cambridge University; a woman pushed from the civil service list because she is a woman as in Illinois; the movement to put a man at the head of the Bedford Woman's Reformatory as in New York, are examples of what may be expected to arise in almost any quarter.

The political parties were generous and hospitable last autumn to the new woman voters but in most states the place finally accorded them seems to be that of an irresponsible "ladies auxiliary." Men and women have not learned how to work together

and women in politics will experience many a shock before there is either equality or justice in the distribution of duties or favors, and women voters should know the trend of events in this field.

But the most important need of a woman's political paper lies in the fact that women of forward views should be informed, well and correctly informed, concerning every phase of the functioning of their own sex in politics. By millions of people throughout the world the vote for women will be regarded as an experiment. Many still speak of votes for men as an experiment. What mistakes will women make? What will they achieve? What will they stand for and what fight for? Will they want office and struggle for it as men do? And, succeeding, what sort of officials

I WANT to thank the many contributors to the Marie Curie Fund who have responded to our recent appeal in the Citizen for assistance in the purchase of a gram of radium for that wonderful and renowned scientist. It is a long and tedious task to raise \$100,000, and the fund is \$40,000 short. Therefore, let all who can spare a dollar listen to the announcement of the chairman of the Curie Fund:

"President Harding will present one gram of radium to Mme. Curie, discoverer of this element, when the noted scientist is received in the White House, May 20. The occasion will be a memorable one.

"This radium will cost \$100,000. Of this sum, according to a report received from the Equitable Trust Company, the fund's treasurer, \$60,000 has been raised by American women. The needed balance, therefore, is \$40,000. This must be in hand by April 18 if women are to complete the work and, unaided, make this gift possible. No longer delay is possible as the radium must be ordered and then tested by the Bureau of Standards in Washington. This will require about six weeks.

"There is no question as to the generosity of American women, or their ability to raise this relatively small amount. But unless countless promises are speedily turned into cash and those willing to aid realize that further delay may be exceedingly embarrassing, the \$100,000 will remain unsubscribed two weeks from now.

"This radium is to be presented to Mme. Curie because this noted and self-sacrificing woman has not only devoted her life and genius to aiding humanity, but for the reason that she gave her entire supply to France at the outbreak of the war and is now devoid of so much as a single grain. If Mme. Curie is to go on with her experimentations, American women must pro-

vide the radium. France cannot. Radium recently reported bought by Paris will be used in hospital work."

ALL of these questions and many others women should be able to answer as the facts develop. Without a medium whose business it is to gather the facts and present them as they are, women will not possess the data needed in their efforts to better conditions. Whether they know it or not, the women of this country need just the service the WOMAN CITIZEN will strive to render.

It is no longer a propagandistic paper. It will exclude nothing of value from its columns as in former times, in order to carry information and special arguments to localities or groups. It will serve only the general cause of all women with privilege and favor to none. It will gather the news concerning women and news of events that affect women and reproduce truthfully and without bias. It will continue to plead as ever for the removal of discriminations against women in law and custom. It will advocate the fullest development of every woman's individuality and demand for her an equal share of the world's duties and privileges. Subscriber, help the WOMAN CITIZEN to help you.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,
President Leslie Commission.



MRS. RAYMOND BROWN, THE NEW
MANAGER-DIRECTOR OF THE
WOMAN CITIZEN

vide the radium. France cannot. Radium recently reported bought by Paris will be used in hospital work."

The radium will be a permanent gift. It will last many thousand years and during Mme. Curie's life will be used only for research work. The scientist is due May 17. C. C. C.

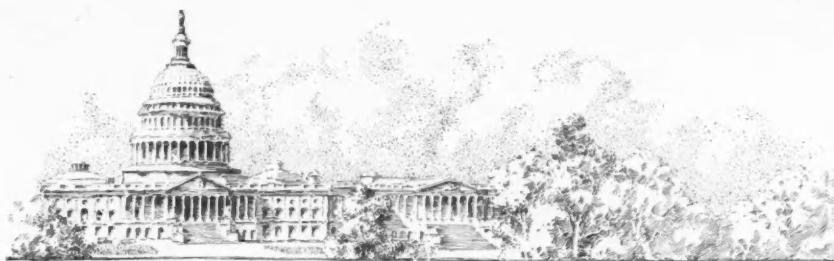
THE case known as Leser vs. Garnett was set for hearing in the Maryland Court of Appeals for April 7th. The case is brought for the purpose and with the hope of invalidating the suffrage amendment. It is supported by the Maryland League for State Defense, a group organized to defeat ratification, and it is understood that Everett P. Wheeler will present a separate brief for the American Constitutional League, another alleged organization which for some years has devoted its energies to the attempt to stay the coming of woman suffrage. This latter group has a case in the Supreme Court of the United States now, Fairchild vs. Colby. Both cases hold that the amendment exceeds the powers for amending the Federal Constitution as defined in Article V and that it was not legally ratified by a sufficient number of states to make it valid in any case.

The Maryland case was heard in the Court of Common Pleas and of course the petitioners lost. They now appeal to the Maryland Court of Appeals and it is reported that when and if they are able to appeal to the Federal Supreme Court, no less a personage than Elihu Root will join the counsel. It is further reported that the general expenses will be met with the aid of contributions from Mrs. Arthur Dodge and Mrs. James Wadsworth, both former presidents of the Anti-Suffrage Society.

Why are human beings, otherwise sane, utterly unable to see that the world has passed them by and will not return that way again?

C. C. C.

The Fifteen New



United States Senators

From the Woman Citizen's Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 4, 1921.

WHAT may the women of the country expect from the fifteen new members of the United States Senate with respect to the proposed legislation which women have endorsed? Will the men prove themselves open-minded or must the same hard, self-sacrificing struggle against conservatism, inherent prejudice and tradition continue?

With respect to his attitude toward woman suffrage every one of the fifteen announces himself an ardent champion of votes for women. With respect to his attitude on questions which are not closed issues, only one of the fifteen pledges himself sweepingly in favor of laws asked by women. That one is Senator McKinley, of Illinois, whose support of the Federal suffrage amendment during his service in the House of Representatives was so strong, that it is not surprising that he now says of the Sheppard-Towner bill and other laws desired by women, "I am for them."

Assurances that he stands for the principles of so-called welfare legislation are given by Senator Gooding, of Idaho. As chairman of the Republican State Committee in Idaho, Senator Gooding recalls giving assistance to Mrs. J. Ellen Foster in securing a plank in the state party platform, which resulted in the submission two years later of a state suffrage referendum.

One of the most unusual figures in the new Senate is Senator Watson, of Georgia, whose fire-eating tendencies have spread his reputation far and wide. Senator Watson was refusing interviews during the early days of the special session, but he asked to be put down as "receiving the lady representative of the WOMAN CITIZEN as a gentleman should." He declined to be quoted on any answers to her questions, put a few himself as to whether she "had attended divine service yesterday" and "what was the text," offered to send her a set of his campaign speeches, which, he said, "do not read like a Sunday service" and ended by asking that it be said of him that he "resembled the outgoing and incoming Vice-President in not having said a thing." All of which leaves the woman citizen as much in a quandary concerning him as are certain Senators on both sides of the chamber, who think that he may treat the country to the spectacle of a Democrat from Georgia voting with the Republicans.

EARLY experiences with Senator Broussard suggest that the women legislative workers will have some little difficulty in snaring the gallant gentleman from Louisiana for interviews. Senator Broussard, on the first morning he was approached, was reported as busily engaged with both of his secretaries drafting a bill to be presented that very morning. How impressive such a message would sound going out over the country! Such industry, "a second Smoot come to Congress!" The only flaw was that the Senate was in extra session without the House so that bills could not possibly be presented. On the following morning, Senator Broussard was said to be engaged with a photographer. On the succeeding morning, he was engaged with another photographer. The next morning with still another photographer. "And there are so many photographers here in Washington," said the Senator's secretary cheerfully, "that I think he will be

busy with them for the rest of the week." Nothing to do, therefore, but to lie in wait and stop the Senator as he passed through the halls to hear from his own lips of his unqualified support of state's rights and his opposition to any bills which might suggest Federal control.

SENATOR NORBECK, of South Dakota, as Governor of that state, has given great assistance to suffragists in the past and he states that he expects to continue that policy toward what women want in the future. So also does Senator Carraway, of Arkansas, who during his service in the House of Representatives, as well as in his own state, has given much help to suffrage workers.

Senator Ladd, of North Dakota, because of his Non-Partisan League background, will be another figure of great interest during the coming months. Incidentally, he is said to be the only man in the Senate with training in his special field as chemistry expert. Going from Maine to the Middle West, he first became known as state chemist and head of the food commission. His inspections, investigations and prosecutions were extended from food to paint and his vigilant watch over both industries had the result as he puts it, "of my never going to bed a night for fifteen years without a damage suit hanging over my head." The British Government summoned him to make some flour investigations just preceding the war and his most recent work has been as president of the North Dakota Agricultural College, from which he resigned to represent his state in Washington. Not as yet pledged to the bills endorsed by the joint congressional committee, he expresses himself as naturally sympathetic with most of the principles involved.

SENATOR STANFIELD, of Oregon, is one of the new senators who dwells on his past suffrage record to the exclusion of future promises. He has served three terms in the Oregon Legislature and during his service as speaker introduced Mrs. Catt to make an address before the Legislature. Senator Stanfield is "looking to woman suffrage to benefit politics and policies."

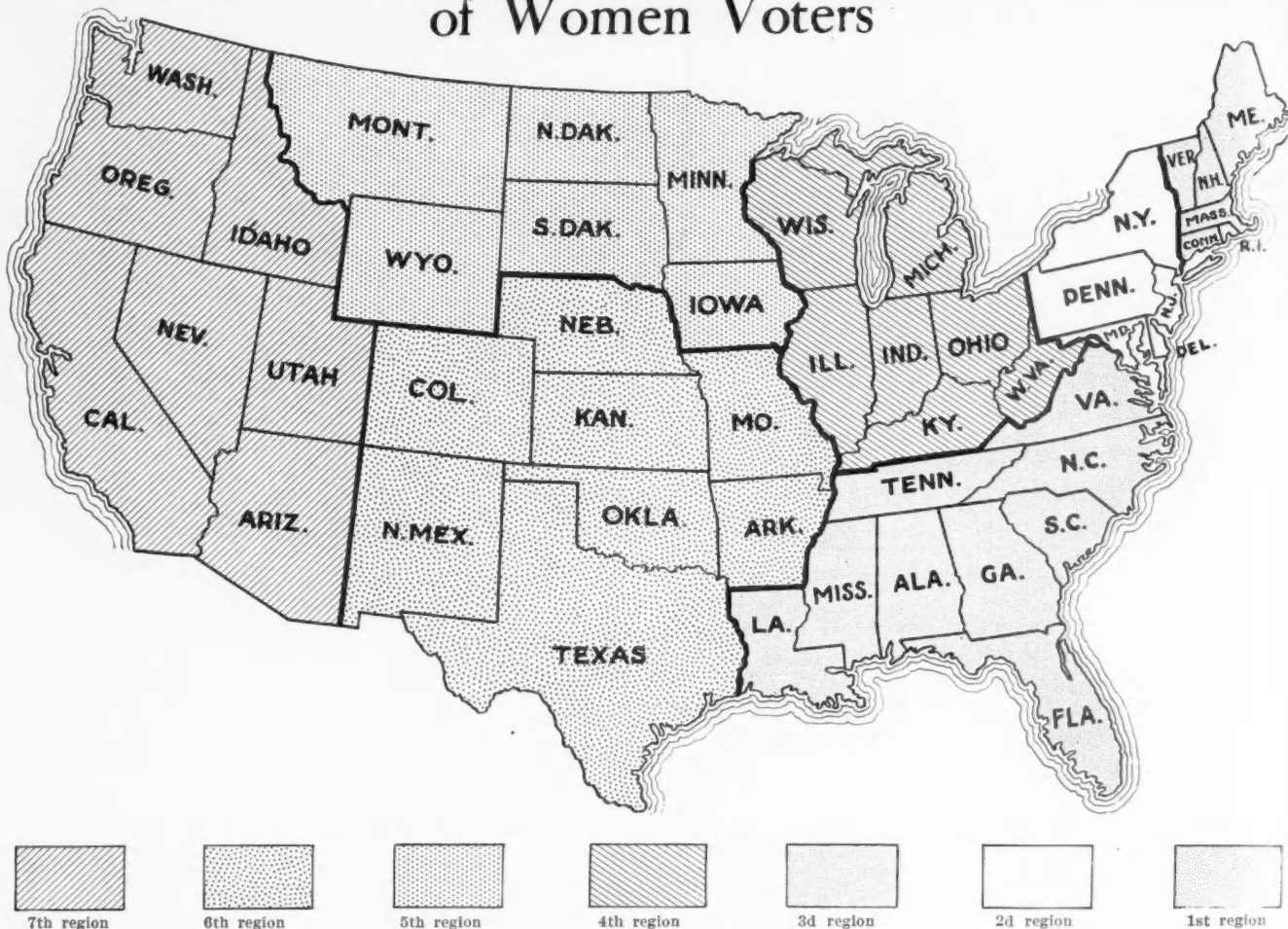
Another of the active suffrage supporters, who is non-committal concerning the bills backed by women, is Senator Ernst, of Kentucky. He is proud of the support which women gave his candidacy and quotes that as a strong contributing factor to his "having run ahead of President Harding in the last election."

Senator Harreld is devoting much attention to getting a hospital for the wounded soldiers of Oklahoma, which he describes as coming first in his interest at this time, with agricultural matters a close second. He is an ardent state's righter and opposed to "paternalistic bills." He refuses to be quoted on the bills endorsed by the joint congressional committee.

Both Senator Cameron, of Arizona, who was a member of the House from 1908 to 1912, and Senator Nicholson, of Colorado, declare themselves as desirous of giving their support to what women desire. Senator Nicholson says that he voted for woman suffrage in Colorado in 1893 and has never withdrawn his endorsement of the movement.

(Continued on page 1157)

Who's Who and Who's Where in the National League of Women Voters



MAP OF THE LEAGUE'S REGIONAL DIVISIONS

THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS has been in existence one year and in that year every state in the Union has organized a League of Women Voters with subsidiary district, county and city Leagues. At the convention date a member of the National Board will have held in every state in the Union an inspirational meeting and conference with the local leagues.

Field Directors have been sent in organization and citizenship work to every state, placed directly from the central office. In addition to this, splendid work has been done both in organization and citizenship by the individual states. In our organization work it has been our plan to send programs for schools and study clubs, accompanied by a statement that these programs were to be in no way binding—all that we demanded being an all-partisan school and the teaching of the fundamentals of the national, state and local government. Coupled with this, we recommended a thorough exposition of the League of Women Voters, its organization, platform and sphere of usefulness; a discussion of party organization, demonstrations connected with the primary, registration and election. In every instance, it has been the rule of the director of the citizenship school to leave a plan of study which should carry well through the year.

The State Universities of Massachusetts, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, Arkansas, North Carolina, Nebraska and Missouri advise that they are co-operating with the League of Women Voters in their citizenship work. Iowa

and Virginia, in particular, have employed in their extension departments directors of citizenship schools who, responding to calls received throughout the state, go to the various localities and conduct intensive courses in citizenship, in addition to the regular work done in the university. The State University of Wyoming is going to use the correspondence course of the League of Women Voters in connection with the university work and also in the summer school session. The University of Missouri, in addition to furnishing speakers on certain subjects for citizenship schools whenever they may be requested, has this year put on a required course in citizenship for every Freshman.

THE demand for citizenship school directors was such that to meet it a normal training school was held in August in the Organization Headquarters of the League of Women Voters to supplement the school held by Mrs. Catt last year immediately after the convention and all states were invited to send representatives. The entire course was conducted by Miss Ames. Certificates were given to all who passed the examination satisfactorily. For all of the work of organization and citizenship during the year the expense has been \$3,585.00. Women can be well trusted to safeguard the public purse.

As for the future, our only desire is for a well-informed, intelligent electorate, and this we will try to accomplish by further and closer organization and by our work in citizenship and by discussion and study of the civic problems and of those of the rural communities.

EDNA C. GELLHORN.

The Directors of the

Top row, left to right: Miss Katharine Ludington, Hartford, Conn., Director of 1st Region; Mrs. Richard Edwards, Peru, Indiana, Treasurer; Mrs. Julian B. Salley, Aiken, S. C., Director 3rd Region; Mrs. Geo. Gellhorn, St. Louis, Mo., Vice-Chairman and Director 6th Region; Mrs. James Paige, Minneapolis, Minn., Director 5th Region; Mrs. C. B. Simmons, Portland, Ore., Director 7th Region; Mrs. Solon Jacobs, Birmingham, Ala., Secretary



National League of Women Voters

Lower row, left to right: Mrs. Maude Wood Park, Boston, Mass., Chairman; Miss Belle Sherwin, Chairman Cleveland League of Women Voters and official hostess to Convention; Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, New York, Honorary Chairman

THE VISITING BOARD AND THE HOSTESS CHAIRMAN

EVENTS of great importance are the actions of several State Legislatures, which this year invited addresses by women leaders in the National League of Women Voters. Three of these Legislatures have been addressed by Mrs. Maude Wood Park, national chairman of the League of Women Voters, and the fourth—the Legislature of Tennessee—by Mrs. George Fort Milton, state chairman.

Mrs. Park spoke on the evening of March 16th to the Michigan Senate at their invitation, and, later, responding to a similar request from the Speaker of the House, explained the League's program to the House members. "Women are working for a broad, constructive program that is based on the conservation of health and life," she said. "Woman's instinct and training, fitting her to be the mother of the race, have given her special qualities to appreciate and understand certain problems confronting the state and nation, which relate to the welfare of her sex and of childhood. Her influence, felt in legislative bodies, will always be of a sober, substantial character."

Mrs. Park outlined the particular measures which the special State League of Women Voters was supporting, telling the Legislature why they were asking their enactment.

South Carolina's Legislature, the first before which Mrs. Park was invited to speak, reconsidered its action on the Age of Consent bill, previously reported unfavorably, and passed it. Mrs. Park also spoke before the Delaware Legislature. The Michigan Legislature was the third before which she appeared in person.

As Seen by a Director

THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS was a great conception on the part of those minds—notably Mrs. Catt's—which first saw it and then helped bring it into being.

In view of this year's history of the League as a separate organization, it is evident that the founders builded better than they knew. Not only has it met with instant response from the new women voters all over the country who saw that it answered to their needs and gave them something which no other organization quite supplied, but it is being hailed by those men who have been fighting long for governmental reform and for higher quality in the electorate and who have felt themselves hard pressed during the war and post-war period, when public attention was necessarily diverted from their program of reform toward other problems.

Everywhere the forces that are working for the revitalizing of American democracy, for the old habit of vigorous and free discussion of public questions, for the ideal of an active self-respecting and self-directing electorate, see in the League of Women Voters a bright spot on the political horizon.

American women have an opportunity before them which is almost overpowering in its possibilities. We come into the electorate with no bad habits as voters to hamper us, no commitments, nothing personal to gain. We have a natural bent toward the humane and the idealistic approach to public questions. It is expected of us to make this contribution to civilization.

We have before us the choice of two conceptions of our place in the community and our relationship to the political parties. Either we can become a submerged and a deliverable vote, one that can be reckoned simply in figures, a vote that always follows and never leads, or we can become a conscious element in the body politic, with definite ideals and demands, and a clear conception that the public welfare comes first and that party is only the means to this end, that parties should be living and developing organisms and that women should share in their development. This is a practical choice coming constantly to women in a series of important decisions. Unless the women voters make themselves heard and felt as women, bringing a stream of fresh ideas into public life, our fight for the vote will have been largely thrown away.

The League of Women Voters affords an agency through which to realize this ideal.

KATHERINE LUDINGTON,
Director of First Region.

MRS. JULIAN SALLEY, Third Regional Director, reports that at the Region's annual conference, held in Atlanta in February, seven of the nine states of her region were well represented and progress in organization and citizenship work were enthusiastically reported. Mississippi and Florida had no representatives present, not being at that time organized.

Immediately following the conference, Mrs. James Paige and Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch went into Florida, and, as a result of their work, Florida had an organization convention the first of April. Mississippi is organizing and will soon be heard from. Miss Blanche Rogers, with the help of Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, is holding citizenship schools over that state.

MRS. C. B. SIMMONS, Seventh Regional Director, sends word that the Seventh Region recognizes political education as a sore need of the country. All the states of her region report the forwarding of organization work. Women's national political activity in recent elections has impressed the women of the Seventh with the necessity for increased effort so that Western women may forge ahead. The slogan of the West is the slogan of the Seventh, "We set the pace."



MRS. EDWARD P. COSTIGAN, CHAIRMAN FOOD
SUPPLY AND DEMAND COMMITTEE

Some Work That the League of Women Voters is Organized to Do



MRS. RICHARD EDWARDS
TREASURER OF NATIONAL LEAGUE

THE Food Supply and Demand Committee of the League of Women Voters will report to the national Convention of the League in Cleveland, April 11 to 16, 1921, that the women of the country in increasing numbers are becoming informed concerning the unnecessary obstacles which increase prices and obstruct the free movement of the food supplies of the nation from producers to consumers.

Emphasis will be placed on the knowledge that in our country of unlimited food resources the lack of adequate federal and state laws, particularly of federal regulation, is today one of the important factors holding back both production and consumption. Unnecessary but widespread undernourishment has resulted among our people. For instance, the Federal Children's Bureau has stated that several million children in America are daily underfed. One of the well established causes of this condition

is found in the opportunity which exists for exacting unlimited profits in the distribution of food. This opportunity, enjoyed by food speculators and monopolists, has resulted in building a wall of living costs which the citizen of modest means finds difficulty in surmounting. The situation is not new. It prevailed before the war. It has continued since.

The League of Women voters is actively supporting legislative efforts in Congress to eliminate food profiteering, hoarding, speculation and monopoly and to compel economy and equality of treatment and facilities in transportation and other distribution. The League is urging public regulation of live-stock and other food markets so that they will be accessible to all without special privilege or favoritism. It is also endorsing cooperative associations which will tend to bring producers and consumers nearer together for the benefit of all.



MISS AMY G.
MAHER,
CHAIRMAN OF
THE OHIO
LEAGUE OF
WOMEN
VOTERS, AN
ABLE NEW-
COMER INTO
THE LEAGUE
OF
WOMEN
VOTERS

MRS. WALTER
B. LAFFER,
CHAIRMAN OF
THE LEAGUE
OF WOMEN
VOTERS OF
CLEVELAND,
OHIO, UPON
WHOM HINGE
THE DETAILS
OF MAKING
THE CONVEN-
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cess





MRS. A. B. PYKE, CLEVELAND, OHIO, FIRST WOMAN DELEGATE SELECTED FOR DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION IN SAN FRANCISCO, JUNE 28, 1920

The program of the Food Committee endorses suitable legislation proposed in Congress to regulate the meat-packing industry; also bills providing for increased appropriations for the proper extension of vocational training in home economics.

State committees are asked to advocate, before their separate Legislatures, laws to prevent profiteering, waste and the improper hoarding of food; laws limiting the time during which goods may be kept in cold storage; and laws restricting the number of sales which may be made between producers and consumers. In addition the state committee program includes the study and encouragement of public terminal and local markets, public warehouses, milk-receiving stations and depots, abattoirs and cooperative associations.

There are active chairman in thirty-eight states. Reports which will be given at the convention by several of these indicate a keen interest in the food situation and effective work being done to secure the proper production, distribution and use of food.

The Food Supply and Demand Committee is also directing the attention of women to the importance of working with the States Relations Services of the United States Department of Agriculture in support of home demonstration work in the states.

Investigation of the food situation is essentially the business of enlightened women who are assuming for the first time the full powers and responsibilities of citizenship. If our civilization is to fulfill its promise it is vital that nourishing food be brought and kept within reach of every home, and especially of all the growing children of the nation.

MABEL CORY COSTIGAN.

SOCIAL Hygiene chairmen have been appointed in the District of Columbia and in every state of the Union with the exception of Arizona, South Dakota, Nevada, and New Mexico. Up to March 20th, however, few of the chairmen had sent in their reports; although it was then probable that many more would be to hand before the date of the annual convention. The reports so far received included New York, Idaho, Vermont, Indiana, Illinois, Tennessee, and Pennsylvania, and covered activities in connection with legislation, law enforcement and education. A summary of Social Hygiene legislation, enumerating the bills before the various state Legislatures, has been issued periodically by the U. S. Public Health Service. Through these bulletins it has been possible to keep informed of every measure interesting to our committee, which has been introduced

during the present legislative year. The results of these attempts will not be known until the close of the legislative sessions.

In January the chairman of the Social Hygiene Committee sent a questionnaire to all her state chairmen asking for opinions concerning the introduction of proposals in connection with the Social Hygiene program for the creation of a public health committee and the inclusion of birth control. Seventeen replies were received. Of these three were in favor of birth control; eleven were opposed to including it in the program and three were in doubt concerning it. Only one was opposed to the creation of a public health committee, eleven were favorable, three doubtful.

The question of raising the age of consent was relegated to the Committee on Uniform Laws. In spite of the fact that this matter is not under the care of the Social Hygiene Committee, a number of the state chairmen have found it necessary to give their assistance to proposals for state legislation on this subject.

The League of Women Voters has been well represented at a number of conferences and conventions on Social Hygiene, both state and national. The Institute on Venereal Disease Control and Social Hygiene, conducted by the U. S. Public Health Service from November 22nd to December 4th, was one of the most important of these events. The Social Hygiene chairman of the League of Women Voters was a member of the Faculty of the Institute. Two hundred invitations had been sent out and provision had been made for audiences of about this number. Instead of 200 there were between 500 and 600 men and women in regular attendance through the whole period. Included in these were social workers and educators as well as doctors and those specially concerned with the treatment of venereal diseases. The All-America Conference on Venereal Diseases, held under the auspices of the U. S. Board of Social Hygiene, the U. S. Public Health Service, the American Red Cross and the American Social Hygiene Association, immediately followed the institute and occupied the week from December 6th to 11th.

VALERIA PARKER, M. D.



MRS. HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, WHO AS VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE WILL DISCUSS "PITFALLS IN POLITICS" WITH MRS. A. B. PYKE OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE AT THE BANQUET OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

How the Government Spends Your Money

WHEN last summer the Washington Academy of Science published an analysis of government appropriations made by Dr. Edward B. Rosa, chief physicist of the Bureau of Standards, women voters had delivered into their hands a weapon with which to fight for larger appropriations for those humanitarian governmental activities in which they are most profoundly interested. Criticisms of his paper decided Dr. Rosa to follow his first study by a ten years' analysis of the actual expenditures of the Federal government in times of peace. This analysis, which was delivered in December before the Washington branch of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, furnishes the answer once for all to any charges of creating undue burdens on the taxpayer which may be brought against the group of measures supported by the National League of Women Voters.

Dr. Rosa took as basis for this later paper the Treasury Department's annual combined statement of receipts, disbursements and balances for the years in the decade 1910-1919. The story is told in illuminating charts and tables, with no more than a pregnant page of text to bring out their meaning. The tables with caption text can be obtained from the Bureau of Standards at a cost of about \$6.00. The lecture with a few of the tables can be obtained from *Mechanical Engineering*. To meet criticisms of his former paper and to make the story one of true expenditures and of expenditures in normal peace times, Dr. Rosa has deducted from each department its earnings, where there were any, and he has reckoned the army and navy pension expenditures of 1917-1919 on a peace basis, cutting out the major part of the enormous military expenditures for those years. Thus the story the charts tell is the story of the proportions which the various items of national expenditure have in practice in the ten-year period, borne to each other.

The grouping of the expenditures is much the same as for the 1920 appropriations, but a new group, Interest on Public Debt, is added and the charts are worked out in finer detail and show total disbursements, earnings and net expenditures. There are in addition supplementary charts showing sources of federal taxation and government expenditures compared with changes in the cost of living.

HOW do these new tables compare with those of the former study? Appropriations for 1920 had shown about 93 per cent spent on war; 3 per cent on Primary Governmental Functions (Executive, Legislative and Judicial); 3 per cent on Construction of Public Works and one per cent on a small group of activities, most of them singled out from the various executive

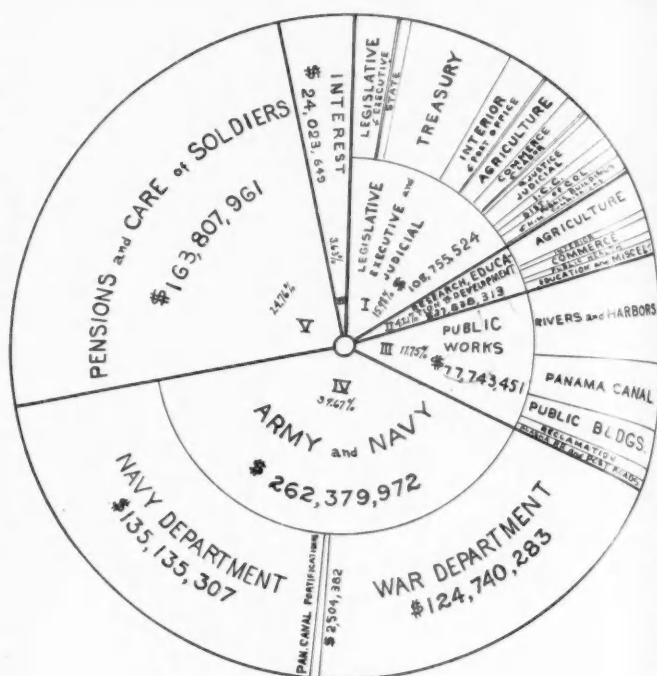


FIGURE I
1910-1919 AVERAGE NET EXPENDITURE OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
Average yearly total—\$661,548,870
civil—\$211,337,288
(exclusive of war cost)

departments, which are not reckoned in the expenditures of those departments but segregated as research, educational and developmental activities.

In the new study Figure I, Average Net Expenditures of the Federal Government, 1910-1919, shows an average yearly total cost of \$661,548,870, of which all but \$211,337,288 goes for war; that is, the average percentages for the ten years' period on a peace basis are 68.06 per cent for military and 31.94 per cent for civil, or less than one-third for all non-military expenditures. This is considerably better than the war proportions of 1920, but it indicates that at all times the appropriations for the war functions of the government far exceed those for its peace functions. In reality this permanent 68 per cent for war in peace times is even more significant of neglect of the bona fide activities of peace than the 93 per cent was in years still reflecting the war.

The average distribution of expenditures was as follows:

TABLE I—NORMAL EXPENDITURES OF U. S. GOVERNMENT FOR EACH YEAR 1910 TO 1919						
	Groups I-II-III	Civic Groups per capita	IV	V-VI†	Total	Total per capita
1910	\$ 207,125,688	\$ 2.24	\$ 247,225,025	\$ 185,151,757	\$ 639,502,470	\$ 6.93
1911	196,640,988	2.10	243,019,696	182,896,574	622,557,259	6.65
1912	202,511,853	2.13	247,018,430	178,807,271	628,337,554	6.61
1913	210,039,082	2.18	250,205,646	202,516,926	662,761,653	6.87
1914	210,162,388	2.15	264,814,047	199,233,674	674,210,109	6.89
1915	231,288,542	2.33	258,465,250	189,958,664	679,712,456	6.84
1916	201,427,156	2.00	288,051,628	184,751,235	674,230,020	6.69
1917	199,860,650	1.96	275,000,000	185,000,000*	659,860,650	6.47
1918	222,458,285	2.15	275,000,000	185,000,000*	682,458,285	6.58
1919	231,858,252	2.21	275,000,000	185,000,000*	691,858,252	6.58
Total	\$2,113,372,884	\$21.43	\$2,623,799,722	\$1,878,316,101	\$6,615,488,708	\$67.08
Average	211,337,288	2.14	262,379,972	187,831,610	661,548,871	6.71
Per cent. of total	31.9		39.7	28.4		

* Estimated normal amounts.

† VI War cost 1917-1919 is not reckoned in on the chart which represents normal not war time expenditures.

TABLE II—NET CIVIL EXPENSES OF U. S. GOVERNMENT—FISCAL YEARS 1910-1919.

Fiscal Year Ending June 30th	Group I—Primary Governmental Functions		Group II—Research Education Development		Group III— Public Works		Total Civil I, II, and III	
	Total	Per Capita	Total	Per Capita	Total	Per Capita	Total	Per Capita
1910	\$ 102,227,955	\$ 1.11	\$ 25,394,032	\$0.28	\$ 79,503,701	\$0.86	\$ 207,125,688	\$ 2.24
1911	83,682,691	0.89	27,395,497	0.29	85,562,800	0.91	196,640,988	2.10
1912	92,376,833	0.97	22,249,438	0.23	87,885,582	0.92	202,511,853	2.13
1913	92,858,188	0.96	21,611,973	0.22	95,568,921	0.99	210,039,082	2.18
1914	91,313,408	0.93	22,874,599	0.23	95,974,381	0.98	210,162,388	2.15
1915	106,826,332	1.08	30,060,474	0.30	94,401,736	0.95	231,288,542	2.33
1916	114,742,625	1.14	27,719,284	0.28	58,965,247	0.59	201,427,156	2.00
1917	108,676,368	1.06	28,424,546	0.28	62,759,736	0.61	199,860,650	1.96
1918	125,204,304	1.21	34,773,718	0.34	62,480,263	0.60	222,458,285	2.15
1919	139,646,546	1.33	37,879,567	0.36	54,332,139	0.52	231,858,252	2.21
Aggregate Cost, 1910-1919	\$1,057,555,251	\$10.72	\$278,383,127	\$2.82	\$777,434,506	\$7.88	\$2,113,372,884	\$21.43

War, 68.06 per cent

Primary governmental functions (Legislative, Executive and Judicial), 15.98 per cent

Public works, 11.75 per cent

Research, educational and development, 4.21 per cent.

Table I gives the amount of the expenditures for an average year in the ten-year period. Analysis of the one-third used for civil expenditures (Figure II) shows that research, education and development, that group of activities which is of most interest to women, received only \$27,838,313 or 13 per cent of this group's total expenditure, about 36 per cent going to public works, the rest to primary governmental functions. What is true of the average during this period is true of individual years, for the annual expenditure as shown by Table II of this group ranged in individual years from about \$197,000,000 (1911) to about \$232,000,000 (1919) and the range of research, education and development was \$21,611,973 (1913) to \$37,879,567 in 1919.

The civil expenditures of the government are for its constructive developmental work, for the work of governing, for the stimulation of manufacturers and commerce, for the stimulation and preservation of the products of the earth and for expanding the opportunities and wellbeing of its people. The Panama Canal, the

Reclamation Service, reforestation, the improvement of rivers and harbors and roads, these are activities whose value is apparent to every one.

The Panama Canal is one of the engineering enterprises which has revolutionized world commerce. Its construction involved an enormous expenditure that will be slow in paying off, but already its tolls last year were \$2,000,000 in excess of operating expenses. The Reclamation Service, which by a twenty-year arrangement with the owners of land is made ultimately to pay for itself, has already reclaimed land on which crops are raised worth \$90,000,000. The Forest Service, which in the long run pays in money earned about five-eighths of its own expenses, repays the other three-eighths by its saving to the people. River and harbor and road development pay in local and ultimately in national prosperity.

Of the other activities with results not so tangible, particularly that starved group known as research, education and development, which in a war year got one per cent of the total appropriation and on which in a normal year no more than 4.2 per cent is expended, it has been said: "The expenditures for this work are devoted to developing the agricultural and industrial resources of the

(Continued on page 1157)

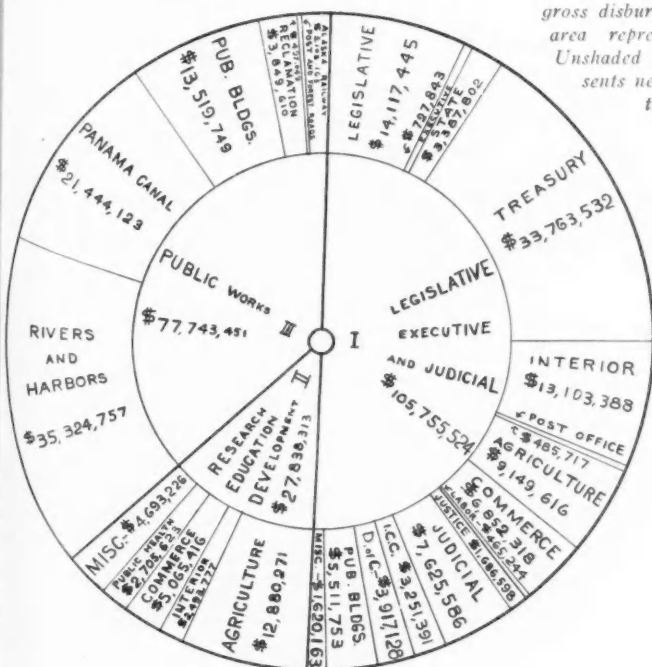


FIGURE II

GROUPS I, II AND III—CIVIL ACTIVITIES
Average net expenditures 1910-1919—\$211,337,288

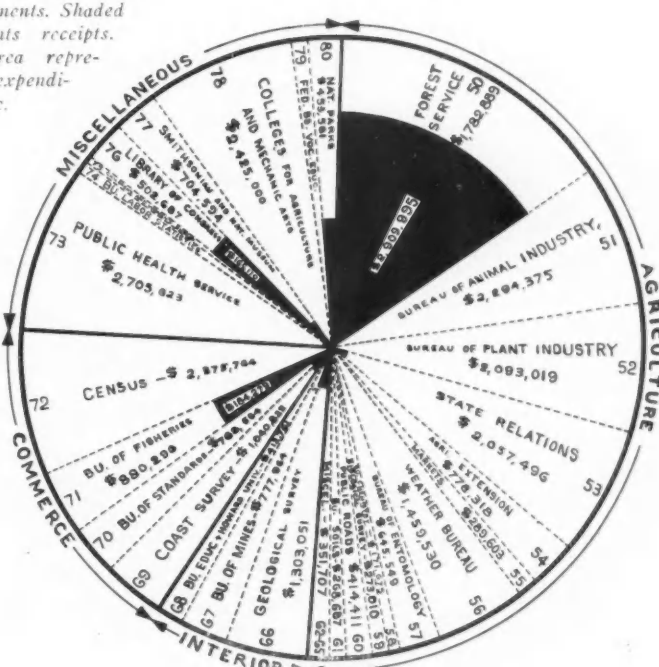


FIGURE III

GROUP II—RESEARCH, EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT
Average annual expenditures and earnings 1910-1919

A New Light on the Movies

By Margretta S. Dietrich

HAS the last word been said on movie censorship? Every week I have been surprised to find it discussed in the *WOMAN CITIZEN* from many angles, and yet one point of view still unrepresented.

I am more than a casual observer at the movies, for I am the owner of a building which is used as a picture theatre, and from a sense of responsibility I have been for ten years a painfully regular attendant. I confess to being a recent convert to censorship. For about two years I was in the closest touch with the business end of the theatre, for my tenant was not able to pay her rent. I allowed her to stay on and watched her business methods to assure myself that the trouble was not in the management. She was a woman of as high ideals as my own.

At considerable expense my tenant, Mrs. W—— made frequent trips to Kansas City and Omaha to select personally her programs. She could not, of course, see every film she used, and she did not always secure the films selected; substitutes were slipped in which were often undesirable. Some bad places could be cut, and she always had a preliminary run-off before the first public showing, but some films were altogether bad. She kept on hand an extra film to use in such emergency, until fire regulations prohibited the storing of films which are highly explosive. She had then only the alternatives of showing the bad picture or closing the doors. After a plucky struggle in which both she and I lost money, Mrs. W—— sold the business to a man who leased all the picture shows in our town. Her failure was not because the public did not appreciate the class of pictures she exhibited, but because no single exhibitor, where there is more than one theatre in the town, can make money if he uses expensive films. The rental of films is not a fixed charge. It depends somewhat upon the seating capacity of the house and also on what the exhibitor will pay. In a town with several shows, the managers bid against each other for the popular services. The prices paid for films would astonish the layman.

The new tenant operating all the theatres did better financially, but he again sold all the theatres to a man from Iowa who was operating about twenty-five shows in that state and Nebraska. No doubt by this time he owns twice that number. He is able to say to the producer what he will pay in rental. He does the same thing with advertising rates. He stopped all newspaper advertising for weeks until he had brought down the rates to a figure which he considered reasonable. Since the day we signed the leases I have never seen him, and I have not heard that he has ever been back. He put young men on salaries in charge of the theatres as local managers, but they have little authority, and small choice in the matter of selecting programs. So many pictures a week from this producing company and so many from that have already been contracted for by the man above. The patrons may express their approval or disapproval, "may make a friend of the manager," but they do not reach the man with authority under the present system.

I DOUBT the efficiency of that campaign of praise or complaint suggested in the *CITIZEN*, for, as another wrote, the patrons of the movies are not articulate. Some years ago I proposed to our local woman's club that we have a box provided in which club members were to deposit comments which need not be signed, either favorable or unfavorable on the pictures exhibited at our theatres. They could also deposit requests for especially good pictures which they had seen elsewhere. A committee was to report the comments to our theatre managers. The box was provided but not one comment was ever deposited.

THE warden of the Kansas penitentiary said in an address before our Legislature this winter that the wave of juvenile crime is due to the passing of the American home, which ceased years ago to be the workshop and factory and is no longer even a social center. "We must regard, not the home, but the community, as the unit of government," he said. We must, it seems, substitute legislation and a degree of state paternalism for lost parental guidance and control. Of course we decry the necessity and doubtless many of your readers would dispute the statement, but they need only go to the movies to observe the audience to realize that the front seats are always filled with children without parents. A questionnaire to the superintendent of schools in our state showed that from 75% to 90% of all children in schools attend the movies from one to five times a week.

The question of state regulation of pictures is before our Legislature at this time. Three bills were introduced, one for a board of inspectors, one was withdrawn in favor of an amended third, which provides heavy fines for exhibiting certain specified acts. It is the bill least disfavored by the movie people themselves. In my belief it would get us nowhere for it would involve a lawsuit in every case, and who is going to prosecute? In cities perhaps the law might be made effective, but the majority of our population is rural and not urban. In Nebraska, four-fifths of our people live in places where the population is under 2,500. I believe every village has a picture show at least one evening a week, and every town of 1,000 population a show every evening.

In the villages the proprietor, who is everyone's neighbor, runs the moving pictures as a side line. Even if he owns the business, his taste is not discriminating and he leaves all choice to the distributor. He can afford only the least expensive films. The distributor sends him pictures which cannot be exhibited in larger cities because of police or local censors. There may be sentiment against this type of picture in the community, but fundamentally rooted in our make-up is a dislike of "having trouble" with our neighbors. There is not one man or woman in 10,000 who will take the initiative in bringing suit to prosecute his neighbor for the pictures he exhibits.

Every system of regulating pictures which I have heard suggested except that of inspection prior to distribution, seems to me to be closing the barn door after the horse is out. The damage is already done when the picture is shown.

My former objection to censorship was based on the argument that it is un-American and contrary to our belief in free speech and free press, and because I doubted whether state inspection would be sufficiently rigid. In the bill before our Legislature providing for censorship, purely educational films are not to be inspected, and I have come to see that inspection, either state or national, is only taking the place of the authority which can suppress the circulation of indecent literature. It is impossible to read films without machinery. The state board of censors or inspectors would supply that machinery and would have little more power than that already invested in the postmaster.

My second objection that inspection would not be rigid enough is still an objection, but "half a loaf is better than no bread at all." Inspection will, of course, not be a cure-all. While we remain human such a thing cannot be invented, but it seems to me to be the most practical relief yet suggested, because it affords a measure of protection to the places too small to protect themselves, but where what we are used to calling the "backbone of the country" is growing up. It will not relieve the women of the country of the responsibility of being ever alert and of encouraging the inspectors to maintain a high standard.

Examples of
wholesome entertainment
furnished by recent
PARAMOUNT PICTURES
listed alphabetically

Sir James M. Barrie's
"Sentimental Tommy"
An immortal masterpiece
brought to life by an all star
cast. Directed by John S.
Robertson, who made
"Dr. Jekyll and Mr.
Hyde"

"The Copperhead"
with Lionel Barrymore
Cecil B. De Mille's
Production
"Something to Think About"
William De Mille's production
of Sir James M. Barrie's fam-
ous play
"What Every Woman Knows"
With Lois Wilson and Conrad
Nagel

"Everywoman"
Directed by Geo. H. Melford
with an All-Star Cast
Hugh Ford's British produc-
tion
"The Great Day"
with Arthur Bouchier.
Filmed in England, Scotland,
Paris and the Alps
William S. Hart in
"O'Malley of the Mounted"
A Wm. S. Hart Production
A Cosmopolitan Production
"Humoresque"

Thomas Meighan in
"The City of Silent Men"
From Frank Morosco's story,
"The Quarry"
Filmed partly in Sing Sing
prison
George H. Melford's
Production
"The Faith Healer"
Wallace Reid in
"The Love Special"
From Frank Spearman's excit-
ing story
William D. Taylor's
Production
"Huckleberry Finn"
William D. Taylor's Produc-
tion of Augustus Thomas'
famous play
"The Witching Hour"
With Elliott Dexter
Maurice Tourneur's
Production
"Treasure Island"
George Loane Tucker's
Production
"The Miracle Man"

Take Thought About Motion Pictures

A little careful thought about the tremendous power of the screen is the duty of every responsible man and woman today.

The chief thing desired is that the right sort of motion pictures should be shown in decent, comfortable and safe structures.

This is being done already in nearly ten thousand communities.

The motion pictures shown are mainly Paramount and the patronage is of the sort that anyone would be glad to mix with, the substantial people of the community and their children.

It is the opinion of the organization behind Paramount Pictures that the highest grade screen entertainment will gradually find the best support in every town, and that you and your sort of citizen will take the trouble to urge exhibitors to show Paramount Pictures.

Remember, the exhibitor is the one "retailer" who does not get much opportunity to talk with his clients.

It is for you to register your opinion with him. He wants to show what the best people want to see.

Listed alongside are a number of current Paramount Pictures which are standard works of the screen.

Avail yourself of the opportunity to see some of them at the best house in your locality.

Join hands with Paramount for better pictures and keep the screen what it should be.

Paramount Pictures





McGIBBON—QUALITY

Willow and Reed Furniture for Indoor and Outdoor use is exceedingly popular. It is the recognized **ALL YEAR ROUND FURNITURE**. Its adaptability to practically every room as well as the Porch and Solarium makes it the most suitable and satisfactory furniture obtainable at **MODERATE COST**.

Our Models are made with a discerning regard for **COMFORT** and **DURABILITY**, not losing sight of the fact that graceful lines must be preserved.

Arm and Side Chairs, Settees, Day Beds, Chaise Longues, Couches, Tables, Desks, Dressers, Sewing Baskets, Magazine Stands, Tabourettes, Bird Cages, Table and Floor Lamps.

Catalogue upon request

McGibbon & Co.

1 and 3 West 37th St.
ONE DOOR FROM FIFTH AVE.

The Movies:—A Glance Across the Nation

By the Advertising Manager of One of the Biggest Distributors of Motion Pictures

IT is one thing for me to give you my personal views on the motion picture situation as I did in my first article in this publication, "The Movies—What Are We Going to Do About 'Em?", later backed up with "The Movies—Real Facts and Reel Facts," which was written to explain in a truthful fashion misleading and inaccurate presentations of the subject; but—it is another thing entirely to go out across this Nation and gather for your consideration the opinions of editors who are talking daily to 48,923,790 of our people, in their editorial columns,—and I've done this for YOU!

An editorial is nothing more nor less than the editor's elaboration of current news, or his discussion of news in an explanatory vein. If the politics of the publication happens to be Republican, he will put a Republican interpretation on most any item. If he can't he'll let it alone because he knows he has built up his circulation list to a large extent with folks who are in sympathy with Republican ideals, and they want to read about Republican successes, and like to hear of the failures of Democratic, Socialistic, or any other ideas. If they didn't they wouldn't be his subscribers, they would buy some other paper. When it comes to a national, state or city movement an editor will "feel out" his readers by hinting at an editorial course he may follow, and if he does not get a reaction that shows him the error of his ways, he'll carry it through. If the reaction from his "feeler" shows him that particular view is unpopular he'll drop the matter and talk of something else, or attack his subject from a different angle,—one that will please his readers.

FOLLOWING this reasoning, therefore, it must be forcefully apparent even to the most casual reader of this article that editors in every corner of our Nation, separated by hundreds and even thousands of miles of our vast area, of every known political faith, would not present in their editorial columns such drastic condemnation of the censorship shackles that a few professional reformers want to gird the motion picture industry with,—unless they *knew* that their readers were in absolute sympathy with their editorial course.

After writing my first articles I said to myself, "That's all very fine, and you know it is basic common sense, but there may justly be some who will discount your views for the simple reason alone that you are in the business yourself, and want to have your readers see through rose-tinted spectacles." Therefore, I started writing editors North, South, East and West, all sorts of editors, asking for an expression of personal opinion, or copies of any editorials they had published on the subject of the movies. It was rather a dangerous stroke, because my collection might have been just the opposite of what I presumed it would be. I'd have given them to you just the same, and as gracefully as possible said my own opinions did not seem to be shared nationally, and—quit. But, when I began to be showered with editorial comments that jibed absolutely with facts I had already given you, I was naturally duly elated and eager to be at it. I have before me as I write either personal letters from editors or editorial comments from publications whose gross reading circulation is almost fifty millions of our people. Could I have held this article another three weeks I feel the reading circulation of my collections would have reached over seventy millions.

Now let's be honest with ourselves. If these editors find fifty millions of our people agree with them and also with my views,

doesn't the fact stand out that most of the "movie agitation" arises from professional reform sources, from sources who are either paid to start agitation or derive revenue from agitation? At the very least we KNOW that it's not from the American Citizen, man or woman, as a body that it comes.

Before taking you across the country, let us glance at the views of the editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*, talking to his 2,300,000 circulation:

"Motion pictures are a new art, and a complicated system of censorship is growing up round them. There is no particular reason for censoring motion pictures more than anything else, except that they are new and their unsettled status gives the censorship instinct a chance to assert itself. A lot of state and city censors, each with his own notion of what is advisable for his neighbor to see, cannot fail to become in the end an impertinent nuisance."

"*The World Digest*" issued by the Methodist Episcopal Church, Washington, D. C., March 12, 1921, paid us a considerable tribute as they gave expression to this thought:

"Anything in the nature of a crusade against an industry which is essentially sound and useful is greatly to be deplored except in case of absolute necessity. There is sufficient brains and sufficient character in the motion picture industry to deal effectively with the situation." Equally fair was the report of the Special Committee of the New York State Conference of Mayors, submitted and adopted February 24th, 1920, when they went on record as endorsing, "Legalized censorship of the film is a dangerous departure in a free country. It is no less dangerous than a censorship of the press or the stage, for it places a ban upon ideas. The indecent, improper and immoral film can be eradicated by the same methods as are used against indecent, improper and immoral books or plays. It may make the passing of films a matter of political influence and result in consequent abuses of power."

BUT the purpose of our glance across the nation was not to portray the ideas of great men or of national publications, but rather to take you from New England as a starting point across our Nation, figuratively interviewing editors of our dailies who are the real guides of national thought. The Lawrence (Mass.), *Eagle* aptly describes censors as "A body of non-expert guardians of public morals is a sore and needless irritation to the public," while the Boston, (Mass.), *Herald* thinks, "The censorship of motion pictures by the States or Federal Government would put responsibility in the wrong place. As capable of misuse, moving pictures are not in a class by themselves. Books may carry moral poison. Some actually do. Experience has shown that it is wiser to deal with bad books after they appear, instead of assuming that no publisher can be trusted," followed by the Boston, (Mass.), *Post*, "The average book, play or newspaper is not subjected to any such long and persistent series of annoyances—but for some reason or other the photoplay is treated as an infant in swaddling clothes. Every moment of its young life must be carefully scrutinized," and the Boston, (Mass.), *Globe* adds, "To stop the free expression of opinion by any means is to close the safety valve."

The Lowell, (Mass.), *Courier Citizen* has evidently examined other states.

"Public censorship of stage productions, pictorial or otherwise, is a difficult authority properly to exercise. It is causing trouble wherever it is attempted." The *Morning Union*, Springfield, (Mass.), believes in its public, "Public sentiment is the saving force where there is any question with regard to the propriety of a motion picture. It has in the past prevented the exploitation of many unsavory plays not alone in the movies, but as well on the legitimate stage." And so does the Everett, (Mass.), *Herald-Republican*, as it tells its readers, "Moving picture interests, and that includes the countless thousands who enjoy moving pictures, are called upon to fight a new censorship bill on which there will be a hearing next Tuesday at the State House. We had about all the restrictions we could stand during the war, and they have not yet become a habit."



New models, as picturesque as they are charming, from the Spring openings of the famous style creators

JUST FROM PARIS!

JENNY LANVIN CHANEL JEAN PATOU
AGNES CHARLOTTE CHAVERIET
BRANDT

BON JOUR, Madame! The Paris styles salute you, each with a message from the Rue de la Paix.

The Cavalier Cape, the season's novelty, comes from Jeanne Lanvin, its quaint revers faced with Roman stripes. From Jean Patou the splendid wrap of hexagonal embroidery and novel sleeves; also the three-piece suit of serge and Persian silk, with silk inserts and lattices of serge. Also pictured the evening gown of rose tulle and sprays of rosebuds, from Jenny. And you must see the Chanel evening gown, three-tiers of steel bead fringe over crepe; the Charlotte coat-dress of brown taffeta and rose; the black-and-white note in a gown of taffeta and Valenciennes by Lanvin, and others quite as chic.

Frocks for the jeune fille of crepe de chine and linons with faggoting and hemstitching as the sole adornments. And blouses—none more novel than the plaited Chinese embroidered model pictured.

Knitted Sports Wear From England and Ireland

GAY SPORTS CAPES, some with waistcoats and clever sweaters, in wool or silk, have just arrived from London, matched with visor caps or tams. The Wessex knitted sports dresses of wool, in fluted stripes, and sport capes and sweaters of wool or silk, all made in Ireland, have been imported to meet the current fad for knitted wear. You'll find a special beauty in the soft, bright colorings of the Irish dyes.

THIRD FLOOR

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Lord & Taylor

38th Street

FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

39th Street

There are enough restrictions now and enough censorship." The Worcester (Mass.) *Gazette* in a long editorial roused its readers when a bill for censorship came up. "Another proposition to mold the morals of Massachusetts by law comes up tomorrow, when there will be a hearing at the State House on the moving picture censorship bill. In theory it sounds like a nice plan. In reality it would but provide an extravagant means of getting at something we have ample means of reaching already.

Moving westward to New York City we hear the *Times* say:

"There are plenty of faults in the motion pictures of today, but they are not the sort of faults that censorship will reach. Whatever the cause, the official censorship of motion pictures that exists in several States has perpetrated some masterpieces of asininity. The function of a censorship is usually conceived to be the protection of the morals of the public, and the sort of people who want censorships are generally those who limit the term 'morality' to the observance of a single commandment.

ANOTHER, the New York *Tribune* comments on the Ahern Bill, "There is good warrant for the protest of motion picture producers against the (Ahern) bill, which would establish a board of censors in this state—censorship in this day and age is silly. . . . Censorship of anything relating to the spread of ideas is especially repugnant to the American tradition. The public itself is the only capable judge of what is objectionable." The New York *American* published an interview with ex-President Wilson, who stated he was "Opposed to the principle of censorship. It encouraged graft and arbitrary exercise of private judgment, where the public judgment alone ought to stay the matter."

From *The Press*, Atlantic City, N. J. "In days not long past it was the practice of lazy thinkers to blame the dime novel and the cigarette for crime among juveniles; today the same class levels its absurd charges against the motion picture. The guardianship of children does not stop at the door of the moving picture theater. The only effective censorship is the registration of public opinion." A contemporary from Hackensack (N. J.) *Republican* views the censor thus, "The censor is a rare animal." From Jersey we move on to Pennsylvania, where a form of legalized pre-view state censorship prevails, and read in the Philadelphia (Pa.) *Evening Telegram*, "Why should a special department to censor moving pictures be supported by this state? If such censorship is necessary, why are not ordinary theaters, and even newspapers, subject to censorship?"

GOING south we find in the Washington, D. C. *Times*, "The safest and surest way to make progress is to trust to the sober judgment of the people," and in the Washington *Post*, "The censors for Pennsylvania and Ohio of motion picture films have turned their thumbs down on the works of Mr. Shakespeare. Only five of the bard's masterpieces have been able to pass them so far." Going still farther south we get from the Richmond (Va.) *News Leader*, "The real question is how to keep improper pictures from being shown. The *News Leader* does not believe this can be done by a state censorship of the character proposed in the pending bill. . . . The censorship would be superficial at best, and in all probability might give a false sense of security. . . . While down in Montgomery (Ala.) the *Advertiser* gives this view, "Why Federal Censorship, anyway? We have no official Federal board to sit in judgment upon American literature or American newspapers."

Up north at Detroit the *Free-Press* attacks forcefully the Michigan legislature editorially. "Opposition to the bill for the establishment of a state censorship of moving picture exhibitions can be based soundly on the contention that the legislature contemplates an attempt to do something outside its sphere of potency. For, while the lawmakers at Lansing may have a legal right to establish a board empowered to say what pictures may or may not be presented to the public, they will institute either a farce or an abuse, or perhaps both, if they attempt to do so. And the Detroit *Journal* credits the motion picture audiences with good common sense. "The best moving picture censor in the world is the sound sense of the average man and woman. Let the critics say what they will, the good picture and the good play persist and the bad perish." Cleveland contributes an expression in the *Plain Dealer*. "The Ohio board of censors commands that Carmen must not smoke. She must be respectable and orderly. The time is not far distant when this censorship nuisance will be abolished. It is a recrudescence of puritanism totally out of harmony with the times." The Terre Haute (Ind.)

Tribune believes also in the good sense of audiences. "The best censorship is public patronage." This is the way the middle west metropolis raises its voice in protest in the Chicago *Journal*. "The cinema is too great a force to be treated lightly or to be throttled unthinkingly. Its pristine purpose was to amuse its initial patronage, children. Let us work with, not against, any industry so valuable that the entire morale of a world's army in war time was sustained and benefited by it." The Chicago *News* says, "The motion picture industry is too close to the life of the people not to be affected by criticism that comes direct from the home and the family." St. Louis papers have stepped solidly into line as against censorship. The *Star* says, "It is impossible to measure down to every individual mentality. Censorship is both unnecessary and detrimental. There is more prospect of abuse than there is of good use."

Working north from Chicago we got this from the St. Joseph *Gazette*. "The censor rejects merely because he personally does not approve of the picture. He approves for the same reason. At present no two people will agree, city will not accept the judgment of the state nor the state that of a Federal comment." Further north we encounter the Dubuque (Ia.) *Morning Telegraph* in this frame of mind, "The bill providing for movie censorship will come up in about a week, and the voting now going on will be clear and unmistakable evidence of the feeling of the people of the state as to what the legislators should do with it. The vote at present stands nearly two to one against censorship of any kind, and the protest becomes more insistent with every mail."

Minneapolis, the great wheat city of the Lakes, through its *Tribune* voiced their disapproval of censors. "Any state or national censorship of the movies—meaning a censorship before publication—would be a long step in a return to the autocratic suppression of individual liberty of speech and of publication suffered by the Englishman of Milton's time. The *Oklahoman* of Oklahoma City sees danger in censorship when it writes, "Where local censor boards are established there is much room for graft and favoritism."

Nor is the Pacific Coast reluctant to contribute its share of protest. Witness the Portland, (Ore.), *Journal*, "If the city has the right to censor moving pictures before being shown, why not have a board to examine the traveling 'legit' shows before allowing the public to see them? The cases are perfectly analogous and parallel. If censorship is good in principle it should properly be extended to include every variety of amusement." The Los Angeles, (Cal.), *Herald* is more at home in the "movies" than some other papers I have quoted and in a two-column editorial in its February 26th issue it states some "reel facts," "Absurdity is written all over the foolish attempt of some one to establish by statute a national board of censors of motion pictures. This would be making a legitimate industry the prey of politics. Any federal board of censorship would be a political board. But the paramount reason for utter rejection of this proposition is that motion pictures themselves depend absolutely for their success, their endurance as an art, and their progress as a means of public entertainment, upon the CENSORSHIP OF THE WHOLE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND NOT UPON THAT OF ANY PETTY CLIQUE OF A BOARD."

IHAVE taken you across the nation. You have heard the news of the leaders of public thought in almost every prominent center and the result even when a voting was held as in the case of the *Morning Telegraph* in Dubuque, showed the mass of the people overwhelmingly against censorship. Who is for it? A few paid professional reformers, a few who never themselves go to the movies, and another few who do not agree with the mass of the nation.

I believe every exhibitor in these United States will welcome you with open arms if you'll only step to the box office, learn his name and TELL HIM THE KIND OF PICTURES YOU WANT TO SEE. Just try it once on my guarantee of a cordial reception.

Suffrage won; forward, march!

[The material gathered by this writer to prove his point was so voluminous that quantities of it were necessarily eliminated.—Ed.]

How Beauty Followed Comfort in Furs

THE Fur Coat was a fur coat merely—not an object of either beauty or fashion, just over fifty years ago, when H. Jaeckel, Sr., took up the work of a furrier.

To him furs appeared the most beautiful materials from which garments of fashion could be modelled, and he promptly established connections in Paris, which still are maintained.

These Paris designers have collaborated with the H. Jaeckel & Sons designers, while the furriers' art has gradually developed in America to a point far beyond that reached in Europe. The result has been to bring the most discriminating women of the world to 546 Fifth Avenue for their fur coats and evening wraps, and to give this house a world recognized leadership.

Beginning May 1st, the collection of H. Jaeckel & Sons' furs for the coming Winter will be ready. From that time they will be available at retail, in this Fifth Avenue establishment, to the woman who desires to purchase the coming season's styles or to have her furs remodelled.

**Fur Storage
2 Per Cent of Valuation**

H. JAECKEL & SONS INC.

Fifth Avenue, corner 45th Street, New York

Progress in Delaware

THE Delaware Legislature has wiped from the statute books of the state a law which has been the shame of Delaware's citizens for many years. Campaign after campaign has been instituted to do away with the system by which children have been bound out in Delaware. Repeated failures have disheartened the workers, but never discouraged them. And now this, the first year of the enfranchisement of Delaware women, has brought the victory. A few weeks ago the joint session of the legislature heard appeals from Mrs. Maude Wood Park and Delaware women prominent in child welfare undertakings for an improved legislative programme. And now the Legislature has enacted and acted to such purpose that the Delaware women have wired the WOMAN CITIZEN of their jubilation and their belief that the amendments just passed will virtually end any abuse under the law for the binding out of children. The very first of the new provisions is that "any person, association or corporation placing a child in the State of Delaware must obtain consent of the State Board of Charities. Each person, association or corporation desiring to bring or receive such child must execute bond if so required by the State Board of Charities to the amount of \$3,000, said bond to be approved by said board with surety if required. No longer will the percentage of subnormal children be increased under the law, for the second amendment states, "no incorrigible child or one of unsound mind or body or subnormal mentally shall be placed in Delaware." Furthermore the State Board of Charities is given the right to examine homes where children are placed and under satisfactory conditions to order the children's transfer or removal from the state. The State Board of Charities is given authority to make

the rules for importation, placing, supervision, education, health, removal and general welfare of all bound-out children. An annual appropriation of \$2,000 is to be made to execute the provisions of the new law and strict penalties are outlined for violation of it. As the WOMAN CITIZEN goes to press the bill lacks only the Governor's signature to become effective and Delaware women express their confidence that it will be signed immediately.

IN the United States women were responsible, according to the Internal Revenue Bureau, for the consumption of 20,000,000,000 cigarettes in 1920. This is 66% above the consumption of the previous year and the gentlemen of the Treasury are just leaping to the conclusion that the women did it.

Many people may believe that this was just 20,000,000,000 cigarettes too many. But the interesting item about the report is not the number of cigarettes smoked but the fact that the logical male mind is asserting how much women have smoked on the mere evidence that 50,000,000,000 cigarettes were imported in 1920 as against 30,000,000,000 in 1919.

THE death of Lady Henry Somerset on March 11, awakens memories of many years in which hers was a persistent voice for the race welfare, as she saw it. Lady Henry was at one time president of the World's Women Christian Temperance Union and of the National British Women's Temperance Association. She founded in 1895 at Duxhurst the first industrial farm colony in England for inebriate women, and was always deeply interested in the welfare of women and children.

100,000 Readers Wanted

What is going to be the effect on the nation of 27 millions of women with votes? This problem has set politicians guessing. The potential power of the woman vote is enormous. Women are not yet conscious of its value. More than ever before they need a magazine to encourage, instruct and inspire them;—a magazine of their own from which they can get political information uncolored by selfish political bias; a magazine to help them make their votes count. *The Woman Citizen* aims to be all this and more.

The Woman Citizen

Beginning April 23rd will add several new features:

WHAT THE AMERICAN WOMAN IS THINKING

There are women all over the country who have a practical knowledge of public affairs, who study them more than most men do, who ought to be stimulating the political thinking of other women. Among those who will contribute editorial opinions to this department are Maude Wood Park, Harriet Taylor Upton, Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, Mary McDowell, Virginia Gildersleeve, Dr. Caroline Spurgeon, Vira Boarman Whitehouse, Dorothy Canfield, Honoré Willis, Mary Gray Peck, Theodosia Garrison, Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, Dr. Katharine B. Davis, Maude Radford Warren, Mrs. Florence Kelley and Mrs. Thomas G. Winter.

WHAT THE WOMEN OF THE WORLD ARE DOING

A digest of the news of the special achievements of women in every line of activity.

ORGANIZED WOMEN AND THEIR PROGRAM FOR HUMAN WELFARE

Twelve national organizations of women have joined forces to put through a program for human betterment. They are: the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Women's Christian Temperance Union, National Consumers' League, Association of Collegiate Alumnae, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, National Women's Trade Union League, American Home Economics Association, National Council of Women, National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations, National League of Women Voters, National Federation of College Women, and National Congress of Jewish Women. Regular reports of the progress of

this program will appear in a special department devoted to the work of the League of Women Voters.

WOMEN'S WORK AS PUBLIC HOUSEKEEPERS

Nearly every city and village in the country has a group of women organized for civic work. Some have a fine record of achievement, others are making a timid beginning. *The Citizen* will provide a medium for the exchange of helpful news concerning their activities.

THE WASHINGTON LETTER "CONGRESS FROM THE INSIDE"

will be given more space. Women will find in it reliable information about the progress in Congress of measures in which they are interested, presented from a non-partisan viewpoint.

EDITORIALS

The policy of the magazine is independent, and the editorials written by its own staff will continue to be free from party bias.

Beginning with the issue of April 23rd *The Woman Citizen* will change from a weekly to a fortnightly. The enormous increase in the cost of paper and printing has compelled most magazines to raise the price of subscriptions. Many of the weeklies which formerly were two dollars a year now cost five dollars. *The Woman Citizen* decided not to increase its subscription price. It has chosen rather to publish fewer numbers and to improve their quality.

Thousands of women already believe that a magazine is needed as an aid to straight and fearless thinking. Such an ideal gains strength with each new subscriber. Won't you help by subscribing to

The Woman Citizen?

Virginia Roderick
Editor

Gertrude Foster Brown
General Manager

Carrie Chapman Catt
Alice Stone Blackwell
Contributing Editors

Subscription \$2.00 a year

171 Madison Ave., New York City

Don't miss the issue of April 23rd with the story of the National Convention of the League of Women Voters

The Fifteen New Senators

(Continued from page 1143)

SENATOR WELLER, of Maryland, pronounces himself "open-minded" on the bills supported by women. He has never been a member of a legislative body. His first distinctive state service was the "building of 1,200 miles of state roads at a cost of \$17,000,000 without a scandal," a record to which he points with pride.

As Governor of Nevada, Senator Oddie was especially interested in securing the appointment of women probation officers and women officials to protect the young girls in mining towns and cities in Nevada. What he will do on the women's bills he does not yet know, but what he wishes women would do is to "take an interest in and devote intelligent study to public matters."

Senator Shortridge, of California, says that his interest in what women stand for in politics "cannot be put too strongly." He is very proud of the record of his distinguished sister, Clara Shortridge Foltz, of Los Angeles, who led the campaign to open the California State University Law School to women, to admit women lawyers to practise, and to secure many other laws extending the rights and privileges of women. Senator Shortridge tells of his own assistance as a young lad to Abigail Scott Duniway, the Oregon suffrage pioneer, when he braved jeers to circulate handbills announcing her meetings. Later he had the distinction of presiding at a meeting at which Susan B. Anthony spoke, when as he puts it, "the cowardly, side-stepping politicians of that age were busy elsewhere."

From all of which it may be seen that there will be no royal road to the bills desired by women. Senators, new and old, are not to be won by mere statements of facts, however uncontroversial or noteworthy those facts may be. Women had a difficult campaign with the 66th Congress. The almost unanimous reticence of the fifteen new senators on the bills desired by women indicates that the lines are already being drawn for an even more difficult struggle in the 67th Congress. MARJORIE SHULER.

How the Government Spends Your Money

(Continued from page 1149)

country, public education and social welfare. The economic gain to the nation realized through the application of the results obtained is expressible in terms of increased national wealth and social advancement. Its money value vastly exceeds its cost.

Table III shows the average distribution of the 4.21 per cent expended for research, education and development in the ten-year peace period.

It is not possible to make the comparison with the 1920 study complete by averaging the cost of the Women's and Children's Bureaus on this ten years' peace basis, since they were established late in the period; the Women's Bureau being a development of the war and the first expenditures for the Children's Bureau being for the year 1913. Of the appropriation for 1920, it will be remembered that these two bureaus got one-half of one per cent of the total one per cent appropriation for all research, education and development for that year. In the pre-war years the Children's Bureau appropriation was infinitesimal.

A further set of tables and charts show how the government meets its expenses in excess of the earnings allowed for on the expenditure charts. It meets them by internal revenue and customs taxes. The taxes of 1920 are shown in Table III, the per capita burden of taxation being shown in various years, including 1920, in Table IV. Table III shows that all civil expenditures—which (see Figure I) averaged \$211,337,288, can be more

than met out of the tax item for luxuries—namely automobiles, candy, etc., which totals more than 268 millions, and represents considerably less than five per cent of the total income of the government from taxation. The table of per capita taxation shows that the burden for civil activities has ranged in the ten-year period from 1.96 to 2.21 per cent, averaging 2.10. If 1920, the eleventh year is averaged in, it was 2.32 per cent. This, as Dr. Rosa points out, as a "relatively constant cost," and in view of the fact that during that time the total Federal per capita tax has risen from 6.63 to 38.8 per cent (or 53.72 per cent, if 1920 is counted in) it is a "rapidly decreasing part of the tax burden as a whole."

Fortified with such facts as these, it does not seem that the woman voter need fear to push vigorously those health and education and other bills for constructive peace legislation which carry what are, in terms of the war measures, extremely modest appropriations; nor need she hesitate to ask for already existing activities which she deems valuable substantial increases of appropriation.

M. S. B.

TABLE III—ANALYSIS OF TOTAL U. S. TAXES FISCAL YEAR, 1920

Internal Revenue	Net Amount	Per Capita
Income and Excess Profit.....	\$3,957,871	\$37.20
Cigars and Tobacco.....	294,813,073	2.77
Transportation and other Utilities...	289,386,302	2.72
Autos, Candy, Furs, Jewelry, etc....	268,480,355	2.53
Beverages	197,353,439	1.86
Special Taxes on Capital Stock, etc...	105,508,052	.99
Estate Inheritance	103,628,105	.97
Stamps on Legal Papers, etc.....	84,349,027	.79
Admissions to Amusements, etc....	81,931,781	.77
Insurance and Miscellaneous.....	24,925,468	.23
Customs	307,253,787	2.89
Total	\$5,715,329,260	\$53.72



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MRS. A. J.
BOWRON,
BIRMINGHAM,
CHAIRMAN
ALABAMA
LEAGUE

ALABAMA delegates who attended the convention of the National League of Women Voters in Chicago in 1920 returned so confident of the early ratification of the Suffrage Amendment that they were instrumental in calling the final convention of the Alabama Equal Suffrage Association in Montgomery in April, 1920, at which time this organization was disbanded and the Alabama League of Women Voters was organized. A general invitation was issued to all women in the state to become members.

During the summer, the League opened its headquarters in Birmingham, and proceeded with plans for a special session of the Legislature, securing data, writing letters, distributing literature, and working out its schemes for organization. With the final triumph at Nashville, an intensive registration campaign, under the leadership of our efficient chairman, Mrs. A. J. Bowron, was conducted in the three counties where it was possible under the law.

Pursuant to the call of the Governor, the Legislature met in special session in September, for the purpose of passing the enabling acts for which the suffragists had pleaded at the regular session in 1919 and which had been refused,—thus necessitating an extra session. Our legislative chairman, Mrs. Solon Jacobs, attended the session, argus-eyed for any political trickery. However, even our former bitterest enemies took their medicine very gracefully, and passed a bill which was entirely fair to the women.

Then followed the real work of getting the new women voters registered. We used every possible appeal,—press and pulpit, letter, word of mouth, the movies,—nothing was overlooked, and, largely as a result of our activities, 123,876 women registered before October 26th when the books closed.

WE began in September to conduct citizenship schools. Mrs. Cotnam of Arkansas gave us three weeks in September, Mrs. Mechin of St. Louis came for two weeks in October, while Mrs. McMahon of Virginia, who was our guide, philosopher, and friend during our legislative fight two years ago, returned to us for school and organization work for the entire month of November, making an extensive tour through the state. With the invaluable leadership of these three, plus a good deal of local talent, we have held thirty-three citizenship schools, as well as innumerable single

"We Are Coming Hundreds of Thousands Strong"

DO YOU KNOW that there is a state League of Women Voters for every state in the Union? Do you know that these Leagues have been organized state by state on a uniform plan, modified now and then to meet a local situation, so that an intensive system of work is in effect all over the country?

DO YOU KNOW that, state by state, these Leagues are working for an improved electorate, an intelligent understanding and application of the responsibilities and technique of citizenship for both women and men?

DO YOU KNOW that although American men have had the vote for generations, it was not until American women got the vote that any organized nationwide effort was made to raise the standards of American citizenship?

READ these reports, see how the work masses on itself, state after state, until the whole nation is covered, and if you are not doing your share in League work, don't you think it's time you got in line?

"voting demonstrations," using ballot box and sample ballots, just before election.

In addition to the citizenship schools, we have distributed widely an outline study-course on government, prepared by the extension department of the State University, and have issued our own "Course in Citizenship" in twelve lessons, based on suggestions from Mrs. McMahon. We have also published a condensed digest of the important laws relating particularly to women and children in Alabama.

By an unexpected decision of the Supreme Court, resulting from a friendly suit brought by one of our members under our direction, we found ourselves faced with a pay-your-poll-tax campaign the middle of January, with only two weeks in which to agitate. Under an opinion of the Attorney General based on a technicality of the new election law we had thought that the poll taxes of the new women voters would not be due until next year. We threw our whole force into the effort, and succeeded in augmenting considerably the revenues of the county schools,—to which the tax goes.

In spite of the widespread post-election indifference, we have secured partial organization in every congressional district, and have a total of fifty-seven local leagues. We had eight delegates at the regional conference in Atlanta, and expect to send a good representation to the national meeting in Cleveland. At present, we are very busy with plans for our state convention, which will take place in Birmingham, April 25 and 26.

MRS. T. T.
COTNAM,
LITTLE ROCK,
CHAIRMAN
ARKANSAS
LEAGUE



FIFTEEN citizenship schools have been held in as many counties of Arkansas. Among the instructors of these schools were, Miss Marie Ames, Missouri; Miss Josephine Miller, Miss Gay Chambers, Mrs. T. T. Cotnam, of Ark. A school of citizenship was held at the Arkansas University at Fayetteville last July. It continued one week and was under the direction of Dr. A. M. Harding, Director of General Extension Department. Dr. D. Y. Thomas, Professor of Political Science, had charge of the program. Women were in attendance from all parts of the state. This school was held in response to a request made by the League of Women Voters. Mrs. T. T. Cotnam lectured one hour each day.

A big, old-time political barbecue was given by the Little Rock League in June. All candidates for state and national offices from Arkansas were present and made speeches. The Little Rock papers said it was the greatest "Political Marathon" ever held in the state—10,000 were present.

A legislative program, as put through under direction of Mrs. Frank W. Gibb of Little Rock, was: Bill removing disabilities of women as to holding office; an equal guardianship law; suitable appropriation for Commission of Charities and Correction. Age of consent bill and Red Light abatement and injunction bill failed.

THE Pulaski County League of Women Voters, with headquarters in Little Rock, Arkansas, has entered on its second year and is growing steadily. Under its chairman, Miss Josephine Miller, the League held weekly meetings in the parlors of the City Hall during the session of the General Assembly. It heard speakers on the workmen's compensation act, and a proposed new tax measure. It has also discussed with other organizations the best possible plans for retaining and preserving the beautiful and historical Old State Capitol which stands in the heart of Little Rock.

During the recent session of the Legislature a bill, known as the "grand jury efficiency bill" was passed, providing, among other things, for a probate judge in Pulaski County. The probate work has heretofore been done by the County Judge. Before this bill passed either House, a few members of the League of Women Voters, discussing the proposed measure, said they

thought the new probate judge should be a woman, and decided that Miss Erle Chambers was their choice for the new office. At a meeting of the League on Saturday afternoon, March 5, a resolution was passed unanimously endorsing Miss Chambers.

A committee was appointed to see if she would accept the office. Within an hour's time she had been interviewed and various men and women interested in her appointment. By 10 o'clock that night the governor had been petitioned to give favorable consideration to Miss Chambers as the League of Women Voters' candidate.

The committee worked unceasingly in Miss Chambers' behalf, which resulted in her appointment early Monday morning, March 14th. She is the first woman judge in Arkansas.

Miss Chambers is a graduate of the Law Department of the University of Arkansas, with a one year's course in the University of Chicago. For nine years she taught in the public schools of Little Rock.

LAST September the rules of the Democratic State Central Committee were amended, through members of the League of Women Voters, providing for seven new members on the committee, whereupon a woman member was elected from each of the congressional districts in the State.

The Legislature passed a bill providing optional jury service for women. This was put through by men opposed to compulsory jury service for women.



Bachrach

ANNA M. SCOTT,
DENVER,
CHAIRMAN
COLORADO
LEAGUE

THE Colorado League was incorporated on the 17th day of June, 1920—and we have had regular meetings once a month. We have been active in attendance in the Legislature looking after bills that we are all interested in. Our legislative council has met once a week; its members are composed of the presidents of the Federated Clubs, who have all shown a great deal of interest in helping to solve our problems here at home as well as elsewhere. Our work has not extended to any great extent owing to the fact that the year has been so full of affairs such as national and state campaigns, and as Denver is the center of all interest in the state, it seems our time has had to be somewhat divided. However, we hope from now on to accomplish more.



MRS.
ROBERT J.
BURDETTE,
CHAIRMAN
OF THE
CALIFORNIA
LEAGUE

THE Civic Centers of the San Francisco Bay cities are to meet shortly to become an incorporated part of the California League of Women Voters, thus augmenting the number from this source alone by 7,000 members.

It took Los Angeles women only twenty minutes to organize a big County League of Women Voters, elect its officers, authorize the sending of a delegate to the convention at Cleveland, and telegraph National Headquarters so that their delegate would be duly qualified to take part in the discussions and to vote.

"Every woman citizen an informed voter" is the slogan adopted.

IN this section of the Woman Citizen's convention number will be seen the march past of the state leagues. The dominant note of all of these reports is that of women in massed formation and prepared for action. Each state League of Women Voters is in the pages to follow speaking up as at roll-call. It is telling of its rise and growth and of just what it is proudest of having accomplished since it came into existence. In blowing its own horn, it is joining in a general symphony of horns. Every state has been urged to tell what it considers its best, or worthiest or most significant task, what it stands for to the public. It is making its apologia pro vita sua. When the evidence is in, the sum of experiences, it is expected, will make a guide for future work, will stimulate, enlighten, encourage.

THE Connecticut League of Women Voters is in infancy, being the youngest child of the forty-eight claiming the National League as parent.

The League was organized at a meeting held in New Haven on January 18, 1921. The preliminary work towards arranging for this meeting was done by a committee of representatives of state-wide women's organizations called together by Miss Ludington, First Regional Director of the National League.

A constitution was adopted and officers elected for the coming year. Like the Constitution of the United States adopted in 1781, this constitution proved to require immediate revision and another meeting was held on March 17th to put to it such finishing touches as should make it more workable.

The chief work which we have been able to do has been in connection with the state Legislature, which is now sitting. We are publishing weekly a bulletin which is sent free to our membership containing news of bills before the Legislature, relating to women's and children's interests. It gives notification of hearings on these bills and reports the stand of their advocates and opponents. The League has endorsed certain measures for the welfare of women and children now being considered by the Legislature.

The citizenship department of the League has prepared five good citizenship programs for the use of local leagues. The first one is an "Elementary Course for New Americans," the second a course on "The Machinery of Government," the third is called "The Know Your Town Plan," which provides for addresses from town, city, county officials and state legislators about their work, with the object of making the connection between the public service and home welfare discussed. To any group completing this course satisfactorily the department offers a special lecture free. The fourth course includes lectures by specialists on the subjects covered by our seven standing committees. Course five is entitled "Newer Ideas in Government." In addition to these the department offers special lectures on education, public health, taxation, widows' pensions, the courts, and prison reform.

The great accomplishment of our citizenship department has been to secure the cooperation



MISS
MABEL C.
WASHBURN,
CHAIRMAN
CONNECTICUT
LEAGUE

of Yale University in the planning of a week's course of study to be offered to the women of Connecticut next autumn. The sessions will be held at the University and the classes will be conducted by specialists in various departments.

THE Delaware League sprang to life an hour after Secretary Colby's proclamation was telephoned to the Executive Board of the Delaware Equal Suffrage Association by loyal Governor Townsend on the afternoon of August 26th. September 29th and 30th its first convention was held in Wilmington. The program was designed to give an opportunity to view paramount political questions from every side. Those who spoke on national issues were Rheta Child Dorr, Portia Willis, Raymond Fosdick and Robert McElroy.



MRS.
HENRY
RIDGELY,
CHAIRMAN
DELAWARE
LEAGUE

DECEMBER 15th the Legislative Committee was formed, including representatives of the Delaware League of Women Voters, the Republican Women's Committee, the Democratic Women's Committee, State Federation of Women's Clubs, State Grange Women's Committee, Parent Teacher Association, Consumers' League, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, State Teachers' Association, and Association of College Women, with our Legislative Chairman at its head. The leaders in the Senate who are urging new school laws requested a hearing before the joint committee and begged its support of their measure. It is a novel sensation to be thus petitioned.

One of the effects of the convention of last September could be seen in the splendidly organized and successful effort to defeat for reelection to the Legislature three men who had been strongly and unreasonably antisuffrage.

Citizenship schools were held in nine Delaware towns during October. The League is proud of the series of pamphlets on state, county, and municipal Government written from original sources and published by it. February 24th Mrs. Maud Wood Park and Mrs. Gifford Pinchot were guests at the State Capitol. Mrs. William Denney, the wife of the Governor, and other prominent women came to meet them. The Legislature in joint session gave a hearing to Mrs. Park and it would be hard to over-value the effect of her address and of the charm of her personality. At the end of the hour assigned, Mrs. Park and Mrs. Pinchot received an ovation.

THE GEORGIA LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS was organized in Atlanta March 27, 1920, and elected the following officers: Miss Annie G. Wright, Chairman; Mrs. Elliott Cheatham, Vice-Chairman; Miss Stella Akin, Secretary, and Mrs. T. C. Hudson, Treasurer.

When the Legislature met in June the League tried to get a bill passed, providing that in event the federal suffrage amendment was ratified before the November election, women would be permitted to participate, but failed to secure the passage of this bill.

When Tennessee ratified, knowing that the women of Georgia would be disqualified under the state law which requires registration six

months before elections, Governor Dorsey was urged to call a Special Session of the Legislature, in order to pass an act enabling women to vote in the general election. This Special Session was never called, and in the meantime Attorney General Denny gave as his opinion that the Federal Constitution, being the supreme law of the land, made null and void all Georgia laws concerning the franchise, and that women could vote in the election without registering.

However, to be on the safe side, the League immediately began the work of registering the new woman voter. Tax collectors in every county were urged to open their books to women, and many thousands registered. The League was anxious to rush registration, as the Democratic white primary was to be held September 10, and in some of the counties, the local committee has invited the women to register, so as to participate in the primary.

The Chairman of the Democratic Committee was asked to call a meeting of his committee, and provide for the new women voters, but declined. Finally the sub-chairman called a meet-



MISS
G. ANNIE
WRIGHT,
CHAIRMAN
GEORGIA
LEAGUE

ing of the committee, and they ruled that women could not vote in the primary, being disqualified because they could not meet the state qualifications in regard to registration. County chairmen who had invited women to participate in the primary were reproved by the state committee, and told that the vote would be thrown out in any county that permitted women to vote. So Georgia women were not allowed to participate in the primary, and were shut out of the general election in November.

Citizenship schools have been conducted in Atlanta, Savannah, Augusta, Macon, Columbus, Rome, Brunswick, Newnan and Dublin and several smaller towns. In Augusta classes were held in the public schools of each ward, the board of education co-operating.

Georgia had the honor of entertaining the third regional conference in Atlanta, February 8 and 9. This conference was a great success, and proved an inspiration to the work of the League of Women Voters, not only in Georgia, but throughout the entire South.

Campaigns for completing the registration of women voters are being conducted in all counties, and thousands of women are registering.

THE Illinois League of Women Voters was organized October 8, 1920. It began active work after the November Presidential Election, taking over the offices of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association in the Fine Arts Building, 410 S. Michigan avenue, Chicago.

In November, a speakers' conference was held at the Congress Hotel. The object of this meeting was to give information to the key women of large organizations about the work of the League of Women Voters and it was also designed to indicate a desire on the part of the Illinois League to co-operate with existing organizations.

Presidents of state and large city organizations took part in the program, the topic assigned in each case being—"How Can the League of Women Voters Best Help Your Organization?" Mrs. George Gellhorn, Miss Mary McDowell and Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch gave inspirational talks on the "Work Accomplished by the National League."

Mr. Charle Zeublin contributed his valuable services, his subject being "The League of Women Voters From a Man's Standpoint."

One definite piece of work in which the Illinois League of Women Voters took an active part at this time was in bringing to public attention the fact that Harriet Reid, a thoroughly qualified woman who stood highest on the Civil Service list as a member of the State Board of Arbitration for the Industrial Commission of Illinois, was to be left off this board. This was clearly a case of discrimination against a woman. As a result of the publicity given and of pressure brought to bear upon proper officials, Governor Lowden finally requested that Miss Reid be given her just position, where she is now serving.

The legislative program of the Illinois League for this first year has been confined to a few outstanding bills. The League has, however, co-operated with other organizations in a Woman's Legislative Congress. A two-day Congress was held between the holidays with seven hundred women in attendance. Bills were endorsed.

The latter part of January, a two-weeks' School of Citizenship was conducted by the

MRS.
HENRY R.
CHENEY,
CHAIRMAN
OF ILLINOIS
LEAGUE



Photo by Helen R. Webster



MRS.
A. H.
BEARDSLEY,
CHAIRMAN
INDIANA
LEAGUE

Harris and Ewing

Illinois League. Approximately five hundred women received some inspiration from the program. One hundred forty-four enrolled for the course and fifty-two took the examination at the close. Fifty trained men and women as speakers contributed to the success of the school.

As this article goes to press, the Illinois League is putting on a membership drive for 30,000 sustaining members at one dollar each, the fundamental plan for the drive being to find 300 women, each willing to become a captain, each captain, in turn, to find 10 friends, who are called "hustlers," and each "hustler" to get 10 members.

THE Indiana League of Women Voters was organized in April, 1920, at which time the Woman's Franchise League of Indiana was merged into the new organization. The newly elected president, Mrs. A. H. Beardsley of Elkhart, took almost immediate charge and state offices were opened in Elkhart May 1st.

At that time there were one hundred and twelve Franchise Leagues in the state and these naturally were the first to be solicited as working branches of the new League of Women Voters. Not all of them came in, but as the organization work was pushed during the few months previous to the election, the result was a reorganization of about two-thirds of the old League and new organizations, bringing the total up to one hundred and thirty with an approximate membership of between twelve and fifteen thousand.

It was the definite policy of the League that while individuals should be urged to go into the parties of their choice and work for them, the League as an organization should not endorse or support any political issue or candidate. Many of the leaders of our organization were given prominent places in the two major parties in Indiana and some of them were recognized in a national way, so that Indiana women had a large part in the first presidential campaign in which women of the whole nation were allowed a voice.

During the recent session of the Legislature the League determined to center its efforts upon three measures only, and the wisdom of this decision was proved by the results. The League successfully carried through the two houses of

the Legislature two out of the three bills it sponsored. The two bills that went through and are now laws were the Equal Guardianship Bill, providing that mothers as well as fathers shall be the legal guardians of their children—this was in fulfillment of a promise to women of the state made by the suffrage leaders during all the struggle to secure the actual citizenship for women—and the School Attendance and Child Labor Bill, the main features of which were to raise the standard of education and also the age standard before children could enter the industrial field.

The third bill, which was lost after one of the hardest fought battles ever staged in the Indiana Legislature, was the bill limiting the hours of labor for women in industry. The bill was not defeated on its merits, but the opposition placed every possible hindrance in its way and every method of delaying was used, thus keeping up the strain of the fight to the closing days of the session. It was carried in the Senate but while it escaped being killed in Committee in the House, it was "indefinitely postponed" without debate when it finally reached the floor of the House.



MISS MARY
BRONAUGH,
CHAIRMAN
KENTUCKY
LEAGUE

THE most constructive work of the Iowa League has been along the line of our Citizenship Schools. Mrs. Max Mayer is a member of the Extension Department of our State University, and in cooperation with our league conducts schools of three days on citizenship. The price paid in the locality where the school is held pays expenses and a small balance for our treasury. Organization follows and also an understanding of the educational purposes of the League. There is cooperation in the matter of legislation between all our women's clubs. We are promoting the nine hour day for women and a vital statistics amendment. We have the county as the unit for report and we would like to make it a township unit.

THE Kentucky League of Women Voters is only three months old, having been organized December 15, 1920. It has extremely active branches in Louisville, Lexington and Covington and new branches are being founded throughout the state. Courses in citizenship have been given by each local league, the one in Louisville being conducted by law professors of the University of Louisville. The Louisville

and the Lexington branches have adopted plans for investigating the records of all candidates for office by non-partisan committees, the results of the investigation to be published.

The Kentucky League will hold its first state convention since organization at the Seelbach Hotel, Louisville, April 29 and 30. The program will include addresses by Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser and Mrs. Atwood Martin (George Madden Martin.)

LOUISIANA, with Mrs. Philip Werlein as chairman, is organizing by districts and so far twenty districts have been organized.

Louisiana women are conducting a state-wide drive for membership in their League and are adopting the up-to-date business method of paid advertising in carrying out their campaign. Under a coupon with spaces for name, street, and town to be filled in, is the caption, "Women's League Has Greater Mission Than Ever" and below it the message of Mrs. Joseph Devereaux, district chairman of the New Orleans League of Women Voters: "We women will not rest content until our entire electorate is clean, intelligent and representative of the best of American ideals. Bolshevism is today largely a man's disease and must not spread to our newly enfranchised women citizens. The double-barreled weapon to prevent this is in her education in citizenship and the passage of just legislation for herself, her family and the children of the nation."

AT the instigation of the suffragists and with the help of women from other organizations the Maryland League of Women Voters took the first steps towards organization on November 18th, last. We have not been favored with a good setting for an effective beginning. In the first place some of our enlightened citizens, members of the bar who believe they know the spirit of our constitution better than the rest of the country, alleged that we did not have the vote. After listening to their arguments in the Court of Common Pleas, our temerity in walking to the polls last November seemed incredible and an organization of women voters appeared nothing short of ridiculous. The decision of the judge, however,



MRS.
WALTER S.
BROWN,
CHAIRMAN
IOWA
LEAGUE



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THESE shoes were made primarily for the perfect foot to keep it perfect for all time so that it may never know the ailments to which the foot is heir. If your feet are perfect, wear these shoes to keep them perfect, to give them comfort and to preserve their natural lines.

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LOUISIANA
LEAGUE



put a different light on the matter. He said that these opposing gentlemen were entirely mistaken, that the constitution had been properly amended, and that we were legitimate voters. Then our Attorney General tried to put a damper on our enthusiasm by ruling that Maryland women could not hold office. And, lastly, we got a blow from an unexpected quarter. It seems that some prominent women like Mrs. Catt and Mrs. Upton are in Washington running for office as fast as they can. This, quite naturally, stirred up the anti-suffragists, and they held a meeting in Baltimore and came out with a flourish for a "Back to the Kitchen" movement. Now if a popular movement like this should get headway we knew it would wipe us out of existence; so we resolved to move quickly; and, incidentally, we asked advice of our friends. The advice was given with the proverbial frankness. They said "The taint of suffrage is on you. It will hold you back. Bring other people to the fore. Keep suffrage in the background." And so, being meek and pliable like all suffragists, we effaced ourselves. We consulted with the nominating committee which was selecting officers for the League and we told them to leave us out, that the taint of suffrage made us unfit to get a following from the women voters, and we urged them to get some good, active, neutral women. But after searching the highways for some days they came back and told us that no such creature existed and they added with emphasis, "This is your job, do it."

And so we started to work. We adopted our constitution and elected the officers. Most of them are suffragists, but we trust the fresh winds of a few elections will blow that taint away. We have now about half of our counties organized and the city organization well under way. We have just held a long and thorough course for the preparation of teachers for citizenship schools so that we could have a large faculty to draw upon; for the demand for instructors was more than we could meet. Two of our standing committees are still without a head, but we believe that lamentable condition will soon be remedied. Last but not least, we have every prospect of going to the convention with every congressional district repre-

sented. If we were not inclined to keep to the policy of non-partisanship we should be kept there by our political critics, for the Republicans insist that we are Democrats and the Democrats insist that we are Republicans; while all the time we aim to be merely good citizens. But we shall be disappointed if we do not prove also to be a worthy branch of the National League of Women Voters.

ORGANIZING a large non-partisan good government association of women, most of whom were active in the party of their choice, in a state as partisan as Massachusetts and during a Presidential campaign is the outstanding triumph of the work of the Massachusetts League of Women Voters. August 18, Women's Independence Day, found us newly organized as a League, but with practically no strong locals outside of Boston. The political organization of women had gone on rapidly and effectively in the parties, before the State League was functioning. Yet the League idea has appealed so powerfully to the good sense of women voters of all parties that to-day the Massachusetts League has 65 branches.

Accepting the educational work as its real function the Massachusetts League promptly published necessary material for intelligent elementary education in citizenship. The Massachusetts Primer of Citizenship and Government, its first publication, has been used in League classes throughout the state, by public schools and is the adopted text book used by the State Board of University Extension whose classes, "Civics for Women," have been stimulated by the League. It is also used as a text book in the Education for Alien classes established in the state,—in the industries, in public schools, and wherever these classes are organized by the state supervisor of Americanization. Other publications, "Registration," "The State Election," and "Electing the President," were distributed freely before the national election, but the greatest help given to voters was a state-wide information service about candidates for state and national offices. The League secured this information by means of a questionnaire, the first ever used in a Massachusetts state election, addressed to about 600 candidates; sixty-five per cent returned answers, which, when tabulated, gave the voter a helpful insight into the



MRS.
GEORGE R.
FEARING, JR.,
CHAIRMAN
MASS. LEAGUE

Backrach

qualifications and views of the candidates. This work proved so valuable that the present legislature is considering a measure to establish an "Information for Voters' Service."

THE Two-Course-Correspondence School is also considered one of the League's valuable contributions to civic education.

To further an intelligent understanding of legislative matters, the League publishes twice a month "The Beacon," a news sheet, giving the story of important measures before the City Council of Boston, the Massachusetts General Court and the Federal Congress.

The League has endorsed bills having for their object the protection of women and children, and for better educational conditions in the state. Among these bills are: Maternity legislation, physical training in schools, school nurses, raising school age, state motion picture censorship, equal pay for Boston school teachers. It has also introduced five measures to equalize the voting situation of women and to guarantee women equal rights under the law to hold any office in the Commonwealth. Should the equal guardianship measure, which they have introduced, be passed the last legal discrimination against women in Massachusetts will have been removed.



C. M. Hayes

MRS.
BELLE
BROTHERTON,
CHAIRMAN
MICHIGAN
LEAGUE

The bills introduced by the Massachusetts League of Women Voters are: a constitutional amendment enabling women to hold any state, county or municipal office; equal rights for women in the service of the commonwealth; equal guardianship; a bill to give for purposes of registration a legal residence separate from that of their husbands; proof of citizenship for registration.

AMONG the speakers at the annual meeting of the Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs just before the national election of 1920 was the distinguished publicist, Prof. Chas. Zeublin. When in the course of his address he declared that "the most hopeful sign on the political horizon today is the League of Women Voters," he certainly strengthened the lukewarm and doubtful among our members.

The first demand upon us was for the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Fortunately Governor Albert E. Sleeper had called a special session of the Michigan Legis-

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MISS
MARGUERITE
WELLS,
CHAIRMAN
MINNESOTA
LEAGUE

Sweet, Minneapolis

lature and to our great delight members vied with each other for the privilege of introducing the ratifying resolution, and it was carried unanimously in both Houses on June 10.

We have tried in every way possible to co-operate with the national plans for political education. Our citizenship chairman prepared an admirable program for such schools covering a course of eight meetings. To inform us as to political party organization and activities, Miss Bertha G. Buell of this committee prepared a Political Calendar for 1920. More than 18,000 pieces of material have been distributed among the organized women of the state.

Many of the suffrage associations had disbanded in the months before the League was formed so that the majority of our new Leagues were organized on an entirely new basis. At present Michigan has 42 Leagues with a total membership of about 11,000.

Our constitution provides that organizations in sympathy with our objects could join as associate members. The response has been very quick and sympathetic and to date our associate members number nearly 60,000.

Since our convention held in Battle Creek in September, 1920, attended by about one hundred women, many letters of inquiry have been

received, and our work is growing rapidly. The experiences of women at the political conventions have convinced many of the most ardent party women that a League of Women Voters is absolutely essential in every state if their political ideas and ideals are to be realized.

THE organization of the Minnesota League of Women Voters took place about a year and a half ago, and now extends into every Congressional District and to practically every one of the 86 counties in the state. More and more the township unit is becoming a strong and flourishing factor in county organization, and a growing percentage of the membership is made up of women in the rural districts.

The chairman of each of the state's ten congressional districts is vice-chairman of the League, member of the board, and attends, expenses paid, the monthly board meeting. She is to a large extent responsible for the organization of her district, appointing county chairmen or arranging for their election. After its organization a county is left as much as is feasible to its own devices.

Whatever success Minnesota has had in organization work accordingly is due to the district chairmen and to the fast and furious follow-up work of Miss Gladys Harrison, executive secretary, who in the interest of the women of the state has turned herself into a human encyclopedia, legislative manual, timetable and congressional record.

TWICE since its organization, the Minnesota League of Women Voters has co-operated with the University of Minnesota in holding University Extension Courses, once on general subjects of political education, and recently, in preparation for spring elections on the subject of municipal government. Both courses were well attended by women from the state. Throughout the state public schools and libraries have given hearty co-operation.

Miss Emily Kneubuhl, director of political education, has held a round of schools, from one to three days in length, all over the state, 67 counties out of 86 to date.

Posters and educational literature, averaging nearly 20,000 pieces monthly, have been sent from state headquarters in support of this work.

The Minnesota League of Women Voters counts a good deal on newspaper publicity. The Minneapolis papers go into almost every county of the state and Mrs. Thorp keeps them full of League of Women Voters news. In addition she sends monthly bulletins to about 600 papers in the state.

In order to keep in closer touch with the individual membership, a small monthly paper, *The Woman Voter*, was started January 1st and already has a paid subscription list of close to 1000 names.

Many months before the opening of the Legislature this winter, the League of Women Voters set up a legislative council of which Mrs. Andreas Ueland, the state chairman of the special committees and of the chairmen of the legislative committees of fifteen women's



MRS. A. F.
RICE,
CHAIRMAN
MONTANA
LEAGUE

organizations in the state. Before this council has come, not only the recommendations of our own national committees but also suggestions from other sources, the whole to be made a matter of special study by subcommittees so that the final recommendation of the Legislative Council has been so well founded in every case that it has been accepted by the State Board of the League of Women Voters. The result has been a program of eleven bills, actively supported not only by Mrs. Ueland and her little group of lobbyists who are at the Capitol every day, but by the membership of the League throughout the state.

THERE are one hundred and fourteen counties in Missouri, of which ninety-two are organized with Leagues of Women Voters.

The State University has cooperated magnificently by giving a course in citizenship in 1920-21 which is a requirement of all freshmen, men and women, in all divisions of the University. This course is given for five hours credit for two full terms. This course will be given next year. Approximately one thousand students have been enrolled in the course during the present session.

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Washington University in St. Louis has had a course in citizenship with university credits. St. Louis University has given an extension course in citizenship by the head of the Department of Politics and Economics. Citizenship has been put in the extension work of the public schools of St. Louis and in the classes for the foreign born at the request of the School Board. All five of the state normal schools in the summer of 1920 have had a course in citizenship required for the teachers and open to others in cooperation with the Missouri League of Women Voters. The League of Women Voters held a normal school in citizenship in St. Louis in May, 1919, for a week, with three sessions daily. Over five hundred were enrolled. From this normal school, through further work by themselves, teachers were developed and carried on the work of citizenship in St. Louis and throughout the State. One hundred and thirty citizenship schools have been held in St. Louis, Kansas City, Joplin and other places in the state of Missouri.

As a direct consequence of organization and the interest in the citizenship schools came the splendid results of registration. It was the first registration of the women of Missouri. In St. Louis the estimate of the Board of Election Commissioners was that 50,000 women would register; 128,000 really did.

For twelve years only two Constitutional amendments had been passed. At the election in November ten out of fifteen constitutional amendments were passed, including the most interesting and important—the vote for a new constitution in Missouri. By general admission, it was the woman's vote that accomplished all of this.

THE victory of the St. Louis League in its first fight which was a campaign against three judges who were admittedly candidates of a political ring. Under the slogan: "Kill the K's to clean the Courts" (inasmuch as the names of the three candidates for judges began with "K") two out of the three candidates were defeated.

Joining with eighteen other state organizations, the League of Women Voters formed the Missouri Woman's Legislative Committee which agreed to support certain definite measures of legislation and back it with all their strength.

The work accomplished, briefly, has been: The elimination of the word "male" and important election reforms connected with the ballot and general election laws in cities have gone over splendidly. Important bills of the Children's Code have been passed. The bill granting an adequate appropriation for the State Board of Health was passed. A Minimum Wage Commission is to be appointed to draw up a Minimum Wage Law to be presented at the next meeting of the Legislature in two years. The Factory Inspection Bill passed, making it mandatory to have at least one woman inspector.



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JUNE 1920 brought to Montana the Regional Convention with Mrs. Paige of Minneapolis, presiding regionally and Mrs. Norris of Montana as acting State Chairman. A wonderfully inspiring gathering it was at Great Falls, favored as we were with the presence of our National Chairman, Mrs. Park, Mrs. Jacobs, Dr. Hebard, Dr. Valeria Parker and other speakers of national fame. Out of it emerged the Montana League of Women Voters, upheld by delegates from all sections of the state.

The State University put on a "Citizenship Week" at Missoula, where the faculty assisted in every way, afternoon and evening sessions being held for a week. Mrs. K. W. Jameson, Dean of Women, ardently interested in the welfare of the League, was of great

assistance in arranging this program.

During our session of the Legislature we worked hard for a more adequate Drug Bill, supplementing the Harrison Act, and making it a felony, rather than misdemeanor, to sell drugs illicitly. Although passed, the Governor withheld his signature because of certain changes, but we are assured another eliminating these will be put through during the extra session now pending. "The Pari Mutual Racing Bill" was defeated, and we have called attention to cases where the marriage law is being violated in the case of girls under sixteen, noticeably among the foreign population.

We asked for and obtained from our Legislature a memorial asking Congress to further consideration of the Sheppard-Towner Bill.



MRS. CHARLES
H. DIETRICH,
CHAIRMAN,
NEBRASKA
LEAGUE

WHEN the Nebraska League of Women Voters came into existence, early last summer, the Federal Suffrage Amendment had not yet been ratified. During the previous winter Nebraska had held a constitutional convention and among the amendments to be voted on by the people in September, was one granting full suffrage to women. The convention had ruled that women could vote at the special election, giving us the distinction as well as the responsibility, of being the first women ever allowed to vote on their own enfranchisement.

We put on a whirlwind campaign during the next two months, sending organizers into nearly all of our ninety-three counties. We invited men as well as women to attend our meetings for the purpose of studying all the amendments. They were practical lessons in civil government. The workers suffered from a natural

feeling of anti-climax, which was somewhat offset by our satisfaction in a letter from the chairman of the Constitutional Convention in which he gave our organization the credit for arousing an intelligent interest among both men and women, in our new constitution, and for carrying by the votes of women some of the more "advanced" proposals.

The League held a state legislative conference about October 1st, and endorsed for our state program the measures to be submitted to our legislature by the Nebraska Children's Code Commission. Two of our committee chairmen are members of that Commission. When Owen Lovejoy pronounced our Children's Code to be the finest and most comprehensive piece of work of its kind in this country or any other country, we were proud that our chairmen of Child Welfare and American Citizenship helped frame the measures.

THE Nevada branch of the National League of Women Voters was not organized permanently until December, 1920.

Up to date, the work done has been carried on by the officers and the executive board. At the request of Mrs. Catt, a ratification committee was formed in 1918, no national suffrage association then being in existence in Nevada, to enable the National American Woman Suffrage Association to include Nevada in the closing chapters of the suffrage campaign. This committee is practically the executive end of the Nevada branch of the League.

Nationally, the women here have endorsed the Shepherd-Towner and the education and welfare bill.

Locally, they have protested against any change in the primary law and have endorsed a Red-Light abatement bill and a bill to create a State Board of charities and Correction.

THE League of Women Voters of New Jersey came into being May 1st, 1920, shortly before vacation time. Citizenship Schools were organized and carried on, as there was a demand for just this thing prior to the state primaries in September and the election in November. Some organizing was done, and that of the best quality, as one of those first leagues is a model league and has been patterned after many times.

Since the election in November, organizing by state regional directors has been pushed, and there are now thirty leagues and two affiliated groups in New Jersey. Ten more are in process of formation, and fifty has been set as the goal by the first annual meeting on May 6 and 7, in Newark.

Work falls into seven departments: Americanization, Citizenship Schools, Child Welfare, Legislation, Production and Distribution of Commodities, Social Hygiene and Women In Industry.

The State Council of Child Welfare directs

MRS. R.
SCHERMERHORN,
CHAIRMAN
NEW JERSEY
LEAGUE



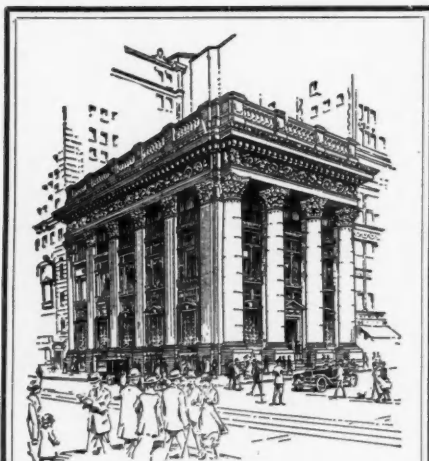
the State League's work, with the same Chairman. Social Hygiene is working with the Social Hygiene Division of the State Public Health Department, its Chairman a member of the State Social Hygiene Division; Women In Industry has for its Chairman the Chairman of the State, Consumers' League, and the Department of Production and Distribution of Commodities is carrying out the State Agriculture Department's program.

The League has worked quietly through the Women's Cooperative Legislative Bureau at Trenton during the session of the Legislature, and is very happy over the passage, and suppression of certain bills in which it was particularly interested, although it initiated no measures. The State Social Hygiene Division is good enough to say that, owing to the work of the State League, \$10,000 was added to their appropriation.

MR. FRANK A. VANDERLIP and Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Chairmen of the New York State and City Leagues, report legislative and educative work. The state has held a normal school and state wide classes in citizenship, supplemented by a correspondence course. It published during the legislative session a weekly digest called *City, State, Nation*. It has held an active campaign for protection of women in industry. One of the most notable events was the Albany convention at which Governor Miller placed the issue of the League of Women Voters squarely before the people. The fact that their pre-election campaign of education succeeded in cutting Senator Wadsworth's majority by a half million votes is also significant.

The City League reports a wide campaign of education with open forums held under the auspices of the Borough organizations. At these many bills before the Legislature were discussed.

The League was very active politically, its special province being to assist women voters in taking an intelligent interest in politics, in performing their political duties conscientiously and wisely, and in bringing them in touch with their city, state and national representatives in order to make them understand government more thoroughly and to show public officials their duty to report back to the voters on work performed. It distributed fifty thousand registration fliers; established a political in-



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NEW YORK
LEAGUE

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formation bureau at headquarters which gave out information on candidates and issues; collected the records of candidates of all the parties; sent a questionnaire to all aspirants for office; distributed to sixty thousand women voters, free of charge, printed leaflets containing the records and opinions of candidates on public questions; cooperated with schools, libraries and many organizations throughout the city in disseminating this information and exhibiting the leaflets on conspicuous bulletin boards; held a series of political meetings at which the candidates of all parties were invited to speak; held several political dinners at which voters met their representatives; took charge of two voting booths for several weeks in two department stores, one in Manhattan and the other in Brooklyn, where information about voting was given to thousands of women customers; arranged that election and registration slides should be exhibited in moving picture houses; assisted fifty women's organizations to present political matters to their members; held a series of senatorial meetings at which state senators and assemblymen reported on the measures passed or defeated by the Legislature; and circularized the principals of schools and other leaders of the people asking their help to get the women out to vote. All this work was done in a non-partisan way, the object being simply to present the facts accurately and to allow the women voters to decide for themselves as to what candidates or issues they wished to support.

THE North Carolina League of Women Voters was organized last October at a meeting in Greensboro, to which women were invited from all parts of the State, and especially the heads of women's statewide organizations.

Though the North Carolina Legislature had not ratified the 19th amendment, it graciously made legislative provision for women's registration and voting after ratification by Tennessee. During the political campaign the women of both parties were gladly welcomed as workers and made many political speeches, strongly appealing to women to register and vote. There were actually 120,000 North Carolina women registered.

Both Democratic and Republican Parties, anticipating the complete ratification of the suffrage amendment during the summer, nominated women on their tickets, the Republicans naming Mrs. Mary Settle Sharpe as State Superintendent of Public Instruction and the Democrats of Buncombe County naming Miss Exum Clement as Representative in the General Assembly. Miss Clement was elected and served with distinction. She introduced bills providing for privacy in voting and for reducing the period of desertion from 10 to 5 years for

obtaining a divorce. The latter became a law.

In the state legislative work the League of Women Voters has combined with the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union in forming a Legislative Council of North Carolina Women, through which the legislative program has been pushed. Besides the (1) measure for privacy in voting, the Council has worked for (2) state moving picture censorship; (3) raising age of consent to 16 years; (4) establishment of training school for delinquent colored boys; (5) adequate appropriation to state child-caring and educational institutions; (6) and (7) two emergency measures arising in attempts to repeal the state primary law and to abolish the State Welfare Board. These were strenuously opposed by the women of the state and were finally defeated. The first three measures failed to pass; the fourth was successfully passed; and (5) the legislature made unusually liberal appropriations to the state institutions—what might be called "adequate."

The North Carolina League has responded to all requests for co-operation in support of the legislation promoted by the National League.



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DAKOTA
LEAGUE

THE North Dakota League of Women Voters was organized at a well attended and enthusiastic meeting held in Fargo in April, 1920. Our regional director, Mrs. James Paige, and Miss Wells of Minneapolis, were with us and we were especially honored by the presence of Mrs. Maud Wood Park.

One of the best things that happened in North Dakota the past year was the splendid demonstration put on by the Valley City league to celebrate the complete enfranchisement of women.

We are glad to tell you that women in North Dakota will be eligible for Jury service after July 1st, the bill introduced by the North Dakota League of Women Voters having passed the Legislature and been signed by the Governor. We know the State needs our organization and we have great aspirations for the future.



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THE Ohio League adopted the following program for State Legislation:

1. A revision of the School Code as drawn by the Ohio Council on Child Welfare, after a year of careful study and consultation with all possible phases of experience and opinion.
2. An increased appropriation for the Industrial Commission, to provide for additional factory inspectors, 8 men and 4 women.
3. Defeat of a bill to put the non-partisan judiciary back into politics.

The Judiciary bill has been defeated. The League's representative appeared at the hearing on the bill, and the men were interviewed at home by their own constituents.

A lobby interviewed the House members on the School code; it was explained to hundreds of groups of women throughout the state, who interviewed their representatives in person at home, or wrote letters urging its passage. This is the Bing Bill, which is now as well known in Ohio as the Sheppard-Towner bill. The greatest benefit from the work on the bill is that throughout Ohio attention has been centered on the schools and on the problem of public education. The bill passed the House by a vote of 93 to 13.



MRS. JOHN O.
MILLER,
CHAIRMAN
PENNSYLVANIA
LEAGUE

"LEAPS and bounds" but mildly describes the progress of the Pennsylvania League during the past year. Since the Woman Suffrage Association became the League of Women Voters, it has grown not merely in membership, but in the scope of its activities.

In February, 1920, less than a dozen of the 67 counties in Pennsylvania were organized. Now, March, 1921, 44 are organized with county leagues, all represented in the State League. From June 1 until Election Day, November 2, the membership advanced from a little over a thousand to more than 25,000 and these are dues paying members, not merely names.

The first activity of the Pennsylvania League was its citizenship schools. More than 200 of them have been established in various parts of the state. The first was established in Philadelphia in January, 1920. The work inaugurated in Philadelphia was carried out in the same manner at the 200 schools throughout the state, with unvarying success. It is estimated



MRS. F. S.
MUNSEL,
CHAIRMAN
SOUTH
CAROLINA
LEAGUE

that more than 50,000 women were given some knowledge of fundamental American politics before they cast their first ballots on November 2. The League was the only women's organization in the state to get out a specimen ballot, with special instructions to women as to how to indicate their choice of officials to be elected.

THE South Carolina General Assembly has adjourned after six weeks of strenuous work. The closing of this session and the signing of certain bills by the Governor marks the greatest achievement of the South Carolina League of Women Voters since its organization.

The successful passing of every bill introduced or sponsored is no small achievement, and the leaders of the league are being heartily congratulated upon their good work. Letters of commendation are being received from members of both the Senate and the House, and it is the general opinion that the League of Women Voters has excelled all other organizations working for constructive legislation at this session. The credit for the work is entirely due to the efforts of Mrs. F. S. Munsell, chairman of the state league, the legislative committee and the prompt and active support of the county chairmen.

The bills introduced at the request of the League were: A bill to raise the age of consent; a bill making the state constitution conform with the federal constitution, and allowing women to vote in the primaries, and a bill making jury duty optional, placing women in the exempt class with doctors, teachers, lawyers.

Mrs. Munsell has issued invitations to all of the women's organizations of the state who are interested.



MRS.
GEORGE
FORT
MILTON,
CHAIRMAN
TENNESSEE
LEAGUE



MRS.
JESSIE
DANIEL
AMES,
CHAIRMAN
TEXAS
LEAGUE

the League of Women Voters was organized for work with the 37th Legislature.

The one outstanding achievement of the Texas League is the publication of a monthly paper called *The New Citizen*. During the sessions of the Legislature and Congress, the paper has been used to keep the women informed as to progress of bills endorsed by the organizations of women and to the progress of the joint legislative committee.

THE League of Women Voters has, in Vermont, been thus far adapting itself to its sphere—a rugged little state with a population of about 350,000, less than that of the city of Buffalo, divided by mountains of marble and granite.

At the 37th annual convention of the Vermont Equal Suffrage Association, July 2, 1920, it was voted that the association be dissolved and a Vermont League of Women Voters organized. Mrs. Lillian H. Olzendam, who had been ratification chairman, was made chairman of the new League. On Sept. 9, with 70 delegates present, the first convention was held in Burlington. Its call to the women of the state to



CARRIE W.
ORMSBEE
BRANDON,
CHAIRMAN
VERMONT
LEAGUE

register to vote at the primaries met with unqualified success, it being generally admitted it was the woman's vote that elected Gov. Hartness. To quote from a prominent state paper—"The Primary of Sept. 14 will go down as ushering in a new era in Vermont politics. The voting strength of Vermont has been increased about 50%. The old time political organization is busted. The women did it." And from another—"The women have already revolutionized conditions at the polls." Of the eight points of the Vermont League's legislative program six have been won.

(Continued on page 1171)

IN Tennessee the League of Women Voters is making itself felt in the Legislature.

Through its executive board it recently protested against the contemplated repeal of the primary law. Mrs. George Fort Milton as chairman of the state league signed the following resolution, which was sent to Governor Taylor, to Hon. William Bond, Speaker of the Senate, and to Hon. A. L. Todd, Speaker of the House:

"The Tennessee League of Women Voters in executive board meeting assembled took unanimous action in protest against the repeal of the present primary law of the state as an abridgement of women's rights as citizens and as a blow to representative government, and resolved that such protest be presented to the governor, the speaker of the senate and the speaker of the house and given to the press of Tennessee for publication."

The women presented their resolution in person and upon invitation Mrs. Milton addressed both houses.

Immediately following, Senator Worley, the only woman member of a southern legislature, introduced the bill removing disabilities from women.

THE Texas League of Women Voters has come gradually to mean a source of information to be drawn upon by women either individually or through organizations whenever the need has arisen. Records of candidates, election laws, duties of state and county officers, legislative programs, laws concerning women and children, social welfare and citizenship programs have all figured in its program.

Three pieces of constructive work stand out above the routine of service. The joint legislative committee composed of the Mothers Congress, the Federation of Women's Clubs and

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Money



MONEY is a means of doing two things: making an exchange of goods or service and measuring the value of them. In ancient times many kinds of money were used. The Greeks and Romans used cattle. The word pecuniary comes from the Latin word meaning cattle. Silver was also used by the ancients and passed by weight. In our colonial period, tobacco was used as legal tender for generations, and there were many regulations about planting it. In New England, corn and musketballs were legal tender for debts; as is well known, the Indians used wampum made of shells. All these kinds of money were very inconvenient, clumsy and inadequate. Cattle could not easily be divided and might die and tobacco might spoil.

Good money must have certain qualities. It must be easily carried, easily divided and stamped; and it must be durable. The invention of fairly good money has been of more value than almost any invention since savages learned to plant and to make fire. Though gold, silver and copper have come into general use and are the best kinds of money up to date they are imperfect tools for measuring the value of other things. Unlike measures of length, like yard sticks and pounds and weights, they are valuable commodities themselves.

Our basis or unit of value now is the gold dollar. Sometimes both silver and gold have been the basis and we have had bimetallism.

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BY LUCIA AMES MEAD

LESSON I.—PART I.

In this case there has been a ratio fixed between them as silver has been fifteen or sixteen times as plentiful as gold. Silver is also less desirable because it corrodes. The problems of bimetallism have filled many books and are too intricate to discuss here. In 1792, gold and silver were made legal tender in the United States at the ratio of one ounce of gold to fifteen of silver. In 1834 the weight of the gold dollar was fixed at 25.8 grams of standard gold. Hundreds of years ago in England the ratio between gold and silver was 12.5. There has been nothing stable about the relation of silver to gold. The real value of gold is its purchasing power. The price is always the same. This is not so with silver which is not measured by itself but by gold.

AS many common terms are not readily understood from the technical language of the dictionary a list of simplified definitions are here given with explanatory comments:

Bimetallism is the use of gold and silver at a fixed value in relation to each.

In the United States, the cry of the bimetalists "sixteen to one" became a great Presidential issue in 1896. This meant that

sixteen ounces of silver should be counted as one of gold. This demand was defeated. Shortly after that, the new discoveries of gold in South Africa and in the Klondike tremendously changed the situation. For a time the world seemed to have too much gold. Some day the world may be short of gold again and then we may hear once more about bimetallism unless meanwhile something more stable than any metal shall be adopted as a basis.

Bonds are certificates usually issued by corporations, cities or governments which promise to pay a certain interest for a definite period on the money which the bondholder loans. This interest must be paid even if there are no dividends and the business is losing money.

Capital has been defined as "stored up wealth" or "saved labor." It is also the capacity of a community or a person to create wealth. Galli Curci's capital is her wonderful voice. The capacity of a community to create houses, machinery, etc., is far more important than the possession of these things.

Capitalist is the word applied to one who owns this "saved up wealth." Capital is always a good thing and much more of it is sorely needed. The owner of a sewing machine counts it as capital if she is a seamstress or the owner of a piano counts it as capital if she is a music teacher. But the word "capitalist" is not used to apply to such persons but only to those who have large amounts of money which are employed in productive ways.

Capitalism means a system that favors keeping capital in the hands of a few. It hinders development of democracy and opportunity for all. It comes about chiefly through special privilege obtained by those who have capital or by those who bequeathed it to the present owners.

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MISS
ADELE
CLARK,
RICHMOND,
VA.,
CHAIRMAN
VIRGINIA
LEAGUE

"Capitalization means the amount that property is valued at, and it may be ten times the cost of capital actually invested."—PROF. R. T. ELY. The following clipping from the Boston Herald of Jan. 1, 1921, shows that corporations sometimes go out of their state so as to secure more favorable corporation laws:

"PORTLAND, ME., Dec. 31.—Lever Brothers Company, soap manufacturers, of Cambridge, Mass., have taken the necessary legal steps under the corporation laws of Maine to increase their authorized capitalization from \$12,000,000 to \$150,000,000. The state received a fee of \$13,805.

"The stockholders, at a meeting at the office of the clerk here, voted to increase the first preferred stock to 400,000 shares, the 'A' preferred stock to 600,000 shares, and the common stock to 500,000 shares par value \$100."

A *Cheque* is an order on a bank to pay to a certain person a particular sum which the signer of the check (or cheque) has already put into the bank.

THE second part of Lesson I with its definitions of money will be given on April 23. Be sure to keep this issue. You will need it for reference.

PAGEANT of the FOREMOTHERS

The Boston League of Women Voters will send for \$5.00 full stage directions for putting on its "Pageant of the Foremothers," with the list of properties required, the chronicle or "libretto," and the historical quotations.

Mrs. Ida Porter-Boyer will also furnish, if desired, an outline for additional scenes of local interest, representing historical events in which the foremothers figured in any part of the United States.

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We Are Coming

(Continued from page 1169)

THE Virginia League of Women Voters had its inception in March, 1920, when Lila Meade Valentine, then president of the Equal Suffrage League of Virginia, upon conclusion of the legislative session, formed a State Citizenship Education Committee composed of both men and women connected with educational institutions and social organizations, for the purpose of furthering education for citizenship. Extension courses in citizenship were formed in both the College of William and Mary—the oldest chartered college in the United States—and in the University of Virginia. The University of Virginia has the distinction of being the first state university in the country to establish, under its Bureau of Extension, a separate department of citizenship education with a



MRS. JOHN
W. RUHL,
CHAIRMAN
WEST
VIRGINIA
LEAGUE

woman director, Miss Mary Elizabeth Pidgeon of Clarke County. A conference of women from all over the state was called at the University of Virginia in April, 1920, and a citizenship institute was conducted with voting demonstrations. Since this time, and in co-operation with the Virginia League of Women Voters, citizenship institutes have been conducted; special courses in citizenship education and special lectures on citizenship have been given in fourteen cities and in twenty-six counties in the state, some counties being reached in several towns each.

THE West Virginia League of Voters was formed in Huntington, Sept. 30, 1920, when the old Equal Suffrage Association, in its last Convention, declared its work finished, and passed ordinances of dissolution.

In January the state legislature held its preliminary session for the introduction of bills, and we caused to be introduced, measures to remove the legal disabilities of married women, to raise the age of consent, to provide that father and mother shall be the joint and equal



MRS.
BEN
HOOPER,
CHAIRMAN
WISCONSIN
LEAGUE

guardians of their minor children, and to provide that the inheritance of husbands and wives in the landed estates of deceased wives and husbands shall be equal.

We indorsed bills introduced by other organizations as follows: For better registration of births and deaths, for better provision for mental defectives, for the establishment of a Child Welfare Commission, and a vice repressive measure.

We succeeded in forming a joint legislative committee composed of the presidents and chairmen of legislation of the state Federation of Women's Clubs, the State W.C.T.U. and the League of Women Voters.

The second session of the Legislature for the consideration of the bills has now been in session seven of its appointed forty-five days, and already the bills for equal guardianship, equal inheritance, age of consent, and child welfare commission have been favorably reported out of committee in the Senate.

THE Wisconsin League of Women Voters has just completed its first year, having organized on February 20, 1920. Reports presented at the convention held in Milwaukee, February 17 and 18, 1921, revealed a total membership of 1,356. There are district directors in ten of the eleven Congressional Districts, twenty-five local organizations, and eight county managers.

Soon after the State League was organized, a citizenship school was conducted in Milwaukee, with the active co-operation of the Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin. Several others followed in different parts of the State. Classes in parliamentary law and citizenship have been conducted at the League headquarters from time to time.

Perhaps the largest and most important undertaking of the year was the sending of a questionnaire to all candidates for national and state office.

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D. H. Lawrence—Prometheus, Pan, or Beelzebub?

The Lost Girl (Thomas Selzer)

Touch and Go (Thomas Selzer)

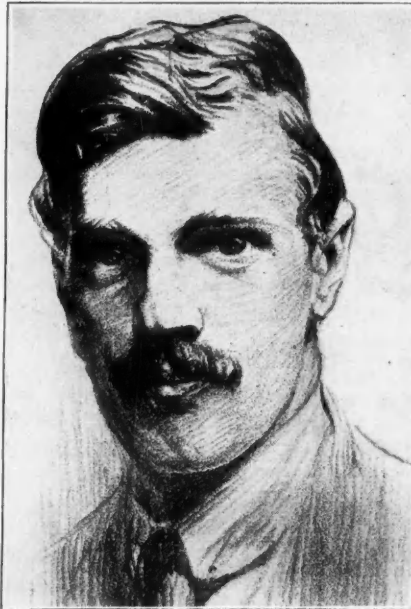
Widowing of Mrs. Holroyd (Mitchell Kennerley)

THE immediate reaction upon reading the novels and plays of D. H. Lawrence is a compelling desire to explain them. They clamor for explanation. Like a foreign substance in an organism they make the reader's mind uncomfortable. They are as far removed from the conventions of the British public as if they had been written by a satyr. To begin with, an utter abandonment of social responsibility meets one on the threshold of them, their author showing the little furry pointed ears and beating hoofs of a conscienceless faun. In fact, some people will see the hoofs as cloven and the pointed ears as horns. Worse still, there are others who, recognizing Mr. Lawrence's genius, will drag out the old bromidic adjectives to describe him. They will say he is telling the truth at all costs, that he is frank, virile, and so on meaninglessly. Maybe he is telling the truth, but one of his saving graces is that he is not cocksure that he is. The main effect he produces is of one groping to find truth. In a nature so at war on itself as his, this is no pastime and one feels that no sooner has one part of him come by its piece of the truth than the other side of him—the satyr side—mocks it. He rather ends by tentative acceptances and rejections.

AND it gets one nowhere by way of explanation to call him a realist, he is as incurably a romanticist as Zola was accused of being. But Mr. Lawrence does not, like Zola, make a try at scrambling out into realism. He is perhaps very profoundly a symbolist of the modern sort, not tenuously like Maeterlinck, nor subtly like Couperus, but after the manner of the Freudians, who see large typical meanings in small incidents.

Nothing delights Mr. Lawrence more than to parallel human emotions by those of an animal like Hermione's cat, or the Highland cattle in Gudrun's dance, or the furious struggling of Bismarck, the rabbit, or Gerald Crich's mare. These are all in *Women in Love*, a book which might be called a laboratory record. These animal pictures are like tiny marginal sketches at the corner of big etchings. They show a superb mastery of verbal powers and great lyric beauty.

Not that Mr. Lawrence tosses off any sketch, however tiny, with nonchalance or ease. He is almost never casual, seldom swift, and only sometimes in his less tense moments at ease. He writes with a slow, turgid style, at times almost with convulsive efforts. He can soar, but he seems to choose not to, preferring to pick his way like a person walking through sticky clay that encumbers his feet.



D. H. LAWRENCE

ONE may sense him as a Prometheus struggling with moral forces—a Pan piping to hot-blooded youth, or, in a flash of disappointment see him as a mere undergraduate mouthing undigested theories.

One may love him or hate him, may take him—but not leave him, for he has made a permanent literary impression. After him the world will no more go back to writing the fiction of the first score of years of the twentieth century than landscape painting will go back to Constable. His style has a sort of lambent glow which makes most other writers seem extinguished, rayless. He has done for modern English prose what the French impressionists did for painting when their *plein air* work let in the sunlight. Whatever the faults of Mr. Lawrence's technique, and they are many, faults of iteration, of mannerisms, of thick phrases, of hysterical exaggeration—yet his results are such as to spoil the readers' taste for most of his contemporaries.

Here is a description of the water at eventide: "The earth was spread with darkness, like lacquer, overhead was a pale sky, all primrose, and the lake was pale as milk." That is as exquisite as a Japanese print, delicate, perfect. Yet Mr. Lawrence is just as much himself in epic moods like that of his frozen landscape on the mountains where Gerald met his tragic end. Symbols again—the symbol of hard, glittering, sunlit ice to offset the chilled passion of two hating lovers.

This insistence upon hate as an integral part of love is constantly recurrent in Mr. Lawrence's work which is restricted in its range. The same people, the same problems are worked over and over. There are indeed not many problems, just one in many keys, the problem of sex relations. Mr. Lawrence is preoccupied with this, like an adolescent dreamer.

Coming down to it, one wonders whether adolescence does not, in fact, explain Mr. Lawrence. He is young enough to have his adolescence cling to him, only twenty-seven now, and he has been writing for some time. He has the obsessions, the intolerances, the extraordinary physical excitations of adolescent youth. He also shows its excess of individuality, its ruthless self-demanding cruelties.

Two types of the sex struggle absorb Mr. Lawrence—the type shown in Ursula who seeks man to hold him utterly, and in Gerald, whose possessive will devours or destroys woman. On the other hand, are men and women like Birkin and Gudrun, who resent the destroying dominance of one soul over another. Self absorbed and cruel as is Gudrun Brangwen, she does stand for the woman whose creative mental demands are too great to let her sink into becoming a mere sex corollary of another.

ONE feels all the time that Rupert Birkin sounds an autobiographical note, is, in short, the author's spokesman. Some of the best interpretation of feminism is found in Birkin's musings: "And why? Why should we consider ourselves, men and women, as broken fragments of one whole. It is not true. We are not broken fragments of one whole. Rather we are the singling away into purity and clear being, of things that were mixed. In the old age, before sex was, we were mixed, each one a mixture. The process of singling into individuality resulted into the great polarization of sex. The womanly drew to one side, the manly to the other. But the separation was imperfect even then. And so our world-cycle passes. There is now to come the new day, when we are being each of us, fulfilled in difference."

In the *Lost Girl*—his most recent novel—Mr. Lawrence has balanced this struggle and brought it down to human proportions. It is not so Titanic as his earlier studies. Therefore, this novel is easier reading, more conventional, but less illuminative of the author's interior processes.

Birkin's philosophy is individualistic, and so is that of his creator. What they both hate is sinking into something else—a sex relation—a class—an industrial group.

In *Touch and Go* "a play for a People's Theatre" Mr. Lawrence sharpens up this resentment at class or group demands. Here and in the *Widowing of Mrs. Holroyd*, he shows his intimate knowledge of the colliers among whom he was born—one of themselves. But he accepts no socialistic solution of their problem. "We're dead sick of parts," he says in the preface to his people's play.

And there you have a keynote to Mr. Lawrence's habit of mind. An attempt to see all around life. A contemptuous pose now and then, but sometimes flashes of Sinaitic morality.

All of which brings one back to the question, is he Prometheus, Pan or Beelzebub?

The Housing Problem

"If the settlements had done nothing else, they would have justified the time, money and effort spent on them by cutting even a very small window through the blank wall of ignorance which used to stand between the poor and the well-to-do," says Mrs. Edith Elmer Wood in the first chapter of her *Housing of the Unskilled Wage Earner* (Macmillan and Company).

"Let any one who doubts the existence of such a barrier read a few early housing reports."

It is no longer ago than 1894 that a tenement house committee in New York City with Richard Watson Gilder as chairman, reported 7,279 apartments with 16,767 dark rooms affecting 71,015 persons. Twenty-two years later, in 1916, there were but 252 totally dark rooms left in the city—although, to be sure, that signifies little more than the fact that windows had been cut into adjoining rooms.

In the general welter of housing relief measures now being considered or enacted into laws, such, for instance, as the tax exemption laws of New York, it is very well worth while to study carefully Mrs. Wood's book.

If her conclusions are in the main that bad housing conditions can only be remedied by community effort, she seems justified by the facts as to the helplessness of the unskilled laboring group. Most readers will be surprised to read that, according to Mr. McAdoo's Railroad Wage Commission, as late as 1917 the average pay of 111,477 railroad clerks was \$56.77 per month while the average pay of 270,855 section hands was \$50.31 per month.

A large section of Mrs. Wood's book is devoted to the restrictive legislation and model housing experiments in various states of the Union—a fact of interest to state Leagues of Women Voters.

Another large section is devoted to the experience of foreign countries in dealing with the housing problem.

Mrs. Wood is the daughter of the late Commander Horace Elmer, U. S. N., and the wife of Captain Albert Norton Wood, U. S. N. On her sea trips she has visited many countries of Europe, Asia and the West Indies. She is a

Some Books for The Woman Voter

Smith graduate and a Columbia Ph.D. She has written various articles on housing as well as some fiction.

In a more recent volume, *The Housing Famine* (E. P. Dutton, N. Y.) Mrs. Wood enters into a triangular debate on the up-to-the-minute remedies for house shortage. The debaters at the other sides of the triangle are John J. Murphy of New York City, Tenement House Commissioner, and Frederick L. Ackerman, lecturer in Architecture and Theory of Planning in Columbia and Cornell.

The immediacy of the debate will be shown by the topics, among them: "Shall public credit be employed? Shall we have municipal housing? Shall we exempt mortgages and improvements from taxation?"

Mr. Ackerman thinks public credit "a futile measure," and tax exemption "a dubious proposal." Mr. Murphy favors tax exemptions and Mrs. Wood believes them hopelessly inadequate unless supplemented by other measures.

Mrs. Wood's constructive suggestions are for national, state and local housing commissions; long-time housing loans, and municipal housing at cost for lower-paid wage earners. Mr.

Murphy believes the fundamental cause of housing famine rests upon an industrial condition which does not enable a great mass of workers to earn enough to provide their families with sanitary, safe and agreeable homes, and Mr. Ackerman agrees with Mrs. Wood in demanding investigation by commission, but believes in no specific interference by government.

The book is valuable for its immediacy, conciseness and sharply drawn questions and answers. It is also valuable as setting forth three distinct views, all discussable and all pertinent to one of the most serious facts of modern life. Tremendously a woman's problem.

The Foreign Born Woman

SOCIAL service in the form of educating our foreign-born women is discussed in *Schooling of the Immigrant* (Harper & Brothers), the first of eleven Americanization studies now being made under the auspices of Carnegie Corporation of New York.

"The illiterate or non-English-speaking woman in the home is not reached with any surety through either the evening school or the factory class," the book states. "Throughout the country it is found that foreign-born women are not found in industrial employment in the same proportion as are foreign-born men, so that the factory class will not reach the majority of foreign-born women."

"The home-teacher project is too valuable to be abandoned merely because unforeseen difficulties have been encountered. The home teacher can be an influence for the Americanization of women in the home, where no other agent can be so effective; and even though she

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The Italians, French and Germans enjoy the opera because in the music they hear the echoes of their age old folk song. We have to be educated to the enjoyment of the opera because we have no folk music of our own and are not familiar with the folk music of other nations. Think how much it would add to our enjoyment if we were able to recognize other airs as we do "The Star Spangled Banner" when we hear it in "Madame Butterfly"—Florence Hudson Botsford is giving us this opportunity in her

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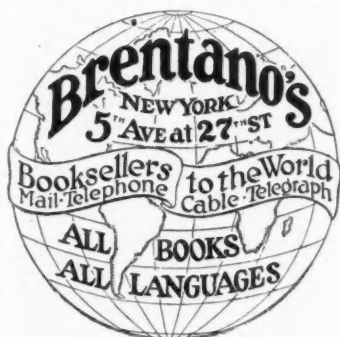
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Greetings

THE Woman Citizen reaches out the hand of fellowship to two recently instituted periodicals: *The New Citizen* of Georgetown, Texas, and *The Spotlight* of Jefferson City, Missouri.

Both are bulletins published by leagues of Women Voters.

The Spotlight is issued weekly. Its editor is Marie B. Ames. Its purpose is to keep the attention of the women of the state of Missouri focussed on state legislative proceedings. It is a well printed little eight-page bulletin. *The New Citizen* is younger and smaller. It is published monthly by the Texas League of Women Voters, Mrs. John C. Cranberry, editor. Its initial number appeared in February. It surveys the legislative program, gives information on the Woman's Prison, Camp Goree, and the whole penal system of Texas.

The *New Citizen* has been set on its feet and given a chance to prove itself through a gift from Miss Eleanor Brackenridge, honorary chairman of the Texas League.

Statement of Ownership

Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of The Woman Citizen, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1921.

County of New York } ss.
State of New York }

Before me, a notary public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Rose Young, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the editor of The Woman Citizen, and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Name and Post Office address—

Publisher: Woman Citizen Corporation, 171 Madison Avenue, N. Y.

Editor: Rose Young, 171 Madison Avenue, N. Y.

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2. That the owners are: (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock): Woman Citizen Corporation, 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, 404 Riverside Drive.
Miss Mary Garrett Hay, 404 Riverside Drive.

Mrs. H. B. Wells, 46 West 9th St., New York.

Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Dorchester, Mass.

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Mrs. Raymond Brown, 55 East 76th Street,
New York.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is.....(This information is required from daily publications only.)

ROSE YOUNG, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 21st day of March, 1921,

[SEAL]

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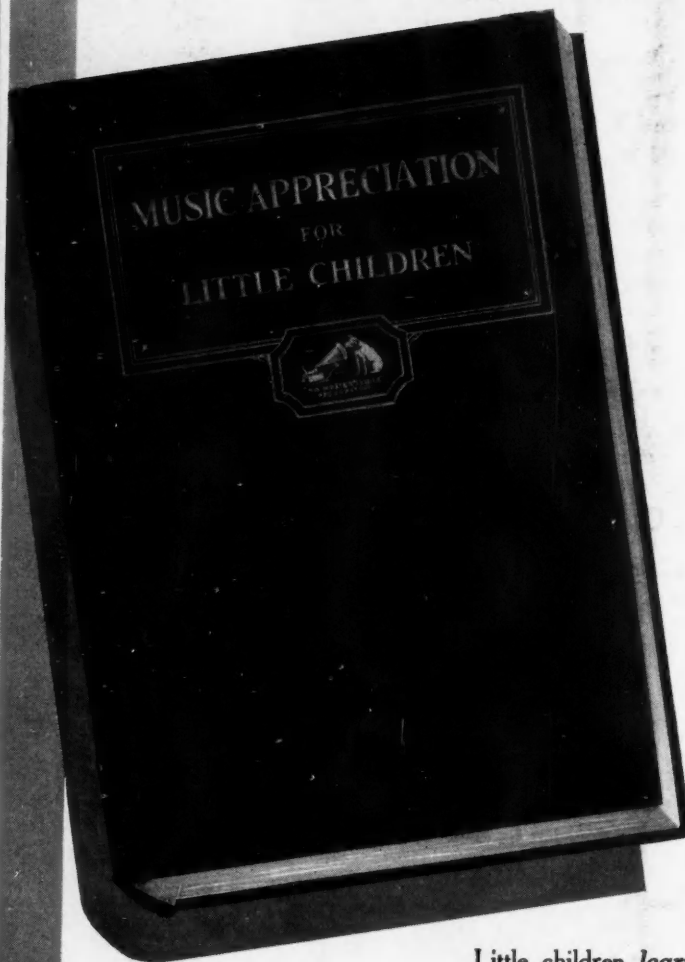
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THE Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL FOUNDED 1870

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APRIL 23, 1921

**WOMEN VOTERS OF THE NATION MEET IN
CONFERENCE AT CLEVELAND AND
DECLARE WAR ON THE
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By JOSEPHINE DASKAM BACON

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The Woman Citizen

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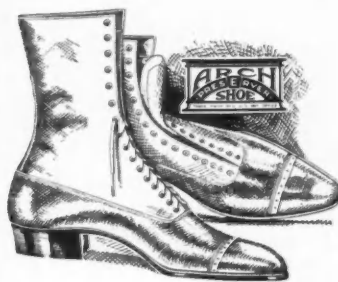
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APRIL 23, 1921

Vol. LI Old Style

Vol. V New Style

No. 46



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The Woman Citizen

VOLUME V

APRIL 23, 1921

NUMBER 46

A Challenge to Corrupt Politics *The Second National Convention of the League of Women Voters*

THE National League of Women Voters is an organization of women of all political parties who want their votes to count for good government.

It was organized at St. Louis in March, 1919, as a section of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. At the Chicago Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in February, 1920, it became a separate organization. During the fourteen months of its independent existence it has been organized in every state in the Union.

"SOMETHING new under the sun"—a new kind of political convention, was launched by the National League of Women Voters at their first convention held as a separate body of women voters, at Cleveland during the week of April 11th. New because it was a convention where delegates were not pulling strings, where no one had selfish projects to put through. They did not come to name a candidate for president, nor to serve any party purposes. Their motives were as different from the Republican-Democrat motives of the 1920 conventions as day is from night. This was a gathering of political forces with just one aim—to discover how they could best use their new political power to serve their country.

Beforehand, there had been some troubled doubts about the success of this Convention. With suffrage an accomplished fact, without the inspiration of battle and the cohesive force of a great cause to bind women closely together, would the Convention "go"? How would a convention of new voters, with no single issue to crusade for, compare in size and spirit with a suffrage gathering—especially with that ever memorable last suffrage convention of February, 1920, when rejoicing over the near approach of victory carried enthusiasm to an almost unbearable pitch? Was not a let-down inevitable?

Added to these doubts was the consideration that the expense of traveling and hotels had greatly increased and that hard times—as Mrs. Gifford Pinchot said on the Convention floor—had hit every one "psychologically, if not actually." Therefore the prophecies of the League officers of a convention with a delegate from every congressional district in the country seemed unwarrantably optimistic.

These doubts proved groundless. To be sure, the prophecy was not quite fulfilled, but, with nearly four hundred voting delegates and as many official visitors, the Convention had the inspiration of numbers. It had enthusiasm—felt in the air from the very beginning through the eager greetings of seasoned suffrage workers from all over the country who were keen to compare notes on the use of their brand-new shining weapon, the vote; through the gracious courtesy of the Cleveland women's admir-

ably organized hospitality; through the prompt beginnings of seven pre-Convention conferences. It had the authority conferred by the presence of an amazing number of women of national fame: a roll-call of the Convention and its visitors would suggest choice pages from *Who's Who in America*.

And it had, above all else, a sense of independence and of power—of trying one's wings and finding them strong. At the League convention in Chicago in 1920, the vote had not been obtained in fact; a political campaign in which there were the personal elements had not been experienced. Here and there, all over America, those first votes had been cast last November in a way that actually amazed the casters with their feeling of power. Besides, more and more, the women have been learning facts about American life. They have learned volumes since Tennessee ratified last summer, and the awakening inspires independence. They are growing more and more distrustful of the "boss" system of politics, the more they learn about its causes and effects; more and more conscious of their ability to tackle it.

Mrs. Gellhorn, Chairman of Organization, expressed it in a ringing college yell effect at the close of a morning session when she had been racing against time to explain, by the most intriguing of maps and charts and dots and stars, the League's national growth:

"Are we on the map?"

"Well, rather!"

"Does the machine politician know we are?"

"You bet!"

There was evidence in abundance that the machine politician is "on" to this fact. That is why the League, as delegate after delegate testified, is accused of everything from Bolshevism to the most depressing kind of reaction. That's why it is accused of being secretly Republican—or secretly Democratic, and why every effort is made to keep women out of it. That's why the old-school party men are making a drive for the repeal of the Direct Primary, and dusting off all the old machinery that made boss control easier and kept the outsider outside. From their

point of view, this Convention has brought together the very worst of the disturbing element and has given it aid and enheartenment.

Between the woman voter and the machine politician battle is joined, and it promises to be a battle royal.

Make Government Work

THE bugle sounded in Mrs. Catt's speech in the pre-Convention conference on Election Laws and Methods, over which she presided on Monday—one of seven conferences that made an effort to see the whole show at a three-ring circus seem a simple matter. The crowds that thronged her double parlors and strung all down the hall got a high-voltage challenge to make the principles of representative government *work*: to fight for the Direct Primary and against the old convention; to work for model election laws, to adopt the short ballot, to push Proportional Representation, and in other ways to get the election machinery improved so that a vote will really be a means of expressing the voter's will.

Again the bugle sounded in Mrs. Maud Wood Park's keynote address at the opening session of the Convention on Tuesday morning. And this is just as good a place as any to stop and marvel at the rare good fortune of a convention that was blessed with the active presence and advice of such an Honorary Chairman as Mrs. Catt, and of a Chairman who measures up to the high standard set her. Mrs. Park's speech, for two-thirds of its length, was a lucid and absorbing report of the fourteen months' work of the League as a sturdy infant, standing free of the support given it in its first year by the National American Woman Suffrage Association; then an eloquent presentation of the aims of the League and the kind of service it can render, which swept that audience of women to their feet in a great tide of enthusiasm and exaltation. Mrs. Park called ringingly for a free electorate, working through the parties, but free from control; for voters dominating the political system, and themselves undominated.

Judging by the Cleveland press, the men were glad to hear this note repeated. The American public is more tired today than ever of the knavery of organized politics. Where once there were occasional hopeful gleams in the news printed about the leading political figures, today there is only cynicism and irony. So when the League of Women Voters opened its first Convention since the enfranchisement, the tired business man turned his eyes toward Cleveland for a moment in passing and hoped that the women would get down to business and really change the current order of things political.

Seven Tempting Conferences

LET'S go back to those tantalizing pre-Convention conferences into which the arriving delegates were plunged so promptly. Those of us who came Monday morning went straight from our very talkative breakfasts in the Hotel Statler's grill to the heart of whichever absorbing conference we could manage to choose from the program menu. These conferences had brought together women experts and a few men from all parts of the country who disproved Dr. Hatton's definition of an expert as "some one forty miles from home who knows more about the subject than you do."

There was Mrs. Catt's conference on Election Laws and Methods, already referred to, where demonstrations as well as discussions went on; a demonstration of voting machines by Mrs. Walter Timmie; a plea for the short ballot by Dr. A. R. Hatton, of the National Municipal League; a discussion of model

election laws, by Mr. Albert Bard, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Honest Ballot Association; samples of all sorts of ballots, model and otherwise.

Next door, where Dr. Valeria H. Parker was presiding at the conference on Social Hygiene, there were visiting experts like Dr. C. C. Pierce, Assistant Surgeon General; Dr. Rachelle Yarros, Chairman of the Social Hygiene Committee in the Illinois League; Miss Jessie F. Binford, of the United States Interdepartmental Board of Social Hygiene.

Downstairs, Dr. Catherine Waugh McCulloch, whose combination of legal standing and grandchildren made a great impression on the Cleveland press, directed a conference of Uniform Laws Concerning Women, with the aid of a long list of impressive ladies of the law, including Judge Florence Allen, of Cleveland.

The conference on Food Supply and Demand, Mrs. Edward P. Costigan, Chairman, counted among its notables Florence Kelley, of the National Consumers' League and the Honorable Huston Thompson, Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission. Of the two conferences that represent women's special interests, Mrs. LaRue Brown's, on Child Welfare, had Julia Lathrop, Chief of the United States Children's Bureau, as guest and speaker, and Miss Mary E. McDowell's Committee of Women in Industry had Mary Anderson, Director of the Women's Bureau, as well as Jeannette Rankin, Dr. Alice Hamilton, the only woman on the Harvard Medical Faculty, Mary Van Kleeck, of the Sage Foundation, Ethel Smith, of the Women's National Trade Union League.

Twice—once in this conference and once in general session—the Convention rejoiced to the point of stinging palms over Miss Anderson's reappointment, under a Republican administration, to a post to which she had been first appointed by Democrats; because this means that the Women's Bureau, like the Children's, is on a sound non-partisan basis.

Our Foreign-Born Sisters

MRS. FREDERICK P. BAGLEY'S conference on American citizenship added an interesting novelty.

Mrs. Horvath, a teacher of naturalization classes in the Cleveland schools, brought to the conference twenty-five foreign women to demonstrate her method of work. Comely and wholesome, of a sturdy Hungarian type, Mrs. Horvath herself radiated the spirit of warm, protecting motherhood, and ushered in her group with visible pride. They represented many nationalities. There was the Polish bride, who had been in this country only three weeks and could not speak a word of English, and the old Rumanian woman of seventy-six, who had learned English so she could read her son's letters from France. Now that he lies in the Argonne they are the one comfort left her.

The little bride, whose big blue eyes matched the embroidery on her blouse, was Mrs. Horvath's subject for illustrating her theory of teaching English. "What is the most important thing in the world to me?" the teacher asked. "It is I—I—I," pointing to her own breast. "I—I—I!" echoed the little bride, pointing to herself in turn, while she watched every movement of the teacher's lips. "What is the most important thing to you?" said the teacher. "You—you—you!" and she pointed to the other. "You—you—you!" echoed the pupil, pointing in turn at Mrs. Horvath. Then, with love fairly glowing in her face, Mrs. Horvath said slowly, "I like you." "I—like—you," repeated the little bride, her eyes shining with understanding. She had learned her first English words.

This is the method used with the whole group. The pupils who had studied longer proudly answered questions, showing a



HERE IS THE CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS, IN THE BALLROOM OF THE HOTEL STATLER IN CLEVELAND. THE DELEGATES HAD JUST BEEN LISTENING TO THE INSPIRING REPORTS OF THE STATE LEAGUES ON "THESE UNITED STATES OF OURS." MRS. PARK, THE NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, NOW CALLED THE NATIONAL PRESIDENT, STANDS BEHIND THE TABLE.

knowledge of American history, ideals and even details of government that some in the conference lacked.

When the lunch hour came, so fascinated was the conference with its foreign guests that, at the instigation of Mrs. Caspar Whitney, of New York, luncheon was ordered from the hotel and the entire class invited to stay.

An excited, joyous chattering group the class became as the formal conference broke up and their hostesses mingled with them on a cordial, friendly footing. It was the first time they had ever met American women in a common, neighborly way. The two worlds rarely come together—the foreign-born woman and her American sister. One thinks the other is haughty and scornful, and the other believes that the foreign woman is unresponsive if not hostile.

Pretty broken-English compliments; soft, friendly words, the exchange of warm smiles, and the language of radiant faces made the luncheon a happy memory to both groups. More is done in such an hour than by years of teaching.

Several of the pupils had samples of their native handiwork, wonderful embroideries. "You see," said one of them, "we make mistakes with our tongues, but not with our needles."

First of All—Disarmament

FOR depth of feeling and intensity of purpose, the most significant point of the Convention was the impromptu speech in favor of World Disarmament made by Carrie Chapman Catt at the mass meeting in Masonic Hall, with the resolution that passed the next day—a resolution solemnly pledging the League of Women Voters to urge on the National Government that the United States should take the initiative to bring about a reduction of armaments looking toward world peace.

After a powerful address by Will Irwin on the next war, Mrs. Catt, discarding her prepared speech on "Psychologies of Political Progress," made a plea for the leadership of women and

their acceptance of responsibility toward this cause in words that were dramatic in their truth and simplicity. As she ended, the great audience rose to its feet in a storm of feeling, and the resolution introduced the following afternoon by Mrs. James Morrison, of Chicago, was carried with a solemnity of conviction that promised action. (You will find Mrs. Catt's speech on Page 1184.)

The Convention Jubilee

ANOTHER big moment came the first afternoon. In the morning Mrs. Park had told of the five-minute interview granted by President Harding to a delegation from various women's organizations to plead for the Sheppard-Towner bill, protecting mothers and newborn babies. And in the afternoon came the announcement that the bill had been strongly recommended by the President in his message to the new Congress. The cheering that followed quieted down after a while, but the rejoicing went on simmering.

With a program headed "These United States of Ours," and with a huge map of the states facing the audience, reports were being given by the seven regions into which the United States is divided as the basis of the League's organization. Enthusiasm kept bubbling louder and louder as each state gave its record of bills secured, citizenship courses organized, local leagues formed. Missouri appeared in person, as it were, with a whole platform-wide delegation. Connecticut reported that, through Professor and Mrs. William Lyon Phelps, the lecture halls and professional instructors of Yale had been offered for the conduct of citizenship schools next fall.

Tennessee's spirited chairman of ratification brought a storm of applause with her claim of credit to Tennessee for "getting us here." "You would not be here in all your power and glory but for Tennessee, and the vote in Tennessee would never have

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A Call to Action

By Carrie Chapman Catt

*A Speech Made at a Mass Meeting in Masonic Hall,
Cleveland, April 13, 1921*

THERE is not an audience in this country nor in any other one in all the world where an appeal for peace does not stir the hearts of the people. There is not an audience before which a speaker may allude to international peace that does not respond. There is not anybody in all the world who is willing to say that he wants another war. There is not anybody who does not want peace, but how are we going to get it? That is the practical question, and it is not only a question for us to decide in our own country, in our own states and cities, before we can act collectively with other nations, but it is for ourselves individually to think our way through.

We don't settle that question when we have a million different points of view, or no point of view, but wait for somebody to act.

Everybody at this time is extremely careful about being non-partisan. I don't care a rap about being non-partisan. I am for disarmament.

I was for a Democratic League of Nations. I am for a Republican one, or any other kind. I believe in taking action upon questions of this kind and not waiting too long. It does not matter what party is in or who is President. Our country is not judged by its parties, it is judged as a nation.

Today there isn't anybody in the world that knows what we are going to do; nobody in any other nation and nobody in this nation knows what we are going to do. But I ask you if there is anybody anywhere at this moment with an earnest crusading spirit who is campaigning to arouse America to lead in this matter. Oh, no! We are as stolid and as indifferent apparently, and as inactive as though there was not before us the greatest question which was ever presented to the nations of the world.

IT is a curious kind of psychology that is upon our nation. We have always been a nation in favor of arbitration. It was this country, I believe, that signed the first treaty of that character. We were leaders in it. We don't believe in war as a nation. We are a peaceful people, and we are believers in the ideal of the voice of the people settling questions and not force. Well, then, we are the appointed ones to lead in this question.

It is difficult for anyone here to believe what has been the result of the war on the other side. It is not possible to quite comprehend it without seeing the effects for oneself. Over there, where they are still war-torn they are trying to pull themselves together, trying to build up their old life on their bad money and bad economic conditions and bad feelings of every kind. We live in paradise over here in comparison; we are disgustingly fat and altogether too well-clad.

All of this we have. Then it becomes us to lead. How are we going to lead? Not by standing back and waiting for somebody else to speak. Not by waiting, waiting. While we are waiting we will get another war. It is only by action. There isn't anything that can't be done in this country as a result of popular opinion. It is the government. There never was a President and there never was a whole Congress (I am not so sure about a Senate) that would not yield to popular opinion. It can do anything.

The people in this room tonight, were there no others interested in all the world, could put an end to war if they would put themselves to it. One vote is of no value. Two votes are of no value.

But a thousand votes standing for a common cause can be a wedge which will set the pace for political parties in the direction of those thousand people.

If we but stand together and know what we want we can get it. We want peace. We all want peace. We want to abolish that antiquated, barbarous, ridiculous method of quarreling and killing each other. We all want peace and yet we all stand back for somebody else to act.

Well, let us make a resolution, each and every one of us, to consecrate ourselves individually and collectively to the business of putting war out of the world.

It isn't necessary for a Republican to become a Democrat, nor a Democrat to become a Republican, but it is necessary to rise above the partisanship of either and both of these parties and say: "Here is a national issue, greater than any party or any man."

LET us work then; let Mr. Harding know; let the Senate know. Let them know that we as a constituency of Congress expect action.

It is a terribly grinding thing to any one of us who has ever so little international interest to know what people abroad say of us. I don't like to have people say that we are provincial nation and I don't like it because I know we are.

The other day a letter came from the President of the Suffrage Association in France. She said in telling something of the new spirit that has come in France as a result of the difficulties over the reparations that they have withdrawn the invitation for the next Suffrage Congress to be held in Paris because the feeling is such that if German delegates were to come they might not be treated well. She said: "Oh, if we could only know what the United States is going to do!" I have heard from one, two, three, four nations that nobody knows what we are going to do.

Our aloofness, our isolation, our silence upon the question! Oh, Americans, let us be silent no more; let us send a message across the sea and join hands with the men and women of every land who want to put this terrible thing out of the world. We can do it. But there must be no timidity among us; there must be no cowardice.

You know the most popular thing that anybody can say upon a public platform today is to say, "Let us stand for international peace." The most unpopular thing that anybody can say is, "Let us stand for it in this particular way." He who wants to stand for this question and really wants to get behind and boost must do it with the understanding that he can afford to be unpopular; that he can afford to stand against the world, and I tell you it does not matter if there are only four or five together who are in the right, they may stand, and stand fast, and all the world will come to them, and all the world will surrender to them.

Then, let us get this vision: here we are called. How infinitely greater and higher is that call than anything of all the wonderful things that are being discussed! I say to you women, you know that war is in the blood of men; they can't help it. They have been fighting ever since the days of the cave-men. There is a sort of an honor about it. But it seems to me that God is giving a call to the women of the world to come forward and stay the hands of men and say: "No, you shall no longer kill your fellow man."

A Challenge to Corrupt Politics

(Continued from page 1183)

been what it was except for the message sent by that fearless leader of democracy, Woodrow Wilson."

The "regular" politician might spend a few moments' solemn reflection on his chances with an organization that applauds a Republican and a Democratic President with equal vigor in the same afternoon.

Along about five o'clock all of the day's assorted enthusiasm and jubilations just naturally boiled over, and the Convention of Women Voters broke up into a jollification party, with balloons and banners, and a march round and round the ballroom, two abreast, then four abreast, singing "America," "Dixie" and "Maryland, My Maryland," quite in orthodox convention style.

A Working Convention

VERY early it became clear that this was, as the program proclaimed, "a working convention." State presidents gathered together at eight o'clock breakfast to discuss methods of work and to exchange experiences. The opening hour of morning sessions was put ahead to nine o'clock to give more time for business. Conferences and state caucuses, not to pull political wires, but to consider problems coming up for endorsement, were held at all hours. No other kind of a convention ever saw such a large proportion of delegates in their seats throughout the sessions. The Board of Directors set the example by being always on duty, and their generous spirit of disinterested service, their resourcefulness and skill, their fairness, their untiring good humor, made a pleasure of the hard work of the Convention.

The most important change in the program of the League was in harmony with the note struck at Mrs. Catt's initial conference. It was the elevation of the Committee on Election Laws and Methods to a department of work called Government Efficiency, placed under the immediate charge of the Board of Directors. This came about as a result of the experiences of the past year in working for the measures in which the League is interested—experiences which have shown up the glaring imperfections, the confusions and extravagances of government, and especially the difficulties in getting an expression of the popular will and translating it into action. To initiate improvements in government looking toward greater efficiency, the Convention recommended that each state league should call together a state conference of

MISS BELLE SHERWIN, CHAIRMAN OF THE CLEVELAND LEAGUE, AND OFFICIAL HOSTESS OF THE CONVENTION, WAS ELECTED SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE, SUCCEEDING MRS. GELLHORN, WHOM URGENT FAMILY DUTIES HAVE RECALLED TO PRIVATE LIFE.



men and women to consider measures which could be adopted to meet the needs of each state.

The other standing committees were continued and the programs adopted contained few additions to those accepted by the League at its first convention. These programs run almost the whole gamut of woman's desire for immediate betterment. They represent the minimum of what informed women are asking for. At the same time it is recognized that among the twenty-seven million voters of the country are many millions who know nothing about most of the improvements the League desires. Therefore the League voted to lay special emphasis during the coming year on educational work, preparing the great mass of women to stand behind its program of legislation in ever-increasing numbers.

Naturally there were controversies, tensions, debates, in a Convention made up of women of every shade of political faith, and all of them active-minded and clear in their own convictions. Several of the planks in the platform were adopted only after warm discussion. It was especially noticeable that the women were not content to accept a resolution even if backed by the opinions of experts, and by their own leaders, without hearing both sides of the controversy and knowing what they were doing.

As an instance: The resolution urging Congress to make sufficient appropriation to complete the Muscle Shoals plant in Alabama was backed by the entire Southern delegation, but it was not passed until the subject had been well debated.

\$80,000 Pledged for Clean Politics

There is one infallible barometer to measure enthusiasm at a convention, and that is pledge-taking. The budget presented by the National Board was \$80,000; \$79,000 of that amount was raised by Mrs. Edwards, the Treasurer, in one hour! Enough said. In these hard times, with the reaction which is in full flood after the many drives of the past four years, it proved the hold that the League has taken on women to hear state after state, many of them with new struggling organizations, gladly accept the quota allotted to them.

There were few big pledges. Mrs. Herbert Hoover telegraphed from Washington, giving \$1,000. Mrs. Willard Straight gave \$2,500; Mrs. Stanley McCormick \$1,500; Lucy Anthony, \$500. When the call came for \$100 pledges women were on their feet in all parts of the hall trying to give—one as an "understanding Republican," another as an "enthusiastic Democrat," this one



MRS. SUMNER T. MCKNIGHT, OF MINNESOTA, WHO IS THE NEW TREASURER OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE. MRS. EDWARDS, THE FORMER TREASURER, BECOMES FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

in the name of her husband or a sympathetic son or a daughter in college. A hundred dollars came from a delegate sent by a County Executive Committee. The Ohio Woman's Christian Temperance Union gave \$100, as did a Pennsylvania County Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs.

California and little Rhode Island doubled their quota, while Florida, Connecticut, North Carolina, West Virginia, South Dakota and Oregon subscribed more than their quota. The climax of appreciative enthusiasm came when Iowa pledged \$200 to Tennessee in gratitude for the ratification and Connecticut added \$100. The other thousand was raised by small pledges in a very few moments at the banquet on Thursday.

Play-Time of the Convention

That banquet marked the height of the Convention's play-time. It had Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton and Mrs. A. B. Pyke, both humorous about "Pitfalls in Politics," and then there were the stunts of the Minnesota and New York delegations. Minnesota has a little play, "Dearie Won't Do," written by Mrs. Charlotte Chorpenning around an incident which occurred in the state: the appointment of the daughter of a ward boss, without training or qualifications, for factory inspector. It had

both laughs and tears in it and was given with professional skill.

The New York stunt, "How We Make Them Love Us," written by Mary Gray Peck, of Geneva, New York, was a satire on the attack made on the League of Women Voters by Governor Miller of New York, when he called them a "menace," and on the bosses of Tammany Hall. The women who packed the ballroom of the hotel laughed until the tears came at Punch, the old-fashioned voter; Judy, his bride, the New York State League of Women Voters, the Political Machine, Wadst Barns, Murr Tammany, Mr. Direct Primary and Republican Landslide.

Of course, the Republican women had a dinner and the Democrats likewise. At the former the speakers were leaders among Republican women—Mrs. Upton, Mrs. Jacob Baur, of Chicago; Mary Garrett Hay and Mrs. F. Louis Slade, of New York; Mrs. Richard Edwards, of Indiana; Mrs. Draper Smith, of Nebraska; Mrs. M. T. Kendall, of Kansas; Mrs. Albee Ladd, of Minnesota.

The chief speaker at the Democratic dinner was Newton D. Baker, former Secretary of War, who declared: "This meeting of the League of Women Voters has given me more cheer and comfort, a greater sense of security and more feeling that it is worth while to press on, than anything I have experienced in a long time."

The Principal Planks in the Platform of the League of Women Voters as Adopted in the Resolutions and in the Recommendations of the Standing Committees:

Opposing any weakening of the National Prohibition Law.

Indorsing the Sheppard-Towner bill for the protection of maternity and infant care.

Indorsing the principle of physical education in schools, through state action with federal aid.

Asking for generous appropriations for the Federal Children's Bureau.

Urging the enforcement of all child labor and school attendance laws.

Urging Congress to make adequate appropriation for the Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board.

Urging equal punishment for men and women offenders against the moral law.

Indorsing the eight-hour day, and the prohibition of night work for women in industry, and the establishment of living-wage commissions.

Urging the appointment of qualified women in all boards having to do with women's work.

Asking for a reclassification of the Civil Service on a merit basis, without discrimination against women.

Recommending an equal interest by husband and wife in each other's property, acquired after marriage.

Asking for direct citizenship for married women.

Supporting increased appropriations for vocational training in home economics.

Indorsing jury service by women, with exemption for mothers of young children.

Indorsing the principle of the Towner school bill, but leaving action in support of it to the discretion of the Board of Directors.

Indorsing the principle of protection of National Parks and Monuments and keeping them inviolate for the use and enjoyment of the people.

Indorsing the creation of a federal department of Public Welfare and urging the appointment as head of the department of a woman who is an expert on social problems.

Recommending the regulation by Congress of the meat-packing industry.

Encouraging the organization of legitimate co-operative associations within the states.

Asking Congress to appropriate money to complete the Alabama nitrate plants for the benefit of agriculture and to furnish needed electric power to a large territory in the South.

Urging the National Government to do everything possible for the women held in harems in the Near East.

Asking Congress to make August 26th, the date of ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, a national holiday.

Opposing any attempt to repeal state Direct Primary laws, and in favor of making nominations more representative of the voters.

Urging each state to call a state conference of men and women to discuss ways and means of improving election machinery.

And the resolution on disarmament, which follows:

WHEREAS, The organization of a nation for modern war mobilizes its entire human and economic resources, wipes out old distinctions between combatants and non-combatants and takes a toll of material resources and human suffering hitherto undreamed of, and

WHEREAS, Eighty per cent of the federal appropriations of the United States go to pay the cost of wars, past, present and to come, and

WHEREAS, The cost of the last war has driven other countries to the verge of bankruptcy, and for them to assume additional taxation to keep up in the race for military and naval supremacy means incalculable suffering, the indefinite delay of reconstruction and economic disintegration in which we also will be involved, and

WHEREAS, The President has stated in his message that "While prudence forbids us to disarm alone, we are ready to co-operate with other nations to approximate disarmament"

THEREFORE, Be it Resolved, That we urge upon the President and Congress that they initiate a movement to secure such co-operation with other governments for the reduction of armaments at the earliest possible time.

Your Business in Washington

The First Week of Congress Under the New Administration

From the Woman Citizen's Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, April 15.

PRESIDENT HARDING has delivered his first message to Congress and, for the most part, has indicated that he regards the settlement of fiscal, transportation and international problems as taking precedence, for the moment at least, over all other questions.

This must not be construed, however—and the President is personally the authority for this statement—to mean that he is not deeply in sympathy with many legislative measures upon which the women of the country have centered their efforts for months.

The President, as indicated in his message, is, in large measure, feeling his way. And Congress, always largely dependent upon executive guidance at the beginning of a new administration, is disposed to await his recommendations. For that reason there might be a disheartening reaction to the President's failure to recommend passage by this Congress of the measures for which the women voters have worked so hard and long. And, to a degree, there is ground for belief at this writing that Congress may not act on most of these measures at this session. Tariff, revenue and railroad legislation bid fair now to block the legislative tracks for many weeks to come and along about August, when the weather gets hot in Washington, Congress begins to hurry through its work preparatory to adjournment. The President himself is looking forward to a cessation of congressional activities by August and plans to take a trip for rest then.

Therefore, what Congress does, apart from the domestic program outlined by the President, *will depend almost entirely upon the extent and organization of outside pressure.* The two branches of Congress, in the past, have been inclined to disregard or consider as of relatively less importance, many of the measures sought by the women of the country. Today, however, Congress is in a vastly different position. One finds a sharp interest in both branches in the program to be suggested by the National League of Women Voters as a result of its session in Cleveland, just terminated. For example, Congressman Towner, co-author of the Smith-Towner and Sheppard-Towner bills, is taking no action toward effecting the purposes originally sought in these measures until definite recommendations from the Cleveland convention are laid before him.

THERE is likelihood that Congress, on the recommendation of President Harding, may enact the maternity bill which, of course, has found little opposition and commands very general support. But President Harding has some very strong convictions on the advisability of organizing the general welfare service of the Government and, pending a working out of this reorganization, Congress will move very slowly in its welfare legislation. The President's attitude was voiced in his message:

"In the realms of education, public health, sanitation, conditions of workers in industry, child welfare, proper amusement and recreation, the elimination of social vice, and many other subjects, the Government has already undertaken a considerable range of activities. I assume the maternity bill, already strongly approved, will be enacted promptly, thus adding to our manifestation of human interest. But these undertakings have been scattered through many departments and bureaus without coordination and with much overlapping of functions, which fritters energies and magnifies the cost. Many subjects of the greatest importance are handled by bureaus within Government

departments which logically have no apparent relations to them. Other subjects which might well have the earnest consideration of federal authority have been neglected or inadequately provided for."

The President, therefore, has recommended to Congress the creation of a single department of welfare service to permit of more centralized surveys and intelligence of direction. This action has occasioned some alarm to the many supporters of the Bureau of Education and the proposed department of social justice, and fear has been expressed that the Children's Bureau, now in the Department of Labor, might be swallowed up by the Public Health Service.

There seems at present little likelihood that Dr. Charles E. Sawyer, the President's private physician, who has been authorized by the Executive to make a survey of the situation, will recommend a solution opposed to the wishes of welfare workers.

"MY sole purpose," said Dr. Sawyer, "is to try to find a way in which all of these related branches of general welfare service may be coordinated and work with greater efficiency and at less cost. It is neither the President's nor my purpose to suggest a federal bureaucracy to dominate affairs in this work. There is no intention whatever, for example, to alter the present system by which the states shall be deprived of their control and administration with respect to education, while the Government extends its assistance. In fact I plan no general upheaval whatever but, rather, a careful, cautious inquiry into what may best be done. In reaching my conclusions I will call in not only the heads of the health services, the Children's Bureau and other agencies but I will call conferences in Washington with the leaders among men and women interested in the general welfare problem."

Another indication that the President, while measuring his steps carefully, is nonetheless actively engaged in solving problems of interest to women is found in his determination to bring down prices to the consumer. The President agrees with many foremost economists that the so-called "buyers' strike," largely attributed to the good-bargain sense of women generally, is responsible for present day near-stagnation in business, and must be ended if "normalcy" is to be attained in the near future. To end it, he believes, from information that has come to him from many authoritative sources, that prices to the consumer, on many commodities, not only those whose basis lies in the agricultural industries, but also in the case of textiles, leather, fuel and building materials, can and must come down.

He has begun a careful study through governmental agencies of the forces dealing with the flow of commodities from producer to consumer, to learn why prices to the consumer have not fallen commensurately with the prices producers of late have received for their commodities, particularly basic agricultural commodities, at the producers' markets.

One of the things he already has learned and asked Congress to act upon, is that, among manufacturers, there has arisen an interesting development affecting the flow of commodities from producer to consumer, known as the "open price association." These organizations, it appears, develop uniform accounting methods and retain a steady market by furnishing the supply which the market can readily absorb. They collect for their members figures on the amount of production, production costs,

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Editorially Speaking

The League of Women Voters

A FEW months ago an earnest officer of the National League of Women Voters remarked that the first independent convention of the League would be a certain indicator of its future. "It will show," said she, "whether the ideals of the League are going to be understood by the women of the country and whether they think it worth while to give their service to establish those ideals." It was clear that she felt an anxiety about that convention and its outcome.

It was rumored at the time that certain political leaders had given orders that the League was to be "killed" in their states, and with that end in view they had issued "instructions" that their party women should not continue membership in the League. A few women had withdrawn, confessing that they had received such orders. Although none of the party of "higher ups" had openly expressed such sentiments, it was not known how far the process of intimidation might be attempted. It was at least clear that some party men and women regarded the League of Women Voters as a "hazard" in the political field and felt disturbed about it. Governor Miller had called it a menace.

So these nervous party folk and nervous League officials looked askance at each other.

The first convention was held last week, and a big-noble-minded, high-spirited one it was. It was a convention of women who had made their fight for the vote, won it, and, armed with it, had made their entry into politics through a presidential election and now returned to the old associations ready for further progress. Many partisan women who are loyal leaders in their respective parties were delegates, but they perceived that the woman's cause is not wholly won and that it will not be won through parties alone. Republicans met Democrats, and Democrats met Republicans in the old comradeship and unity of purpose. Once that purpose had been to win the vote; now it was to make that vote tell for higher efficiency in government. There was no hesitation, no vacillation; the entire convention, collectively, earnestly, marched forward.

Suffrage women last autumn numerously confessed that they found real politics "pale and insipid" when they came to use their first vote. It seemed sordid and commonplace to be striving merely to elect men whose platforms were so strangely confused they could not find a direct issue. They felt a vacancy where for years there had been purpose consecrated to an immortal principle.

These women have now come to a conclusion. They will serve their parties loyally but in the League of Women Voters they will still serve the principle of woman's equality.

No grouch, no irritation, no doubt appeared upon the surface of things. The women had found themselves, each other, and a common understanding. They were hopeful, earnest, conscientious. They knew the difficulties before them and were wholly unafraid.

The convention easily adopted and raised its budget of \$80,000.

It manifested its approval of its officers and especially its president, Mrs. Maud Wood Park. The confidence with which the League had elected her fourteen months ago had ripened into a devout faith in her fairness, nonpartisanship, caution, judgment

and all-around common sense and intelligence. The League recognized that it had a great leader who would never fail it.

The convention proved three things:

1. The women there grasped, accepted and pledged their loyalty to the ideals of the League.
2. Those ideals have grown clearer and are the aims of no other organization in this country, namely, to complete the task of securing equality of rights between the sexes, to stimulate better citizenship and to secure such legislation as will make for higher efficiency in government.
3. The winds may blow and the storms may rage, yet the League of Women Voters will withstand them all and its bonds of union will grow stronger under the test.

Hail League of Women Voters! You are the herald of a new day. "Failure is impossible."

C. C. C.

Help the New Administration

WHENEVER a newspaper changes editors, its readers watch with interest to see how successful the new management is going to be. In following this policy of "watchful waiting," they sometimes forget that they are in part responsible for the degree of the success. This is especially true of papers devoted to a "cause."

When the great Dr. Spurgeon was a boy, he was usually at the head of his class; but during one very cold snap he missed every question, and went to the foot. The schoolmaster did not know what to make of it, until he observed that the boy at the foot of the class was the nearest to the fire. He made the experiment of transposing the arrangement of the class. Immediately young Spurgeon began to answer every question, and was soon back at the head, when that was the warmest place.

When the woman at the head of a newspaper feels herself surrounded by the warm good-will of her constituency; when they take pains to send in news, to get subscribers and to co-operate in every way with her efforts, she can do a much better job than if she is surrounded by a cool frost of indifference. Let us all do our very best to hold up the new editor's hands and to help her make *our* paper a great success!

A. S. B.

Keeping Up with the Girl Scouts

MRS. JOSEPHINE DASKAM BACON'S suggestion, elsewhere in this issue, that wherever there is a local branch of the Girl Scouts, the League of Women Voters should be interested in helping them take the tests for citizenship badges ought to meet with a generous response. The keenness of the girl of the younger generation and her eagerness to grasp her opportunities has been proved to suffragists many times over. The suffrage parades in New York City were always in danger of being swamped by the thousands of girls from the high schools of the city who were determined to march for their convictions. In spite of strict orders that only adults were to be admitted as marchers, groups of enthusiastic young girls were always found smuggled somewhere in the ranks.

The first test given to Girl Scouts who were being examined for a citizenship badge took place recently at the national headquarters of Girl Scouts in New York City. To show how little understanding the adult mind has of eager youth, just before

the class met for this examination some of the national officers of the Girl Scouts and the examiner, who had had considerable experience with citizenship schools, agreed that the test which had been printed in the *Girl Scout Hand Book* would have to be revised, that it was much too difficult, in fact quite ridiculous, for girls only twelve to sixteen years old. Sixteen scouts took this examination and every one went through with flying colors. At the suggestion that the test had been too difficult a chorus of Noes replied. Most of the girls had studied civics in the public schools and several of them had read books on the subject, even James Bryce's "American Commonwealth."

Most significant of all and most hopeful for the future, every one of the sixteen girls had a name that she had to spell out carefully and repeatedly before the examiner could understand it. They represented nearly sixteen nationalities, but they were all intelligent Americans, eager to serve their country. G. F. B.

All Together

In offering my first greetings to the readers of the *Woman Citizen*, I want to tell you why it appealed to me to come to you. Since the long ago day when Charlotte Perkins Gilman (who knows nothing of it) quickened me to an active interest in suffrage, I have cared about the woman movement. And the thrill of the first suffrage parade—of the moment when, very timid and self-conscious, I turned into the wide brightness of Fifth Avenue and found all timidity swept away in a tide of exultation at marching shoulder to shoulder with women for our common cause—that was one of the big moments to be cherished. But the crowded days of a self-supporting woman have left little time for direct service, and so I welcome the opportunity to try to help along with and through every-day work.

Miss Blackwell has very delightfully expressed for me my cardinal belief about magazines—that if a magazine is to be of real service, the readers must be associate editors. We hope to make the *Woman Citizen* a source of interesting and important information for the great body of new woman voters; we hope to make it an aid to American women in realizing their ideals of citizenship. But this can come about only if "we" means not only Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Brown, Miss Blackwell and me—it must mean all of you, contributing your active help and your vital interest. We must be one group. V. R.

An Amendment to Be Watched

Senator Wadsworth of New York has introduced a new amendment to the Federal Constitution. It provides that all future amendments must be ratified by popular vote. Comment upon it indicates that the combined anti-prohibition and anti-suffrage groups, which Senator Wadsworth represents in the presentation of this amendment, do not expect that the amendment can be made to apply to the 18th and 19th Amendments which have been ratified by vote of Legislatures unless the question of their repeal should be submitted by Congress. C. C. C.

"It's a Long, Long Way"

THE latest complaint against the eternal feminine is the charge that a certain State Legislature is under the control of "female legislative bosses." Whether true or false, the statement shows how far we have traveled from the conditions existing a few years ago. A. S. B.

Coming—Something of Interest

A BURNING question among the women voters is the attacks which are being made all over the country on the Direct Primary. An interesting debate on the subject was held at the Convention by two brilliant speakers, Hon. Albert Beveridge of Indiana and Hon. Job Hedges of New York. The next number of the *CITIZEN* will contain a summing up of the situation by Mrs. Catt.

Lord & Taylor

FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK



April Sale of Lingerie

OPPORTUNELY, just when you're stocking up with the silken-fine essentials of the boudoir, or to wear under your pretty frocks, comes this annual offering of very special values—a wealth of charming models and exceptionally low priced.

Sets of Colored Silks

The vogue for lovely colorings in tailored silks appears in this Spring offering in tailored sets of radium silk, in a range of soft, delightful tints.

THIRD FLOOR

Is the Movie Censor After *Your* Job?

By Russell Holman

Of the Famous Players-Lasky Corporation

ALL motion pictures may, like Gaul, be divided into three parts—those produced for adults, those intended primarily for children, and those designed for the family. A picture does not have to be unclean to earn the condemnation of agitators; they maintain that, though it be innocuous for adults, if it is unfit for children to see, it should never be released.

If the censorship agitators have their way, such pictures will be eliminated. It will become the duty of the censor to decide which pictures are and which are not suitable for children.

Aside from the fact that the average movie audience has been demonstrated to consist of eighty-five per cent. adults and only fifteen per cent. children, I wonder if this placing upon the censor the responsibility of judging what particular pictures are fit for our children to see does not turn over to him one of the chief duties of a parent.

Is it not the duty of a parent, for instance, to keep a sharp look-out upon what his or her child is reading? When buying books for our children, we do not go into a bookstore and purchase the first volume that comes to hand, whether it is fit for a child to read or not. For there are books written for adults, for children, and for the whole family, just as there are photoplays produced for these three groups. We do not purchase books indiscriminately, nor do we ask that all books be written to conform to the mind and undeveloped ideas of a child. If we did, some of the recognized classics of literature would long since have been placed under the censor's ban. Parts of the Old Testament, for instance, are unfit for a child to read, as are some of the plays of Shakespeare and portions of Dickens and Thackeray. Yet no one advocates that these works of literature be suppressed.

Cecil B. DeMille, the well-known motion-picture producer, has demonstrated that even the Mother Goose rhymes might be found guilty of salaciousness, of incitement to brutality, bigamy, and other crimes, if submitted to strict censorship tests.

"Fa, Fe, Fi, Fo, Fum! I smell the blood of an Englishman," Mr. DeMille points out, would certainly be eliminated by any self-respecting censor. Not only are the sentiments expressed gruesome, but they are obviously pro-Irish or pro-German. The rhyme about Tom, the piper's son, stealing the pig might also lead to all sorts of juvenile delinquency. "As I was going to St. Ives, I met a man with seven wives." What bigamy! says Mr. DeMille. As for Johnny Green putting the cat in the well and Taffy, the Welshman, stealing beef, should not the censor get after these lines also?

SERIOUSLY, many parents who advocate censorship of motion pictures because they think that thereby their children will be guarded from films unfit for them to see are not only shirking a duty that is rightfully their own, but are transferring this duty to political appointees who are probably quite incapable of exercising it.

Many of us lament the fact that nowadays our children prefer to go to the movies rather than stay at home and read books. The present-day child acquires his knowledge as much from the screen as from the printed page.

THE vexed question of motion picture censorship has been discussed from many angles in this magazine, and there are other articles to follow. Here is a vigorous expression of opinion from an official in one of the big companies. We shall be glad to have our readers take part in the controversy.

Not long ago the National Board of Review consulted the American Probation Association, which has charge of cases of juvenile delinquency, as to whether or not motion pictures as a whole carried an evil influence on children and were important factors in causing juvenile crime. Forty-two probation officers replied. Of these, twenty-seven set forth the opinion in definite terms that motion pictures were not directly responsible to any appreciable extent, if at all, for juvenile delinquency; ten replies were more or less non-committal, due to lack of records, while five probation officers indicted the movies as important factors in the commission of juvenile delinquencies.

This is a pretty good showing for the movies. I wonder if the publishers of trashy fiction magazines and "nickel novels" could meet this same test as well.

Moreover, the probation officers consulted regarding the influence of the screen on children almost unanimously condemned the failure of parents to oversee the leisure-time activities of their children and cited it as the basis for most of the dissatisfaction with the motion picture. Many suggested the National Board of Review's remedy—the provision of special performances for young people.

AS a matter of fact, the National Board gets out every month lists of pictures especially adapted for young folks. These are not films of a wishy-washy type, but include pictures of virile outdoor life, simple love stories, tales of adventure, travel films, and clean comedies. Pictures containing questionable scenes or trash are not recommended.

You can easily secure this list, as can also the proprietor of your neighborhood theatres. Performances of these pictures may be held in the regular theatre, under the auspices of a "better films" committee, or where there is a projection machine.

Some of the better film companies are already encouraging film exchange men in the exchange centers and larger cities of the various states actually to undertake the regular production of entertainments composed of selected pictures. Several theatres in the cities of Omaha, Salt Lake and Providence do it now. At a conference of the mayors of the larger New England cities, the city officials passed resolutions favoring these special entertainments.

Meantime, in places where no special programs for children are being shown, it is the parent's job to know something about the sort of motion pictures his or her children are looking at. Why not at least walk around with your boy or girl to the movie theatre and see the advertisements on the outside of the theatre for that particular day? From the posters you can glean a fairly good idea of the character of the feature picture. Most movie stories are adapted from fiction that has already appeared in magazines or as a novel; perhaps you have already read the story or book or seen the play from which the picture is adapted. In that case the title will recall to you whether your child should see that particular movie. The motion picture fan magazines, such as *Photoplay*, *Picture Play*, and the others, contain fairly accurate reviews in each number. These offer you a way to keep in touch with current productions.

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Your Business in Washington

(Continued from page 1187)

rise and fall of sales, sales prices and amounts of stock on hand.

This information, confined for the most part to members of the associations, makes it possible, it has been shown, for such associations to compete among themselves and with others, with knowledge of their own and their competitors' production costs, prices and the available supply and demand. The tendency, of course, is to bring about uniform prices and keep them at levels artificially maintained by curtailing production or supply.

Offhand the action would seem to come to violation of the Sherman anti-trust law, but it seems to lack the basic element of concerted agreement such as exists in combinations forbidden by that law. Nevertheless, "open price associations" are held by the President to be affecting the high cost of living. It was to meet the problem, therefore, that he stated in his message:

"Without the spirit of hostility or haste in accusation of profiteering, some suitable inquiry by Congress might speed the price readjustment to normal relationship, with helpfulness to both producer and consumer. Reduced cost of basic production has been recorded but high cost of living has not yielded in like proportion. For example, the prices on grains and livestock have been deflated, but the cost of bread and meats is not adequately reflected therein. It is to be expected that non-perishable staples will be slow in yielding to lowered prices, but the maintained retail costs in perishable foods cannot be justified. A measuring rod of fair prices will satisfy the country and give us a business revival to end all depression and unemployment."

Thus the new administration gets under way in what is generally described here as "a common sense if not particularly inspiring" manner. It is yet too early to forecast how much will be accomplished in the special session outside of the fiscal, trans-

portation and international programs. There is every evidence, however, that Congress wishes to cooperate with the President and, with such an overwhelming Republican majority in both branches, the opportunity for speedy transaction of business has had few parallels in Washington congressional history.

Odds and Ends from the Convention

MRS. MAUD WOOD PARK, National Chairman, reported to the Child Welfare dinner group the remark of a discouraged citizen who said his Congressman's motto seemed to be: "Forests protected, cattle inspected, children neglected."

A story told by Mrs. Millie R. Trumbull of Oregon:

Not very long ago whenever men and women were gathered together you would hear the women on one side of the room saying: "You take three eggs, beat them until light, add a cup of sugar, three cups of flour and bake in a slow oven, etc." On the other side of the room the men would be saying: "You've got to stand by the party, you know."

Today the situation is changed. When you now hear the women talking together, they are saying: "I'll never vote for that man. I don't like his principles." While the men off by themselves are murmuring: "You take a quart of yeast. . . ."

A story from Tennessee told by Mrs. Kinney:

"A lady from Massachusetts during the last days of the fight in Tennessee for ratification was standing in the lobby of a hotel buttonholing men and urging them to defeat suffrage. She saw a man in faded gray uniform and going up to him she said: "You men who fought in the civil war, of course you'll stand by and help us defeat this terrible thing."

"Lady," he replied, "the North freed the negro, but the South will free the women."

The Merit of the Merit Badge

By Josephine Daskam Bacon

Who, Besides Being a Well-Known Author, Is Chairman of the Publication Committee of the Girl Scouts

WHAT sort of things do you wish you had been taught when you were a girl? What sort of things do you think your husband wishes you had been taught, and what sort of things do you think he particularly wishes that you had been able to teach his daughter? If you will think the matter over carefully, it is probable that you will come to the conclusion that we of the Girl Scout movement long ago reached: you want your girl to be healthy, you want her to be able to undertake whatever duties are likely to fall to the lot of women in her generation, and you want her to be a good citizen.

Now today we understand as never before that the health of women—and without a sound digestive system of what possible use is all the idealism in the world?—is not to be found in bottles and boxes. It is to be found through the old, simple, tiresome roads of exercise, fresh air, simple food, and plenty of sleep. There is no doubt whatever in the minds of any of us as to the truth of all this, but how successful have we been in impressing it upon the minds of our growing daughters? What is the use of a long lecture directed against high-heeled pumps and chocolate caramels, if our daughters listen politely and continue to purchase both pumps and caramels?

THE chief, and sometimes I think the only, glory of the Girl Scout discovery is, that it has found out how to make these young people eager to do the things we want them to do, as

we have never been able to make them. The method employed is so simple that we wonder sometimes why it was not long ago discovered by the family as such: we call it a "Merit Badge," and the girl who can satisfactorily establish that for three months she has slept with her window open, brushed her teeth daily, refrained from sweets between meals, and accomplished a number of other fatiguing but undoubtedly beneficial things, becomes the proud possessor of a Health Badge, which, for the price of fifteen cents, she can display upon her sleeve to the undying envy of her less fortunate mates.

ONE interesting fact in connection with this system is that the girls are only too anxious to spend their own pocket money in the purchase of these badges, which is certainly a great lesson in psychology to the countless generations of unhappy mothers who have lectured and begged and even prayed upon their knees, for results that a fifteen-cent badge could have accomplished in one-tenth the time.

So, as to health, we have no new system whatever to offer, and boast of no revolutionary or remarkable discoveries. We have only succeeded in finding a way to make well-known rules of health attractive.

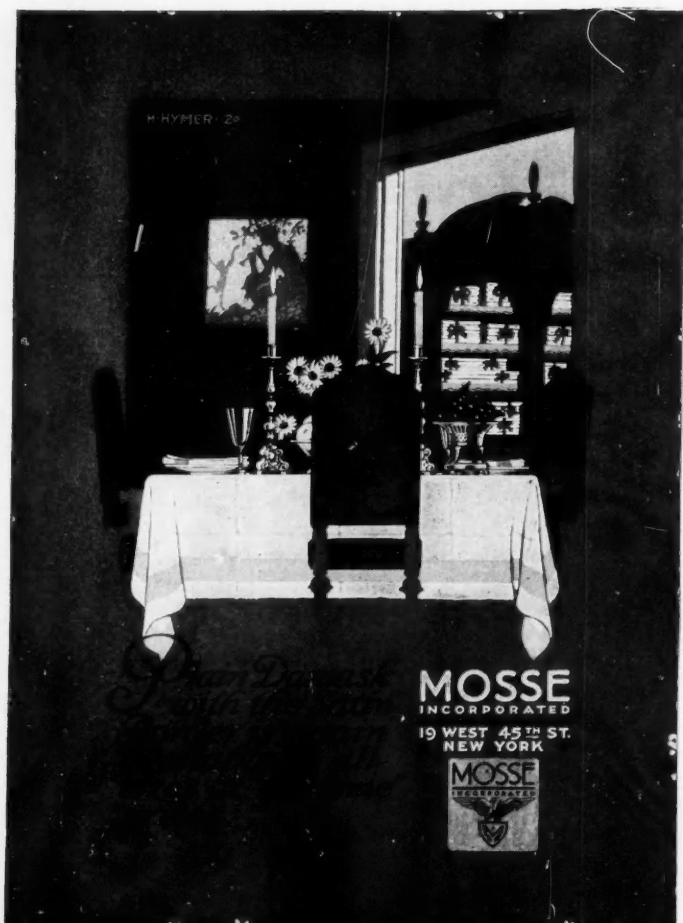
Our outdoor life as embodied in our outdoor camps, which should be established in every state, combines all the advantages of a wealthy private camp with discipline, democracy and self-government. For a few dollars a week our girls obtain trained instruction in the care of themselves, and in many outdoor sports, impossible to any but the wealthy without some such organization.

ABSOLUTE democracy, the basis of the movement, is particularly the basis of camp life. No one can spend more than anyone else. Rich and poor are equally benefited by it; the poor girl through the great advantage given her by the organization, and the rich girl by the lessons of democracy and team work which she could hardly learn in her own school or family.

Our treatment of home economics represents precisely the same principles. The Girl Scouts have invented nothing new along the lines of simple cooking, health care, child nursing and the care of the sick; but by making them personal, through little groups with self-elected captains, and by awarding the attainments of simple standards by Merit Badges, they succeed in making these things interesting and stimulating to the girls. There is no sentimentality connected with this training. The motto is, "to get it done well and scientifically, and out of the way."

WE do not appeal to our Girl Scouts to undertake these duties of the home and family, which for the present at least seem almost as much as in the past so bound up with the fates of women, in any spirit of martyrdom or fatalism. We do not say to them: "There is something necessarily holy connected with the duties of dish washing, bed making and house cleaning, and your natures will be in some mysterious way purified and elevated through this immemorial service!" On the contrary, those of us who have had the greatest success in dealing with this aspect of woman's work in connection with our girls, have always frankly faced the situation in some such way as this:

"Since Providence seems to have placed upon our shoulders these sometimes disagreeable but always necessary tasks, will it not be infinitely cleverer on our parts to attack these problems



with the firm intention of settling them in the quickest and most businesslike manner possible, under scientific modern training, with the certainty that as fast as we have learned how, we shall have a certificate in the shape of a Merit Badge, which will represent exactly the ability we have demonstrated in achieving it? This will make us infinitely more valuable citizens, and what is more to the point, will give us much more leisure time to accomplish anything in the broader field of woman's service that may attract us."

THE fact that the Girl Scouts Local Headquarters of the City of Philadelphia conferred two thousand badges for ironing in one season, seems to prove that our methods were based upon pretty accurate girl psychology.

Our child care and home nursing do not pretend to train girls to become expert attendants, but to give them a better knowledge of children than the average mother has, and to become competent aids to the nurse or family doctor.

The famous Girl Scout troop that gave one poor baby *twenty-three baths in one afternoon* shows at least that we have a method of arousing the girl's enthusiasm to acquire such a technique as no ordinary family life can give her. The picture of the girls of a Scout troop waiting in line all Saturday afternoon for the privilege of learning how to make a hospital bed under a trained nurse, proves that we know how to interest her in topics heretofore supposed to be dry and uninteresting. It is the principles of the badge conferred for such tests that have worked such wonders here.

In community service we feel that we are preparing the girls of America for all their future welfare work. All of them learn the forms of a simple business meeting. For instance, the fact that \$1,486,000 was raised by the Girl Scouts of one city for one Liberty Loan, alone would prove their interest in the country. The Girl Scouts of Savannah, Georgia, by doing the housekeeping and child care in the families of fifty trained nurses who had married and made homes in Savannah which they were unable to leave, released those nurses to take care of the families during the influenza epidemic, and illustrate better than anything else what training for girls can be made to mean to the town they live in. In Yonkers the Girl Scouts market, plan, cook and budget the luncheons for the public schools—surely a wonderful practical experiment.

THE symbol of the Merit Badge called the "Health Guardian" is the Caduceus, of the American Ambulance Corps. To give an idea of what our 82,000 Scouts are being taught in practical citizenship, we append the test for the Health Guardian to this article, and suggest that the readers of the WOMAN CITIZEN should run through it and ask themselves how accurately they can pass it, remembering that we consider it perfectly adapted to the intelligence of a high-school girl in her second year.

We think that we have a very logical and practical point of connection between the Girl Scouts and the League of Women Voters, and we have every hope that this connection can be made official and put immediately into practice wherever possible. As will be readily perceived from the present article the whole basis of our work with the girls is the Merit Badge, which can only be conferred by competent examiners. These cover some fifty subjects and there must be found within a reasonable radius of our young candidates, people who are not only able but willing to make a little sacrifice of their time and knowledge in order to test our girls. One of the principal duties of our local Girl Scout councils, which are composed of the leading women in every locality where the Girl Scouts exist, is to find out and get the

(Continued on page 1202)



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What the American Woman Thinks



THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS AND THE PARTIES

By Maud Wood Park

AMONG women the all-partisan attitude of the League of Women Voters can go far to maintain understanding and sympathy and a common purpose when these bonds are threatened by party alignments. However they may differ as to methods, the great majority of women earnestly desire such things as proper care and well-rounded education for all children, the safeguarding of girls in industry, the promotion of social hygiene, the removal of civil and legal discriminations on the ground of sex. It is therefore well for them and well for the community that women of all parties have an opportunity to come together in an organization devoted solely to the interests of women as voters and there take counsel together for the accomplishment of their common aims, which are far more likely to be attained if a program is outlined by an inclusive group of women than they would be if left solely to the initiative of political parties.

Another kind of service can be rendered to the man in public office, beset by seekers for personal favors, business concessions, or local or sectional benefits, who sooner or later tends to forget that the average citizen wants none of these things because the average citizen neglects to make it clear that his desire is for the common weal. To the public servants who want to serve the whole people, the searchlight which much of our work turns upon the doings of officials and law makers will be a reassuring and sustaining force.

To the political parties, whether they realize it or not, we are a source of benefit because we put them upon their mettle to defend principles with facts which bear the test of intelligent examination. No right-thinking party man or woman wants a party success won by misstatement or misinformation, but when only one side is heard or considered there is a wide opportunity for the unscrupulous to make points and votes by misrepresentation. An all-partisan organization presenting all sides of public questions tends to check this danger.

Moreover the League can scarcely fail to develop in its members a saving sense that the saints are not all in one party and the sinners in another, and a steadfast determination to see that their own party, whatever it may be, fol-

THIS department is devoted to the frank expression of opinion on questions of the day by a staff carefully selected from among the foremost thinking women of the country—women whose opinions are of significance and value in directing and stimulating the thought of other women. In every issue two or more of this distinguished group of special editors will contribute editorials on subjects of their own choosing, and *The Woman Citizen* wishes to express hearty appreciation of their cooperation. The list includes:

MAUD WOOD PARK—President National League of Women Voters; HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON—Vice-chairman Republican National Executive Committee; MRS. THOMAS G. WINTER—President General Federation of Women's Clubs; DR. GRACE RAYMOND HEBARD—Department of Sociology, University of Wyoming, Secretary Oregon Trail Commission; VIRGINIA GILDER-SLEEVE—Dean of Barnard College; DR. CAROLINE SPURGEON—President International Federation of University Women; DOROTHY CANFIELD—Novelist; VERA BOAKMAN WHITEHOUSE—Representative of the Committee of Public Information in Switzerland during the war; DR. KATHARINE B. DAVIS—Former Commissioner of Correction, New York City; MRS. PERCY V. PENNYBACKER—Former President General Federation of Women's Clubs; MARY GARRETT HAY—Chairman New York City League of Women Voters; HONORÉ WILLISIE—Novelist and former editor; MISS MARY McDOWELL—Chairman Committee of Women in Industry, National League of Women Voters; THEODOSIA GARRISON—Author; MARY GRAY PECK—Advisory Committee, National Board of Review of Motion Pictures; MAUDE RADFORD WARREN—Author; FLORENCE KELLEY—General Secretary National Consumers' League; JESSICA PEIXOTTO, Chairman Social Economics Department, University of California.

lows its real statesmen rather than its unscrupulous wire-pullers. Every political party needs members who refuse to be blindfolded and then herded to a goal. It needs members who adopt its principles because they understand these principles and who follow its leaders because those leaders have proved themselves worthy.

Our results are still largely possibilities, hopes, ideals. They will not become realities without dust and tears, hardships and disappointments. Our task will not be completed in an election or a year. Let us have no illusions.

In Governor Bradford's history of the Plymouth Colony there is a chapter which tells of the hardships and dangers that the Pilgrims knew they would have to face in coming to the new world. Bradford enumerates all these and then he goes on to say: "But it was answered that all great and honorable actions are accompanied by great difficulties and must be both enterprised and overcome with answerable courages."

The work to which the League of Women Voters has dedicated itself—the work of helping women to become self-directing conscientious and effective voters—is "a great and honorable action." Let no one doubt that the difficulties will be "enterprised and overcome with answerable courages."

WAGE-EARNING WOMEN AND THE REACTION

By Florence Kelley



NO group in the United States, not even the farmers, suffer more from the reaction than the wage-earners. It hurts them directly and indirectly. For months at a time tens of thousands of them have been without income during the past year when textile mills have been closed by strikes or lockouts over which women had no control, their work merely interlocking with that of men who negotiate and decide for all. For other tens of thousands who have escaped actual unemployment wages have been lowered while rents and carfares have increased, and board and clothing have remained at the peak or cruelly close to it.

Some communities base minimum-wage rates for women and minors on inquiries into the cost of living. But even in these it has sometimes happened that the newest rates are lower than earlier ones, in anticipation of falling prices which have disappointingly failed to fall.

This is notably true in Washington, D. C., where rates decreed were \$15.00 and \$15.50 compared with \$16.50 a year earlier, for adult women of ordinary average ability. But it would, indeed, be a cheerful soul who should promise convincing evidence that in Washington the cost of living has fallen proportionately.

Elsewhere the modest safeguard offered by a wage commission law has been swept away by repeal as in Nebraska, or consolidated out of its separate existence as in Kansas, where it is now a branch of the experimental Industrial Court, the constitutional permissibility of which is not yet finally established.

In Indiana, Nebraska, New York and New Jersey minimum-wage bills have been successfully fought by women whose motives are not yet perfectly clear. If they are misguided because of honest inexperience as new voters, they will soon be found expiating their sin against their poorer, less skilled sisters. But if they are, in fact, as masses of wage-earners believe, the conscious or unconscious tools of exploiting employers, this too will shortly be too obvious for discussion.

In any case grave harm has been done to honest young bread-winners, especially in states whose legislatures sit only once in two years. And this harm has been done directly by the

personal effort of prosperous, successful women.

Our nation is experiencing once more the law that industry must pay its way. Wherever and whenever industry cuts men's wages so that fathers cannot decently maintain a family of four children, there follow in dire procession delayed marriage, venereal disease, employment in mills of mothers of young children, child labor, truancy, illiteracy, juvenile delinquency, and all the trail of diseases of old and young which follow undernourishment.



THE BALLOT A TOOL; NOT A SYMBOL

By Maude
Radford Warren

Matzen, Chicago

THE vote is not a symbol of a right achieved over which women can afford to luxuriate—statically. It is a tool which we must use with both hands to carve and chisel away at the shapes of our civic duty, which now take on many manifestations. Since, so far as voting privileges go, we are now equal partners with men in the house of life, we should share their responsibilities.

One salient obligation is to serve with men on the committees and on boards and in the Legislature, not as auxiliaries, not as ladies' aids, so to speak, but assuming the same responsibility and the same authority. We have said for long that we are prepared by natural endowment and by long training in our own homes to exercise judgment and to take action on matters of education, sanitation, recreation, the care of the poor, the dependent and the delinquent. But during the many years when we had to realize the accomplishment of our civic ideals through men, we were accustomed to act only as auxiliaries. Who can not name this and that hospital for which women have collected money, in behalf of which they have built up and maintained a sentiment, over which they have toiled as if it were a child, only to have a small board of men determine the policies and transactions—and these not always the sort which the practical research and experience of the women approved?

AS one example, consider a city the women of which have been distinguished for hard disinterested work for civic betterment, Chicago. The University of Chicago, which has more women than men students, has no women on the Board of Trustees. There are three public libraries in the city but not a woman director is on their boards. There are various park boards but not a woman on any of them. There is no woman sitting on the city council to raise her voice in regard to sanitation in housing, in



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milk and water supply, in regard to food inspection, or the segregation of contagious diseases. There is no woman sitting as County Commissioner to let her wisdom speak in regard to the money that is given for poor relief, or for mothers' pensions, or in regard to the hundreds of patients that pass monthly through the Cook County Hospital, and the thousands of children that pass yearly through the Juvenile Court. There is no woman in the state Legislature to give her help upon these questions. There is one institution, the Lying-in Hospital, where the woman's board is really authoritative, where for some five years the women have not only raised the money for building and maintenance, but they have had direct dealings with the medical committee, they have chosen the

superintendent, conducted training schools, invested money. And this hospital costs less per patient than any other equally good hospital in the city.

It was the varied and well-handled activities of women during the war which opened the eyes of many men to their executive and administrative power. In money drives they were especially competent, while from the beginning they made a great record in work with their hands; the record of the Y. M. C. A. canteen women alone was a magnificent achievement. Yet the National Woman's Liberty Loan Committee was the only national organization of women during the war that had equal opportunities and responsibilities with men. Its mem-

(Continued on page 1202)

World News About Women

Canada

MRS. EDITH LANG of Toronto, reports that during her absence in England the Canadian Parliament repealed the famous Nationality Law. "No one seems to have known anything about it," she says, "and as far as the women are concerned, no one noticed it until I got home and read the new act." In 1919 a bill was passed, under which "a married woman might take out naturalization papers as if she were a genuine *femme sole*." Mrs. Lang comments further, "This was included in an act which was repealed *bodily*, and the 1914 act reinstated in its place with certain amendments. But neither the 1914 act nor the 1920 amendments, gives married women the rights of the 1919 act." The influence of the National Council of Women has been enlisted, and Mrs. Lang hopes to have favorable news to report during the next session of Parliament, i. e., toward midsummer.

Italy

THE bill for Proportional Representation in Municipal Elections was passed by the Chamber of Deputies in Italy, and is now being discussed in the Senate. It contains a woman suffrage rider. Certain unsatisfactory qualifications as to age, education, and the payment of taxes are being advocated by some members of the Senate, which it is hoped will not be accepted. If the bill is passed by the Senate without these undemocratic amendments, the women of Italy will have, according to Dr. Margarita Ancona, the right to vote in municipal elections on a satisfactory basis.

Bulgaria

FOR the first time since the war the Bulgaria Woman Suffrage Association is able to resume active work to enfranchise the women of that country. To most people Bulgaria is so far away and its name has been connected with savage wars to such an extent that it is considered a land in which women have been put decidedly in the background. In this connection it is interesting to note that when Bulgaria was given autonomy by a treaty of the European powers forty years ago, and for the first time had an independent Parliament, among the first petitions presented to it was one to enfranchise women.

France

THE Chamber of Deputies of France has adopted a bill making physical training compulsory, not only for boys, but also for girls, in the primary and secondary tuition grades.

Greece

A WOMAN'S congress was held on April 10th in Athens, under the direction of Mme. Paron, the pioneer feminist of Greece. While the congress considered chiefly questions of education and the civil status of women, it also dealt with woman suffrage.

The chairman of the meeting made reference to the important part that women had played in Greek history and disputed the contention that Greek women were not prepared for suffrage on an equal basis with men.

King Constantine and Queen Sophia were present.

Spain

A CAMPAIGN has been organized for improvement in the instruction of women in Spain, and especially pushed by the former Minister of Instruction. After leaving the primary schools, he said, women's education is totally neglected by the state; he suggests special schools for their higher education and centers for teaching feminine industries. The strong motive back of this campaign is the realization that ignorance makes for terrorism and anarchy; that education is an enemy to Bolshevism.

Great Britain

AMERICAN women will be interested in the outcome of the Leicester by-elections this year, in which Mrs. Philip Snowden is a candidate for Parliament. Mrs. Snowden is well known to American audiences, having crossed the continent from coast to coast at least twice on lecture tours.

Burma

IN Burma the Legislative Council has passed a unanimous resolution that any scheme of political reform shall include woman suffrage.

Thayer, Kansas—Feminist

A COMPLETE woman's ticket in Thayer, Kansas, recently swept two men's tickets right off the field. Mrs. Abby H. Forest, a widow with three children and eight grandchildren, was elected mayor; Mrs. Hattie Brewster, likewise a widow and a grandmother, police judge; and all of the new Town Council are women. "The issue," says Mrs. Forest, in a wire to the *Woman Citizen*, "was good government and the best interests of the city. Party lines have been obliterated." Thayer has six hundred inhabitants, and Mrs. Forest admits that there was "considerable excitement."

Missouri's Woman Mayor

MRS. MAYME OUSLEY was elected mayor of St. James, Mo., on April 5th, in a hotly contested election—the first woman in the state to be made mayor. She ran on a non-partisan ticket, without promises of specific reforms. "My motive," writes Mrs. Ousley to this magazine, "was a desire to carry through certain needful things for the town. I am liberal in politics. I voted for Harding, while my husband voted for the League of Nations. I felt that I was capable of filling the office of mayor, but now that so many eyes are turned this way by reason of a woman being elected, I feel that it is going to require my best efforts to make good."

Mrs. Ousley is thirty-four years old, a native of Missouri, educated in the county-seat public schools, and has lived in St. James since her marriage fourteen years ago. St. James numbers about 1,500 inhabitants.

A Man at Bedford?

MRS. ANNA HEDGES TALBOT has resigned her post as superintendent of the New York State Reformatory for Women at Bedford, New York. The reason is the Hewitt bill, which has removed the requirement that the superintendent be a woman. This bill has passed both houses of the Legislature. A combination of women's organizations has fought this bill hard, on the ground that the intensive individual work to be done with inmates can be better done by a man than a woman.

Toward the Bench

IN Cleveland, where Judge Florence Allen lives, there is promise of another woman judge. Marie Grace Clark Galleher has tossed her hat into the political ring and petitions naming her as candidate for the municipal bench in the fall elections are in circulation. She is seeking the judgeship as a stepping-stone to a seat on the bench of the juvenile court, for which she believes a woman is better fitted than a man; and she counts on the endorsement of the Republican Committee, although she will run on a non-partisan ticket. Mrs. Galleher has been practicing law since 1914.

A Woman Income Tax Expert

MISS MARY KADERLY of Chattanooga, Tenn., is practicing as tax consultant in Chattanooga, Tenn., with clients all through the state and a large part of the South. Income taxes, particularly. Miss Kaderly has had years of experience with difficult figures—from 1905 to 1913 in connection with insurance; from

1913 to 1917 as Deputy Collector, and then field auditor in the Internal Revenue Service. Then the Chattanooga Manufacturers' Association established a Federal Tax Bureau for the aid of its clientele and Miss Kaderly was made its tax consultant. This year she has broken away from the association, for individual practice. And it is said that she sometimes gets \$5,000 for a fee.

In Honor of War Heroines

THE Rockefeller Foundation has made a gift of \$9,000,000 to the Medical School of the University of Brussels; and the Charities Board of Brussels, the University and the Foundation are co-operating in the largest medical education endowment Europe has ever known. New buildings are to be erected, and among them a nurses' training school in honor of Edith Cavell, and a building for surgical research in honor of Mme. De Page, wife of a celebrated Belgian surgeon, Dr. A. De Page, who, with Queen Elizabeth, directed the Belgian Red Cross during the war and lost her life on the *Lusitania*.

Twenty-five Dollars vs. Six Lives

OF importance to women: Six children were killed in a fire scare in a motion-picture theatre at 6 Catherine street, New York City, last November. Max Schwartz, part owner of the theatre, was convicted on a charge of permitting minors to enter the theatre without guardians. He was fined \$25! His partner, Barnett Weinberg, who was selling tickets at the time of the panic, was sentenced to sixty days in the workhouse on a like charge.

Youthful Scholars

A SEVENTEEN-year-old girl is the winner in a national essay contest in which 225,000 high-school students from all over the country took part. She is Katherine Butterfield, of Idaho, and her prize is a four-year university course, valued at \$5,000. President Harding's congratulations, personally offered at the White House, were an additional honor.

ESTHER LEE GOULD, only twenty years old, is to become a Ph.D. at Columbia this year. This establishes a record for youthful scholarship.

A Colored Policewoman

THE first colored woman to be a member of a police force was appointed in Petersburg, Virginia. She is Lizzie Forbes, wife of a Baptist deacon, and she won her place through her fine war service as girl's protective officer for the young colored girls of the city.

Over the Andes

ME. ADRIENNE BOLLAND is the first woman to fly over the Andes. She made the flight in four hours on April 1st, from Mendoza, Argentina, to Chile, at an average height of 4,500 meters.

A New Women's Club

A FIVE-MILLION-DOLLAR clubhouse for women is announced. The Club—The Women's National Club—is to be founded under the auspices of the Federation of Women's Clubs and the clubhouse to be built somewhere in the forties, between Fifth and Sixth Avenues in New York, and is to have everything that any club ever had in the way of facilities for comfort and entertainment.

Suffrage for the Reservation

INDIAN women of the Penobscot tribe, in Maine, were recently reported on the war-path for the right to vote in tribal elections and share in the conduct of reservation affairs. They got a ruling from Attorney General Shaw that the state would remain neutral and decision was up to the tribe.

Toward Disarmament

ON April 18th a delegation of women representing the forty-eight states and headed by Mrs. Maud Wood Park, President of the National League of Women Voters, was received in audience by President Harding. They presented to him the resolution urging that the United States take the initiative in a movement toward international disarmament which had been unanimously passed by the Cleveland Convention of the League.

At the same audience the delegation presented the thanks of the League Convention to President Harding for advocating in his message favorable action on the Sheppard-Towner bill. The prospects for the passage of this bill, which protects mother and new-born babies, seem very bright.

The Women's Committee for World Disarmament also made a plea to the President on the same day. Mr. Harding's attitude was that world peace must be established first of all, but he expressed an earnest intention to do all he could to bring about approximate disarmament.

Ohio's Woman Mayor

MRS. DOLLIE SPENCER, whom the newspapers have dared to call "Aunt Dollie," with favorable mention of her pies, is another first woman mayor in her state—Ohio. The town is Milford, with five hundred inhabitants. Mrs. Spencer has been probation officer and chief of police, as well as champion cook. She voted for Harding, but was on both tickets.

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Public Housekeeping

Chicago Woman's City Club

AS it closes its eleventh year, the Woman's City Club of Chicago still finds itself adhering to the principles on which it was established in 1910. Its founders decided that it should be an organization for civic purposes only and that as such, its membership should be kept within the reach of any woman who desired to ally herself with an organization of this type. It was also determined that the club should work primarily on local issues, city and county, and that state administration and legislation should be taken up only insofar as they are directly related to conditions in the city and county.

The large membership, 4,702, makes it possible to carry on a fairly extensive program on moderate dues. Every nationality and color, every profession and industry will find its representatives on the roll. The majority of its members are, of course, housewives, since that group includes the largest number of women.

Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, the president of the club since 1914, is recognized for her civic work throughout the country. Mrs. Bowen served as state chairman of the Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense, Illinois

ALL over the country women have extended their traditional work of housekeeping to the community. Through hundreds of civic organizations they are making their own towns or cities better places to live in—safer, cleaner inside and out, more regardful of human welfare. In this department we will record these activities as you report them to us. If we haven't a correspondent in your civic association, appoint one, or take the job yourself; write us what public housekeeping task your group is doing, and how, and how well.

Division, during the war, and was appointed by Governor Lowden as the only woman member of the Council of Defense of Illinois. She has also been president of the Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago for 21 years. Her advice is sought by every civic and social organization in the state.

AN advantage which has come to the club because of its large membership is that it is now able to maintain for itself attractive club rooms with luncheon facilities in the center of the city. Here all of the meetings of the club are held and it has become a recognized center for women interested in the civic life of the city and county.

Perhaps the most effective element in the magnet which has attracted members, has been the information which the club sends out prior to elections. The policy of the club is necessarily non-partisan. It is not indifferent to elections, however. Wherever there is an impartial investigating agency which reports on the records of candidates and makes recommendations as to those best qualified for public service, their reports are forwarded to the members of the club. Under this plan the club has distributed the reports of the Municipal Voters' League on prospective aldermen and, with full suffrage last year, the reports of the Legislative Voters' League and the Chicago Bar Association's recommendations on municipal court judges were circulated.

On "propositions" before the voters, the club issues its own recommendations. These are prepared by the central Municipal Citizenship Committee, of which Miss Jane Addams is chairman. The club has an enviable record of being upheld at the polls by the voters. This may mean either that many voters consider the recommendations sound or that the committee has been successful in anticipating the common sense of the community. It does seem significant that the women's vote on such issues has been even more liable than the total vote to fall in line with recommendations made.

In addition the club arranges meetings where candidates of all parties may present their causes and where the proponents and opponents of

propositions may explain their stand. These are always well attended and are counted on by the membership as an opportunity for preparation for intelligent voting.

It is difficult often for the club to tell its story without seeming to claim credit for more than its share of public deeds accomplished. By the very nature of the tasks on which it is engaged, the final decision must be a public decision and that means that many groups and many individuals contribute toward the result. There are in Chicago and in Cook County many organizations working on public questions which now agree and now disagree, but which always seek each other's support in movements initiated by any one of them.

A conspicuous case of such co-operation during the past year, was the organization of an "Every Woman at the Polls Committee," including representatives from over a hundred women's organizations and reaching many others which did not actively share in the organization work. The headquarters were at the Woman's City Club and in addition to sharing in the publicity campaign and the house to house canvass, the club contributed a three-act play called "An Hour at the Polls," written by Mrs. Edward W. Bemis. The play embodied Illinois election laws and served as a demonstration of what should and should not happen at the polls. Many classes, clubs and other groups have made use of it.

The "Every Woman at the Polls" campaign developed into a registration campaign primarily, as it was found at the primaries that it was almost impossible to do work with individuals on a non-partisan basis.

A material increase in the registration appeared, but in proportion to the number of women who are probably eligible to vote, women's registration in Chicago does not yet rank with that of men. It is hoped that the 1920 census figures may give the count of women citizens, so that we may estimate more exactly the task ahead.

TO reinforce the educational work done on civic questions, the Woman's City Club published in 1920 an *Illinois Voters' Handbook*. It has served as a text book and reference book for many classes in citizenship, in public schools, by women's clubs and by the Illinois League of Women Voters.

Believing that enforcement of law is of even greater value than the making of law, the club has steadily followed the policy of co-operating with public officials in securing enforcement of law. This means a constant series of reports to officials on matters, which taken separately, seem insignificant, but which taken together mean efficient city administration.



Keep the Beacon Burning

DURING almost half a century Dr. Anna Howard Shaw held aloft the Beacon to light women's way to Political Liberty and Progress.

AS a tribute to her memory and a continuation of her life's work \$500,000 is being raised to establish a Foundation in Political Science at Bryn Mawr College, and a Foundation in Preventive Medicine at the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania.

She Did not Forget You Will You Remember Her—and Give?

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The Pennsylvania Company
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Failure to observe election laws or regulations, smoke violations, unclean alleys, lack of toilet facilities, improper entertainments, objection to a building permit asked in violation of the ordinance, unregistered births, breaking quarantine, and many other matters are constantly brought before the officials responsible. Such reports in practically all cases receive prompt and satisfactory attention.

THE club early determined that to secure continuity of policy and the effective accomplishment of its decisions, it must have a trained staff on duty all day and all year to secure information and to assist the committees in carrying out decisions made by the board. The civic staff now includes a civic director, an assistant civic director and a ward secretary. They serve as the nucleus for the very considerable activity of the individual members.

Before the war the club had many ward branches whose work varied in direct proportion to the quality of their leadership. These became a part of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, Illinois Division. In reorganizing after the war, it was found that much more could be done in the neighborhoods, if more assistance could be given the chairmen from the office.

One colorful episode of the present year was the organized protest against the passage of an ordinance permitting the placing of benches equipped with advertising space on the back, along streets and alleys and in other public places. The ordinance was ready for passage when a member of the staff of the Woman's City Club learned of it. The chairman of the council committee agreed to hold it over for hearings and organizations throughout the city were notified of the proposal. Protests poured in and after several hearings, many charges of obscure motives, and two or three postponements, which did not wear out the persistence of the opponents, the ordinance was placed on file.

The Bathing Beach and Public Comfort Station Committee, Mrs. Moses L. Purvin, Chairman, has watched bathing beaches from the first publicly maintained beach which appeared in 1910 to the nine which the city has today. On comfort stations the committee has pressed the question through, securing first a referendum authorizing a bond issue and, today, space is being left for them in all the big street improvements under the Chicago plan. The present fight is to secure appropriations for maintenance, since the bond issue cannot be used for construction until maintenance funds are in sight. In seven years, the comfort station has moved from its status as an innovation to a recognized public necessity.

The Americanization committee has been co-operating with the public schools. In co-operation with the Chicago Woman's Club, it has also sponsored concerts given by the Chicago

Student Symphony Orchestra in high schools in neighborhoods where musical peoples coming from other lands have long been practically denied access to the kind of music they know and understand.

A Forum on Public School Administration has been one of the features of the spring program. By discussion it is hoped to evolve gradually a program which may eventually be accepted as sound public policy in this bitterly contested field of Chicago's life.

The real significance of the club lies in its attitude toward the future. The past record, honorable though it is, perhaps because of its success, has made the members, the officers and directors of the Woman's City Club increasingly realize that the club is embarked on a long and difficult voyage. The gains of today may be swept away over night unless public opinion formulates itself and provides for its own expression in such manner that in our local, state and national governments, we may secure in an ever higher degree, "government of the people, by the people and for the people."

EDITH ROCKWOOD, Civic Director.

Cranford Water Wagon

IN Cranford, New Jersey, the Village Improvement Association celebrated its "silver anniversary" a few weeks ago—and did it with full ceremonies, too, at an anniversary breakfast. Miss Alice Laké, president of the association, picked out the high spots among its achievements, and just the high spots make a splendid list: a good new school to replace a wooden fire-trap; a library; a pure food bill campaign; a hospital bed fund; a school lunch; tree spraying; care of the river—to keep its waters free from pollution and safeguard the ice in winter. But most appealing of all was the activity with which this busy village association began its helpfulness. Twenty-five years ago it ran the first watering-cart Cranford ever had—bought it and ran it—and in winter used the horses to pull a snow plough through the town to clear the sidewalks to the station.

A Fine Brand of Village Improvement

FOR some reason women seem more interested than men in giving a chance to men and women of foreign birth to learn English

and to be taught to become intelligent citizens before taking out their naturalization papers. In the eastern part of Long Island, where the principal industry is increasing the food supply of the country, there are many agricultural laborers, both men and women, who cannot speak English and are not naturalized, mostly Polacks. During the winter they have a good deal of leisure time. The question of organizing night schools for them came up before the Village Improvement Society of Water Mill. The proposition was voted down, largely by the men. As a result the woman's auxiliary of the Village Improvement Society took up the work and went ahead and organized the school. They engaged as teacher a young Pole, clerk in a bank in Southampton, who had been educated in the high school there. The school has been conducted by him all winter and has maintained a large attendance of both men and women who have been eager to become real Americans. The Woman's Auxiliary, having proved the success of the venture, is now hoping that the local authorities will take it over as part of the school system.

"New America Shops"

INTEREST in encouraging a more intelligent electorate is contagious among women's organizations. The two most exclusive of the women's organizations, the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Colonial Dames, have both taken up citizenship work in Chicago. The Colonial Dames have printed a citizen's primer in five languages, to which they are giving wide distribution.

The Daughters of the American Revolution have also established what they call "New America Shops." These serve the double purpose of exhibiting and placing on sale the handicraft of the different nationalities—both articles made here and in their own countries—and as a meeting place for the different nationalities with the members of the D. A. R. A committee from each nationality sets its own price on the articles for sale. The proceeds go toward the expense of running the shops and the D. A. R. meets the deficit.

For some time chapters in Chicago and Boston have been managing these shops, and so successful have the three shops already organized been that many other chapters are considering similar ventures, and one in Cleveland is assured for the near future.

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Money

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BY LUCIA AMES MEAD

LESSON I, PART II

THE first part of this lesson, published in the *Woman Citizen* of April 9, gave a general survey of the meaning of money. It also commenced a glossary of financial terms, such as capitalism, bonds, etc. These definitions are continued in the present issue.

ALMOST all large transactions are made by check. Only a very small part of the business of the world could be done if it had to be done by money. In one year, 16,000,000 pounds sterling worth of money changed hands without use of a single coin.

Clearing House means an institution which examines the balances that banks owe each other and settles them. There are several score members of the New York Clearing House. One of them is the Assistant Treasurer of the United States. Each member has a number, as Bank A, No. 1. Each bank sends a delivery clerk and a settling clerk to the Clearing House. Every process is carried through with the precision of a military drill.

Coinage is the act of assaying, subdividing and stamping a metal used as money. It declares its weight and fineness.

But it can not declare how valuable it is as sometimes it can be exchanged for more and sometimes for fewer commodities.

The Credit System is one which enables banks

to use checks and bills of exchange on foreign banks. These enormously save the use of real money in endless transactions.

Exploitation of the market means a restriction of the output so as to get a higher price and to give the owners of the business larger profit than they should have.

Says Professor Hess, of Wisconsin University: "Such a condition probably now exists as regards anthracite coal. . . . General Electric groups are systematically organizing control of the undeveloped waterpower resources of the country. . . . Tremendous speculative



profits are assured by the possession and holding of such properties without the expenditure of a dollar of capital in their development. We know that the resources of industrial energy are so limited that the centralized and unregulated control of waterpower in the hands of a few private corporations would soon become the basis of one of the most powerful monopolies which can possibly be conceived."

Fiat money is money which has no gold or silver basis. As paper money is easy to carry it has enormous value and usefulness so long as it keeps close to the real supply of gold or silver which it represents. Vast quantities of fiat money have been printed in Russia and Austria since the war which are worth hardly more than the paper on which they are printed. Farmers in these countries refuse to sell their products for bushels of such money.

Inflation means an over-issuance of currency.

There was extraordinary inflation in all countries during the world war and after. Deflation, or the opposite of inflation, profoundly affected our whole country in the winter of 1920 and 1921, when prices suddenly dropped; farmers were threatened with ruin and millions were thrown out of work. The deflation was necessary but the suddenness of it caused great suffering. These resulted chiefly from our not being able to export goods. Nearly every American was affected by Europe's inability to buy our goods.

Liquidate means to settle, to satisfy, to deliver the amount of value of anything.

A Market, in the economic sense, means the whole area of all parts of the world over which the consumers and producers of any commodity are spread.

IF prices are cheaper in one part, the buyers naturally flock there to buy. This prevents very much variety in prices, especially now when the cable is in constant use. A miller in Minneapolis keeps in daily touch with the grain market in South America and Europe. Where

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there are no railroads, the markets for perishable things, like strawberries, is small. The cost of transportation prevents many things like wood from being sold at great distances. Cold storage has entirely changed the transportation of many perishable things.

Monopoly means the sole right or privilege to engage in a particular business, especially if it enables the monopolist to raise the price of what the monopoly produces above what it would bring if there were competition. There are many kinds of monopolies. Manufacturers sometimes control inventors and the makers of machinery and prevent any inventor selling his invention except to the Trust and at the Trust's prices. Another way of driving out competition is to sell below cost price and control the whole market. Great monopolists own their employees almost as much as they own their machinery. Great corporations often unite and form a Trust and agree to cut down production by dismissing many employees and charging a higher price for the goods they sell.

A Moratorium is a legal permission given to banks to suspend payments of gold and silver for a certain time.

ON the breaking out of the war in 1914, the banks of the United States as well as those in Europe acted under a moratorium for a long time and thus helped save a universal panic. During that time the banks of the world were able to make readjustments and secure loans.

A Mortgage is a claim made on land or buildings because of a loan made to the owner. Property may have several mortgages held by different persons bearing different amounts of interest and payable at different times.

Par means equality of value. Shares of stock, paper money, bonds, etc., are said to be "at par" when they can be exchanged for their face value or real money. When their market price is above or below that, they are said to be above or below par. A share of stock, when bought at par for \$100, is counted as above that when it sells for more.

A Stock Company is a body of citizens who are incorporated (i.e., united under special sanction of the law) whose funds are provided by holders of shares. These funds are loaned in order to enable the combined capital to produce new wealth in mines, railroads, factories, etc. This investment brings in a return, which is divided proportionately among the shareholders. These earnings on the investment are called dividends.

These dividends can not be paid when the business is not sufficiently prosperous. Moreover, sometimes, in the interest of the business, it is voted by the directors to defer payment. The share holders leave them the management of the funds and receive regular reports. They can attend share-holders' meetings and if they are absent, appoint certain others as proxies.

The Stock Exchange is an institution to create a market for capital; to secure capital; to form new companies and to buy and sell

stocks and shares. Its aim is to do the largest amount of business in the shortest time. It is something like a switchboard at a railroad station. It makes quick readjustments.

Like a switchboard, it must be safe and accurate or there will be disaster. Only men carefully chosen and supposed to be reliable are permitted to act on the Stock Exchange. They must deposit large securities. Every broker has to take upon himself the whole responsibility for his client's obligations. On one day every month, all accounts are settled. If a buyer can not pay all the amount, he can arrange to borrow part of the money from a bank. Much of the business on a Stock Exchange is useful and necessary. But a very doubtful business has grown up in connection with the stock market. This is buying and selling of shares, not with the intention to hold them as an investment, but simply to turn them over again for a profit. Sometimes goods of speculative value pass through the hands of several people, who each make profits even though the cotton or wheat they are selling has not yet been grown.

Token Money is coin which is not so valuable when melted down as its face value. Such money is copper and nickel. One hundred copper cents melted down would not bring a dollar.

Value refers to the relation of one thing to another.

Values do not rise and fall, but prices do. A general rise in prices means that the value of everything except gold has risen.

Rising prices are good for debtors and bad for creditors.

Falling prices are bad for debtors and good for creditors.

Of the two evils falling prices are said to be worse for they depress trade.

Wealth and Riches are not the same thing though the two words are often used in the same way. Riches is a relative term. Mark Twain told of an Esquimaux maiden, who was accounted rich because her father had many more fishhooks than anyone else had. Every neighbor was, therefore, dependent on hiring them from him. If every one had a million dollars, evidently no one would be rich. Everyone would have to work and every one would charge an enormous wage. No one would have power over another's labor.

WEALTH means what promotes welfare and the ability to enjoy it. A library of books is no wealth to a Hottentot, who can not read. The ownership of a piano is no wealth to a deaf man. Wealth is much to be desired. It means all good things that make one strong, wise, happy and useful. If other people can have them so much the better. In John Ruskin's "Unto This Last" is a very valuable discussion on these two much-confounded words—riches and wealth. He makes a strong plea for a society that will permit every one who works to get wealth.



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PAGEANT of the FOREMOTHERS

The Boston League of Women Voters will send for \$5.00 full stage directions for putting on its "Pageant of the Foremothers," with the list of properties required, the chronicle or "libretto," and the historical quotations.

Mrs. Ida Porter-Boyer will also furnish, if desired, an outline for additional scenes of local interest, representing historical events in which the foremothers figured in any part of the United States.

Address:

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Room 553,

Little Building Boston, Mass.

Announcement

AT the Convention it was announced that programs for study were in preparation by the various standing committees on their special subjects, and the WOMAN CITIZEN will publish these from time to time. The Study Course on The Minimum Wage will appear in an early number. We shall also publish serially the detailed programs recommended by the seven standing committees and adopted by the Convention. The first one will appear in the issue of May 7th.

A Tool Not a Symbol

(Continued from page 1195)

bers had exactly the same relations to loans as the twelve governors of the Federal Reserve banks. But the Council of National Defense did not put women on the executive committee till after the war was over, and even now such an institution as the Red Cross, to mention only one welfare organization, has no woman member on its national executive committee, though both the Canadian and the British Red Cross national committees have several.

We have more work before us than we had when we began to try to get the franchise, because, with the help of men, we have to build a new civilization. We can not allow the vote to become a conventional possession. If our efforts were made for the children alone, every woman of us would have a lifetime of work before her. To try to do this without full representation on boards and committees and councils and in legislatures, would be as hampering as our old-time indirect work through men before we had equal rights. We must acquire prompt and full representation on these boards and committees and councils because they are the immediate practical instruments necessary to carry on the service we owe to the future, and to our fellow voters, the men.

MAUDE RADFORD WARREN.

The Merit of the Merit Badge

(Continued from page 1193)

interest of all people, professional or amateur, who would be able to help us in these tests, with the understanding that they should not be too frequent or too severe.

No body of people could be more interested in the subject of public health and woman's responsibility for it, than the members of the League of Women Voters—and we warmly suggest that in any town or district where the two organizations exist certain members of the League should offer their service to the local Girl Scout organization for the purpose of examining our girls in the health guardian test and the citizen test.

We cordially welcome any criticism for either of these tests, and should accept without question the verdicts of whatever women were selected by the local organization to represent them.

Surely, such a whole-hearted and businesslike combination of the grown woman citizen and

the growing Girl Scout could not fail to be of unending benefit to the individuals and the communities concerned!

The Health Guardian test follows. Let "the grown woman citizen" test herself.

HEALTH GUARDIAN:

- I. *Recreation and Health:* What is offered to the public in the town you live in, or in that part of the city in which you live, in the way of play grounds, gymnasiums, baths, skating rinks, tennis courts, golf links, water sports? If there is a public park in or near the town what privileges does it offer, especially for young people? Is it well taken care of? Well patronized? Discuss briefly why you think the Government should provide these things and what results may be expected when it does not supply them. How does the lack of them affect the grown people of a town, in the end?
- II. *Special Health Facilities in your locality:*
 1. What is the rule as to registering births? What is the advantage of this? Of what diseases should the local authorities be notified? What diseases must be quarantined? Isolated? Posted? Reported?
 2. Food Supplies: What are milk stations? Does your community control the marketing of milk to any degree? Why is the milk question so important? Are there any laws for your bakeries? What are the regulations as to the storage and protection of meat in local markets?
 3. Housing: If three families are willing to live in three rooms in your town, may they do so? Is there anything to prevent your erecting a building of any size and material you wish in any place?
 4. Medical Institutions: Is there a public hospital in your town? Who has a right to use it? Who pays for it? Is there a public clinic? Why should there be? Is there a public laboratory? How would it benefit your community if there were? Is there a district nurse? How could Girl Scouts assist such a nurse?
 5. Schools: Is there any medical inspection in your schools? How did it ever affect you? Is its work followed up in the home? How are Girl Scouts particularly fitted to help in this? Is there a school nurse? Why does it pay the community to employ one? Are luncheons served in your school free, or at low cost? Mention at least two advantages in this and one disadvantage. Are there school clinics for eyes and teeth? Why are some cities providing such clinics?
 6. Baby Hygiene: Is there any place in your town where young or ignorant mothers can ask advice and instruction in the care of infants? State briefly why you think such help would benefit the community in the end.
- III. *Public Services and Sanitation:*
 1. Who is responsible for the cleaning of the streets? Dry or wet method used?
 2. What are the laws concerning the public collection and disposal of garbage? How much responsibility in this line has your family? Can you do what you please? Is there any practical use for garbage?
 3. What is the source of your local water supply? What measures are taken to make and keep it pure? State some of the results of lack of care in this matter.
 4. Why should there be regulations about spitting in public places? Why are common towels and drinking cups forbidden? What are the general rules for prevention and treatment of tuberculosis?
 5. Trace the life history of the house fly or filth fly and tell why it is a menace. How may the fly be exterminated? How are mosquitoes dangerous? How may they be eliminated?

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In The Woman Citizen of May 7th

My Experiences in the British Parliament
by Lady Astor

Can the United States Afford Not to Disarm?
by James G. McDonald

The Attack on the Direct Primary
by Carrie Chapman Catt

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MAY 7, 1921

Man's Political Other Half

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The Direct Primary Under Fire

By Carrie Chapman Catt

What the American Woman Thinks

In This Number

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Anna H. Whittic

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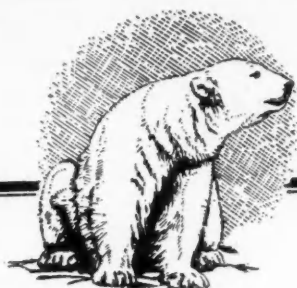
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The Woman Citizen

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Vol. LI Old Style
Vol. V New Style

No. 47



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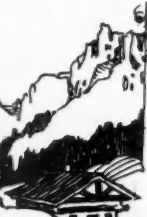
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The Woman Citizen

VOLUME V

MAY 7, 1921

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Notes on the News

FOR some months past an "Anti Blue Law" movement has been agitating the country. Very many circulars, at considerable expense, have been sent out to lists of individuals urging them to bestir themselves in the interests of American Liberty, which the circular alleges is being menaced by threatened Blue Laws. No very clear list of these laws is indicated, but the fear that what happened to John Barleycorn may later on apply to tobacco seems the main source of grievance. At one time New York billboards very expensively reminded the public that the nation was returning to the intolerant days of the old time curtailments of personal liberty. This movement is aiming at a permanent organization and on April 25th a dinner was given in New York City, attended by six hundred persons, who responded to an invitation "In honor of distinguished Americans who are Opposed to Government of Blue Laws." Governor Edwards of New Jersey was one of the speakers, and it will be remembered he stood upon a ticket which declared that he would make New Jersey as wet as the Atlantic Ocean. He pointed with pride "to the fact that his state had never ratified the Eighteenth Amendment and declared that tobacco was the next thing on the program." "Don't laugh when they tell us they are going to make everybody stop smoking," said he. "That is just what we did when they talked about Prohibition."

Comptroller Craig of New York inveighed against Governor Miller, who had added "to the Blue Laws blue coats and authorized the blue arm of a cop to now stretch around a man and take the glass from his hand if he attempts to have a drink."

Telegrams and letters were read from prominent persons including Senator Wadsworth and Congressman Ogden L. Mills. It is proposed to call the new organization "The American People's League." Whatever it is, it seems to be an anti-Prohibition movement under another form. Many states have reported the organization of this movement and have declared that in some it has attained considerable influence. It is reputed to be opposing legislation—other than Prohibition—which is usually called progressive. It is well to understand its correct character. It seems to smell of beer.

THE following states never adopted the direct primary: Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, Utah, Nevada, Idaho and New Mexico. The only state to repeal it is New York.

A GOVERNMENT report announces that on February 1st, 108,807 women were employed in the Government Departments. The Interstate Commerce Commission of the United States has also issued a statement concerning the employment of women: The women employed by the railroads of the country in 1920 numbered 87,457 or only 151 fewer than in 1919. The Commission says it is "interesting to note that in 1919, after the return to civil life of men in the military service, the average number of women in railway service was greater than before."

AT the annual luncheon of the Associated Press last week, John W. Davis, formerly ambassador to Great Britain, summed up admirably the three great current problems of today.

"The first is the German indemnity. Until this subject is removed by rational agreement from the field of controversy there neither can be nor will be any return to normal conditions of trade and no permanent return to international peace.

"The second is Russia, where 178,000,000 persons, occupying some of the most fertile areas of the globe, are slowly sinking under the weight of intolerable despotism into political and social anarchy. It is a catastrophic process which outside interference is powerless to affect but whose world-wide results cannot be computed.

"The third, undoubtedly, is America, whose attitude toward the problems which have followed the World War still awaits definition, although two years and a half have passed since the guns were stilled. What that attitude is to be America alone has the right to decide, but the rest of mankind is well within its rights in calling upon us for decision."

A day or so later the United States Chamber of Commerce expressed its belief that "the clear definition and positive declaration by the United States of its policy concerning the establishment and maintenance of world peace and of order and understanding in the commerce and intercourse of nations is of greater importance than any other problem now confronting the world."

GENERAL LEONARD WOOD is on the way to the Philippines. A Japanese paper, the *Yomi-Uri Shimbun*, is saying that if the defenses in the Philippines are increased it might be interpreted as an indirect menace to Japan's interests in China. And Viscount Kato, leader of the Japanese opposition party, declared on April 28 that the question of Yap was a weighty concern of the nation. He believed that America was bringing pressure to bear on the Yap question, because it disliked the Japanese activities in Siberia. The underlying cause, however, in his view lay in the American overestimation of Japan's power.

While all of this was taking place, the lower house of Congress voted the Naval Appropriation Bill, despite efforts urging the President to call a disarmament conference.

"There is, in my opinion," said Floor Leader Mondell, "a very strong sentiment in the country in favor of action looking to an international agreement. It is fitting and proper that suggestions for negotiations on the subject of reduction of armaments should originate with the United States, but manifestly no action should be taken until we shall have arrived at a situation in our foreign relationship in which our motives may not be misunderstood or misconstrued."

After this speech by Mr. Mondell, it was evident that all amendments to call an international disarmament conference at an early date would meet with defeat.

The Direct Primary Under Fire

Women Voters Fight The Old Convention

By Carrie Chapman Catt

NO sooner had ratification of the suffrage amendment been achieved and the first excitement worn off, than letters began pouring into the national suffrage headquarters announcing a growing movement among the politicians for the abolition of the direct primary and a return to the nominating convention. This would have aroused no more than normal interest among women, had not "leaks" from the inner circles percolated through to the outer circles and thence to the women. These "leaks" were suspiciously similar in states far remote from each other. Briefly put they announced that woman suffrage had added a new motive for disposing of the primary—"women knew nothing of nominations and ought not to be allowed to muss things up."

These reports came from Democratic one-party Southern states, and from Republican one-party Northwestern states in which the nominating primary becomes in effect an election, since the election does no more than confirm the primary.

With the approach of the date for the opening of the 1921 legislatures, the situation resolved itself into definite form. Some states would wait and some states would proceed to abolish the primary. In accordance with the plan which appeared to be nearly nationwide and to be common to both parties, bills were introduced into several legislatures and apparently had influential political backing. To choose states at random, the League of Women Voters and other women's organizations in the Republican state of Indiana, and also in the Democratic state of Tennessee set to work with a will and were able to check the movement, and the repeal bills did not pass. The women in Vermont and Delaware wielded a notable influence also.

In New York, the platform of the Republican party pledged the repeal of the direct primary and the Republicans carried the Governor and legislature. The women were convinced that there was little hope of preventing repeal and comparatively little was done in opposition. The law, so far as it applied to state nominations, was repealed, and so far as we can learn no other state has taken such action.

With the example before the nation of the state of largest population, however, other states will in all probability take a more determined stand in 1922 and 1923.

It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that women should know all that can be learned about the question. With that end in view a discussion was arranged between the Hon. Albert Beveridge of Indiana and the Hon. Job Hedges of New York at the recent convention of the League of Women Voters in Cleveland.

Mr. Beveridge defended the primary logically and eloquently.

Mr. Hedges let fly his renowned sallies of humor but failed to make the constructive defense of the old convention plan that had been expected.

THE strongest defense of the convention plan yet made public, is the report of the Committee on Amendment of the Law of the Bar Association of New York City. Excerpts from this report as well as from the presentation of the two sides of the question in Cleveland follow:

For the Primary—Mr. Beveridge said:

My opponent must first prove two things: (1) That the Primary is bad; (2) That the Convention is good.

The most important event in recent political history is the enfranchisement of women. Under the convention system women are disfranchised, for under the convention plan men are nominated by party bosses and leaders. Men have had in the past to support servilely a ticket with whose making they have had nothing to do. It is a significant fact that only after women had been enfranchised was the plot entered into to destroy the primary. Why was this done immediately after ratification?

Every politician and the interests that work through the politicians fought woman suffrage and are now fighting the primary. Every selfish interest that tried to get special privilege at the expense of the people was against votes for women and is now against the direct primary.

THE primary should be retained:

1. Because the primary ensures the voice of women in the selection of candidates.

2. Because it is the best method yet devised for preventing party corruption.

3. Because it unifies and solidifies as well as purifies political parties. The man who has a candidate handed to him in a convention named by a small group of men—party bosses—sitting in a back room of an hotel is dissatisfied, and he shows that dissatisfaction either by not voting at all or by voting the opposing ticket. Party bolts and party splits occurred many times under convention nominations.

4. The primary produces public officials responsible to the voters who have named them; the convention produces public officials responsible only to the political bosses who have named them.

5. Talented young men and women under the primary not only can express themselves but have been and will be elected public officials. Under the primary more young men have been named for governors of their states and for high public office than under the convention system. A few weeks after a man took office under the convention plan, he was visited by the boss who had made his election possible. If he refused to obey the mandates of that boss, his political career was practically ended. The convention plan is autocratic—the primary is democratic.

6. The primary system is more honest and less expensive. Under the convention plan the money was spent under cover. The opposition speaks of the terrible expense of the primary and claims that the rich man has a better chance to gain office through the primary than has the poor man. This is not true. Primary laws do not require men to spend money. When money is spent in the primary, it is at least honestly spent, as the amount must be published. Under the primary law there is only one state that has a record for corruption and that is Michigan. This was exposed at once and the offenders were immediately punished. Responsibility was easily fixed in this case, which would not have been possible under the convention system.

(Continued on page 1218)

Man's Political Other Half

Lady Astor tells why she believes women are needed in legislative assemblies

AMERICAN women are very proud of the American girl who is the first woman to sit in the British Parliament. "Nannie" Langhorne, of Richmond, Virginia, was married in 1906 to Waldorf Astor, son of the late Viscount William Waldorf Astor. Her husband is in the British House of Lords. She herself was elected as representative from Plymouth, England, to the House of Commons, in November, 1919. One of her often-quoted sayings, upon her entrance into Parliament, was, "It took the spirit of Drake and the faith of the Pilgrim fathers to get me here."

Here are some of the pungent epigrams for which she was noted during the campaign:

"Don't think you are going to get perfect government until you are perfect people."

"I am not a sex candidate. . ."

"I have heard women ask why should women sit in the House of Commons. I feel that somebody ought to be looking after unfortunate children. Mine are fortunate. That steels me to go to Commons to fight my best not only for women and men but for children. . ."

"Twenty-four thousand soldiers passed through our hospital, and I saw them every day. So if my manners resemble a sergeant major's, you know the reason why. . ."

"If you can't get fighting men, get fighting women."

ALTHOUGH I have written and spoken a great deal on the need for women in Parliament, yet I feel that I have only said half of what might be said. In this short article I will try and say some of the other half; but the need is so urgent and so vital that it would take a whole book to treat it properly.

There has been a good deal of discussion in the newspapers and journals on whether there is such a thing as a woman's point of view. Of course there is, on such questions as morality. But I go further, and say that it exists on many more general problems, too: that women do look at things from a different angle and deal with them in a different way from men. How far this is due to natural inherent differences, and how far to centuries of artificial differences imposed on women by men it is not yet possible to say. But so long as women are different from men, so long is there a need for them as women in all departments of public service.

Men recognize this difference themselves. They know, though they can't always explain, that their mothers had a peculiar and special influence on them. It was something quite unlike their fathers'. And it is that same peculiar quality which women can and must contribute to politics today.

Man after all is only half mankind. Yet he has often acted as if he were the whole of mankind. Government by half the community only is neither democracy nor justice nor common sense. Women do not claim to be a superior sex. But they do claim to be human beings on an equality with men, with a share of the same natural rights and therefore a share of the same duties and responsibilities. And as men have their own virtues and characteristics to contribute to government and administration, so have women.

Men, for instance, have on the whole got the habit of teamwork. This is particularly true of Anglo-Saxon men, and is due without any doubt to the big part that organized team games play in their education. The fact that it isn't yet wholly true of women is, I am sure, largely because of this lack in the education of so many of them.



Photograph by International.

But without this feeling of playing a corporate game women will not make good. Women do need to learn more about the strength of a "long pull, a strong pull and a pull all together." But I see no reason whatever why they shouldn't learn it. If the cave man had to learn tribe-law, there is no reason why woman, now she is emerging from the cave stage, shouldn't learn it, too.

Then again, men pride themselves on their "balance." This is a very useful gift. But sometimes they are so well balanced on that center point of gravity, that they become perfectly motionless. Women's intuition is needed to come to the rescue here and give them the necessary prod to set them moving again.

WOMEN'S moral courage, too, sometimes has come to the rescue of man's physical courage, woman's mercy to the rescue of man's justice. This is a thing that "every woman knows."

If these different qualities of ours are needed to complete the home and the school and the professions, they are needed just as much in politics, and in legislative assemblies. After more than a year's experience I am a firmer believer than ever before in the work that women can and should do in Parliament. It is not enough to say that representative women will be consulted on laws affecting women and children. There are almost no laws that do not affect women and children, directly or indirectly. And women have their own contributions to make on questions of tariffs, as well as on questions of baby-clinics.

I would like to offer my warm congratulations to the WOMAN CITIZEN of America. I wish the journal every success in its new and broader field, as heartily as I wish the American woman citizen herself every success in the new fields of public and political service.

NANCY ASTOR.

Your Business in Washington

From the Woman Citizen's Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 29, 1921.

THE hoped-for step toward reduction of world armament, with corresponding reduction in taxes and lessening of the possibilities of war, must, it seems, await the untangling of international problems. America is looked to, both abroad and by many of her own people, for leadership in this great movement; and President Harding has expressed to Congress, to a delegation representing the National League of Women Voters, and to numerous other individuals and groups, his belief in the cause and his hope that it may eventually be fulfilled. But it is the President's opinion, voiced recently to senators and congressmen, that now is not the time to call a disarmament conference of the world powers.

Already the House, guided by the President's views as conveyed to it by his spokesmen, has passed the \$396,000,000 naval appropriation bill and resisted all efforts to insert an amendment providing for steps toward armament reduction. It was in the House that the strongest sentiment prevailed for the movement.

Despite the squelching of the cause in the lower branch, however, the effort to give concrete expression to sentiment in Congress on behalf of disarmament will continue when the naval bill reaches the Senate. Senator Borah, author of the resolution proposing a tri-partite conference to discuss reduction of the naval armaments of the United States, Great Britain and Japan, has decided not to press it as a separate resolution because to do so would necessitate its going to the Senate foreign relations committee, where it could be shelved by Chairman Lodge and other administration leaders acting in conformity with President Harding's wishes. Therefore Borah will hook on his resolution as a rider to the Naval Appropriation bill, because attached to a money bill it will attract more general attention, and also as a proposed amendment it will be assured a record vote. The public will find out just where the administration—and its senatorial leaders—stand on the question. As the situation exists today there is no possibility of any disarmament resolution in any form whatever getting through either branch of Congress.

SINCE the opening of the new Congress there has been a sufficient urge to effect in both branches unexpected activity both as regards the maternity bill and the measure to create a department of public welfare. Since the last Washington letter was written, Brigadier General Sawyer, appearing as the spokesman of President Harding, has urged before the Senate committees on education and labor the immediate enactment of a department of welfare measure.

President Harding has disclosed the fact that two schools of thought are working upon him. One urges him to go ahead with his proposal for a welfare department to be presided over by a cabinet officer, possibly a woman, and to include four great divisions, namely:

1—A department of education under an assistant secretary; 2—A department of public health, likewise under an assistant secretary; 3—A department of "special service work," to be under an assistant secretary who would be a woman; 4—A department of "veteran service."

Senator Kenyon is drafting a measure to embody this structure, and his bill may either supersede or give way to a similar measure drafted by Senator McCormick. Kenyon's measure would include both the Woman's Bureau and the Children's Bureau

under the proposed sub-department of "special service work," although it has been the wish of most of the women interested in this plan to keep the Children's Bureau where it is now, under the Department of Labor.

In discussing his measure with the WOMAN CITIZEN correspondent Senator Kenyon declared the new department of welfare "will result in saving of expense to the Government by coordinating many divisions and bureaus and reducing the overhead."

While President Harding advocates the single department embracing these various activities, he admits that a second element which is urging a separate department of education, is making a strong appeal.

The educational bill, known as the Smith-Towner bill, has been re-introduced in the House by Judge Towner and has been introduced in the Senate by Senator Sterling. Senator Smith's retirement made necessary the change in the Senate and it is probable the bill will be known hereafter as the Sterling-Towner bill. The bill is unchanged in its essential features but modified so as to prevent its being interpreted as establishing federal control of the schools.

BUT, while it is the hope of the proponents both of the educational bill and the public welfare bill that differences between them may be adjusted so that the best of both propositions may be saved, the third element in the three-cornered situation enters in the form of the Smoot-Reavis committee on reorganization of Government departments.

Upon the conclusions of this committee, which will start to work very soon, possibly by the time this letter is in print, will depend what, if anything, is done with either of the proposals. As is well known, both Senator Smoot and Representative Reavis have opposed, in the past, the addition of a new department. Smoot, while declining to commit himself, is said, however, to have been won over to the President's idea of a department of public welfare, and, because of the President's interest in the proposal, it seems more likely to be attained than proposals for additional departments in other branches of work. Reavis still opposes the idea but admitted to your correspondent that he believed it would be adopted and would carry both branches of Congress. There are few leaders, however, who believe that two new departments—public welfare and education—would be sanctioned by the committee on reorganization.

Walter Brown of Toledo, Ohio, who is expected to be the President's personal representative on the Smoot-Reavis committee, is a lawyer and long-time personal friend of President Harding. He supports the public welfare department idea at present writing.

THE maternity bill, reintroduced in the Senate and House by Senator Sheppard and Judge Towner, respectively, has received hearings in committee in both branches since the last letter was written. It has encountered its principal opposition from representatives of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. The brief presented to the committee by the Association held the bill to be an attempt to substitute the state for the father in supporting the mother and the child. "To enact this bill is to promote irresponsible fatherhood, unmarried motherhood and more illegitimacy."

(Continued on page 1223)

Can We Afford Not to Disarm?

By James G. McDonald

Executive Chairman of the Foreign Policy Association

THE appropriation by the House of Representatives a few days ago of \$396,000,000 for current year naval expenditures will probably be increased by the Senate, if the "big navy" group have their way, to \$500,000,000. The adoption of this program would probably involve the expenditure of an even larger sum for the navy during 1921-1922 and henceforth, because five hundred millions would provide for only a partial fulfillment of a program which tends each year to increase in size and costliness.

For the naval and military services combined, the estimates recently presented to Congress contemplate, as General Pershing explained, "an appropriation for the next fiscal year of more than \$5,000,000 for every working day." Dr. Edward B. Rosa, of the United States Bureau of Standards, has analyzed the United States appropriations for 1920 as follows:

1. Past Wars.....	\$3,855,482,586	68 Per Cent.
2. Future Wars.....	1,424,138,677	25 Per Cent.
3. Civil Departments....	181,087,225	3 Per Cent.
4. Public Works.....	168,203,557	3 Per Cent.
5. Education and Science..	57,093,661	1 Per Cent.

Total \$5,686,005,706 100 Per Cent.

Recently the Bureau of Standards has also estimated that during the last four years, for every man, woman and child in the United States \$130.32 has been contributed directly or indirectly for the expenses of the army and the navy. In view of these figures; in view of the present industrial depression, the urgent need for funds for education, agriculture, scientific research, etc., is it not our Government's duty to canvass every possible method to minimize those military expenditures, which are absorbing approximately nine-tenths of the nation's revenues?

According to the most recent estimates, we are told that the war cost approximately \$348,000,000,000, a sum roughly equivalent to the total worth of the entire United States. Having



Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Do You Mean to Say I've Got to Raise the Family on This?

destroyed this much property during the years 1914-1918, the nations are now spending between eight and ten billion dollars yearly on past and future wars. This means that the interest on about \$200,000,000,000 is being used for war purposes.

It is everywhere admitted that most of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe are actually if not nominally bankrupt. Even the states west of the Rhine are facing economic problems of appalling difficulty. Great Britain and Belgium only are able to balance their budgets without excessive and costly internal or foreign loans. It seems obvious that the European and Asiatic States must drastically limit their armament, if they are to avoid complete disorganization.

But there can be no material limitation of armament, particularly naval, in Europe and Asia, unless the United States also limits her naval expenditures. Enlightened leadership by

Our Appropriation Pie

The House Naval Appropriation Bill was adopted by a vote of 212 to 15. All amendments calling for an early international disarmament conference were defeated.



Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

the United States is essential if the world is to be relieved from the unbearable burdens of unrestricted military preparedness.

It is reasonable to inquire what relation there is between the proposed increase of our navy to a size equal to or greater than that of Great Britain and our foreign policy. To arm on such a vast scale without a definite conception of possible enemies against whom such a navy might have to be used would be absurd. Only two such enemies are conceivable: Japan and Great Britain. The former alone cannot within the next two years be a serious danger; the latter is bound to us by the strongest ties of race, language and common interest.

But might not the Anglo-Japanese Alliance bring Great Britain to the support of Japan in a war against us? This alliance specifically relieves either of the signatories from taking up arms against a country with which it has a general treaty of arbitration. There is such a treaty between the United States and Great Britain. But even if there were not, it is inconceivable that Great Britain would follow Japan's lead in a struggle with us. Canada, Australia, New Zealand and probably South Africa would certainly refuse to follow the mother country in such a venture. It is unthinkable that Great Britain would risk the disruption of the empire to support her Asiatic ally against the United States. Then why do we need the largest navy in the world?

What does "adequate preparedness" mean? Does it mean a navy equal in efficiency to that of Great Britain? Or does it mean a navy as strong as that of Great Britain and Japan com-

(Continued on page 1218)

Outlines for Study Courses

Minimum Wage Commission Legislation

Prepared by the National Consumers' League, 44 E. 23rd St., New York City

Mary W. Dewson, Research Secretary

FOR ONE OR MORE LESSONS

This course can be completed in three papers in one afternoon by touching only the main points and by leaving out the practice work, or a meeting can be given to each lesson.

Lesson I—The Need

1. THE LIVING WAGE IS THE SUM NECESSARY TO SUPPORT A WORKER IN HEALTH AND MEAGRE COMFORT.

- (a) The bulk of wage-earning women must support themselves.
- (b) The budget basis is a single self-dependent woman. The minimum budget should be no less for women living at home just as it should be no more for women supporting others. (See Study Reference No. 1, W. F. Ogburn, "Measurement of the Cost of Living and Wages.")

Practice Work: Make a minimum budget for a working woman in your town, a woman no smarter at finding the one cheap and desirable room, no wiser in food values, no more capable in "fixing over clothes," no more energetic after a day's work, than the average.

Items of the Budget: Lodging; food; clothing; sundries, including car fare to and from work; laundry, medical care, dentistry, oculist, religion, charity, insurance, contingent fund (savings), labor organization, magazines and newspapers, tuition (self-improvement), stationery and postage, vacation, amusements, social organization, incidentals.

2. MANY ABLE-BODIED, EXPERIENCED WOMEN WORKERS GET LESS THAN THE COST OF LIVING.

Wage studies in the United States show:

Candy, paper-boxes, overalls, hosiery, underwear, etc., are made by low paid workers.

In the higher paid industries, as women's clothing, cigars, silk, etc., certain occupations pay low wages, i. e., operating on house-dresses; stemming, banding; doubling, silk-throwing, quilling, etc.

Certain localities, for the same work, pay less than other places and this can not be accounted for by differences in the cost of living.

Certain factories pay less than other competing factories in the same place.

Practice Work:

- (1) Find out the sources of information as to wages in your state: What wage reports does your state bureau of labor statistics make? How up to date? How often? Are rates stated or actual earnings? A \$15 a week rate may, through short time, etc., or illness, net less than \$15. Are the earnings of men, women and minors, stated separately or are they confused by averages of all three taken together? Are they also stated by wage groups (so many at \$10, \$11, \$12, \$13, etc.), in the various occupations in each industry? Are there reports by the U. S. Woman's Bureau or U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics on wages paid in your state? Have wage studies been made by private organizations representing the public or the employers? It is necessary to know the basis of such studies. They may be excellent or they may be non-representative, inaccurate or biased.
- (2) Make a wage scale from the pay-roll of some friendly merchant, laundryman or manufacturer. Show the ages in each wage group. Show the experience in each wage group. (This is solely for the educational value of the process. Generalizations should not be made from the pay-roll of one factory.)
- (3) Analyze wage reports for your state to find what proportion of women in each industry and occupation are earning less than a living wage.

3. THE EVIL EFFECTS OF LOW WAGES:

- (a) *On health.* They are injurious to the health of the workers and their children.
- (b) *On morals.* The lack of physical stamina and the burden of self-support reduce the power of resistance.
- (c) *On public welfare.* They lower the general standard of living. Low wages are a root factor in poverty.
- (d) *On the state.* Low wages impose a financial burden. The deficit between earnings and the cost of living, when not met by a tax on the worker's family or on her health, must be met by increase in public expenditure for charity, hospitals, etc.
- (e) *On industry.* When wages are low, women move from job to job and lose much working time while creating shiftless habits and destroying their ambition.

On the other hand, cheapness of labor, and the constantly changing individual workers discourage the manager from trying to get the greatest efficiency from his employees through training and personal attention.

Lesson II—Minimum Wage Commission Plan

I. WHAT THE BEST LAWS PROVIDE.

- (a) A permanent State Minimum Wage Commission.
- (b) Subordinate wage boards for separate trades and occupations, the wage boards to be representative of employers, employees and the general public.
- (c) Careful investigations into the cost of living.
- (d) Recommendations by wage boards as to the minimum (living) wage sufficient to maintain the health and welfare of a worker of ordinary ability; suitable minimum wages for learners and minors; and the maximum length of the learning period.
- (e) Legal minimum wage rates decreed by the State Commission.
- (f) Licenses for workers handicapped by age, physical defect.
- (g) Investigation for compliance with the law.
- (h) Enforcement.

2. MINIMUM WAGE LEGISLATION IS CONSTITUTIONAL.

The highest state courts have upheld the minimum wage laws in Oregon, Arkansas, Minnesota, Washington, Massachusetts and Texas.

3. COMPARISON WITH OTHER PLANS FOR RAISING WAGES.

- (a) The voluntary action of employers. Such action is rare.
- (b) The organization of the workers. In low paid occupations women workers have not formed effective unions.

4. COMPARISON OF MINIMUM WAGE LAWS IN DIFFERENT PLACES.

- (a) New Zealand (1894) New South Wales, Queensland, South and Western Australia and the Australian Commonwealth aim through conciliation and arbitration courts with compulsory powers to settle trade disputes, strikes, lockouts or questions involving hours of labor, wages or condition of work—for both men and women. In practice, the courts have considered the cost of living.
- (b) Victoria (1896) and Tasmania aim through wage boards, representative of those concerned, to destroy the sweating system, i. e., low wages, exhausting hours, unhealthful conditions of work—for both men and women. The financial condition of business is to be regarded only after a living wage has been secured.
- (c) England (1909) aims to raise exceptionally low wages, but not enough to secure a living wage—for both men and women. The first consideration is the financial condition of an industry.
- (d) Massachusetts (1912) aims to secure a living wage for women if it does not prevent business from making a "reasonable profit."

Oregon, Washington, California, Minnesota, Wisconsin (1913), Arkansas, Kansas (1915), Colorado (1917), District of Columbia (1918), North Dakota, Texas (1919), aim to secure a living wage for women as a first charge on industry.

Utah (1913), Arizona (1917), fix by statute a flat-rate of wages for women, Utah, \$7.50 a week, Arizona, \$10.00.

- (e) British Columbia, Manitoba (1918), Alberta, Saskatchewan, Quebec (1919), Ontario, Nova Scotia (1920), similar to Oregon.
- (f) France (1915), Norway (1918), Argentina (1919), aim through wage boards to prevent sweating in home work.

Lesson III—How the Legislation Has Worked

I. THE LOW END OF THE WAGE SCALE HAS BEEN LIFTED TO THE LEVEL OF THE COST OF LIVING.

Practice Work: Compare reports on wages paid before a decree with the minimum wage set.

2. INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY OF BOTH EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYEES HAS BEEN STIMULATED.

Better organization and management.
More emphasis on personnel work, training and supervision of employees.
Readjustment to the right job and less shifting.
More interest and ambition and better work done.

3. EMPLOYEES HAVE COMPETED ON THE SAME BASIS.

Progressive, fair employers were protected from "cut-throat" competitors.

Practice Work: Compare wage scales in competing establishments noting how much higher wages were paid in some.

4. AN INFLUENCE TOWARD INDUSTRIAL PEACE HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED BY THE WAGE BOARDS.

5. EXPERIENCE HAS WON SUPPORT FOR THIS LEGISLATION.

Public commissions investigating industrial problems, eminent statesmen, government officials, employers, employees and the churches are on record that it is sound and humane and that it works.

6. EXPERIENCE HAS DESTROYED FEARS AS TO THE EFFECT OF THE LAWS.

(a) The minimum wage has not become the maximum wage. "This is practically the most exploded of all the theories that have gathered around minimum wage legislation." Katherine P. Edson, of the California Industrial Welfare Commission.

(b) Few employees have lost their jobs. Most readjustments have been favorable to the workers. Surprisingly few workers have applied for licenses as sub-standard.

References for Study

Those starred (*) can be obtained from the National Consumers' League, 44 E. 23rd St., New York City.

1. District of Columbia Minimum Wage Cases.* Feb., 1921. 520 pp., \$1.00.
2. Oregon Minimum Wage Cases.* Oct., 1914. 398 pp., free for postage, if to be used in a group study course.
3. American Minimum Wage Laws at Work.* Dorothy Douglas. Dec., 1919. American Economic Review, Dec., 1919. 41 pp., 10c.
4. Minimum Wage Commissions Current Facts.* Jan., 1921, 16 pp., 5c.
5. Earnings of Women in Factories and a Legal Minimum Wage.* Jan., 1921. 28 pp., 10c.
6. Minimum Wage Laws are Good Business.* 8 pp., 5c.
7. Reports and decrees of various state commissions (free) particularly of District of Columbia Minimum Wage Board, District Bldg., Washington, D. C.; California Industrial Welfare Commission, 870 Market St., San Francisco, Cal.; Massachusetts Division of Minimum Wage, State House, Boston, Mass.
8. U. S. House of Representatives Document 10367, April, 1918. Hearing on Minimum Wage Board Bill (free).
9. U. S. Dept. of Labor, Washington, D. C. (all free): Women's Bureau: Wages of Candy Makers in Philadelphia. Budget for Women Employed in Laundries of D. C., Oct., 1920. Bureau of Labor Statistics: Bulletin 265 on earnings. Bulletin 285. Minimum Wage Laws of the U. S.

The Eight Hour Day for Wage Earning Women

FOR ONE OR MORE LESSONS

This course can be completed in one afternoon or more time may be spent on the main points.

I. THE LEGAL HOURS OF WORK FOR WOMEN VARY FROM STATE TO STATE.

All except 5 states regulate hours somewhat but only 8 have an 8 hour day.

California permits an 8 hour day in stores and South Carolina, 12 hours.

Massachusetts permits a 48 hour week by day in factories and Illinois, 70 hours by day or night.

Eleven states prohibit nightwork in certain occupations. One day's rest in seven is compulsory in eleven states. Overtime is allowed for one reason or sometimes more in 26 states.

Practice Work. Study your state law and compare it with the laws of Massachusetts and Oregon. In Oregon the Industrial Welfare Commission has power to shorten the statutory hours in the more exhausting occupations, but never to lengthen them.

II. LONG HOURS ARE MORE FATIGUING THAN THEY USED TO BE.

New strains have been added to the old still continuing strains of industry.

New Strains: speed and complexity of machinery, monotony, piece work when it has developed into a system of speeding up, overtime.

Old Strains: humidity, extremes of heat and cold, vibration, noise, poison, dust, gases, and often bad air and bad lighting.

III. EVIL EFFECTS OF FATIGUE WHEN THE WORKING DAY IS TOO LONG TO ALLOW THE WORKERS' ENERGY TO BE RESTORED BEFORE THE FOLLOWING MORNING.

Danger to Health. Over fatigue creates a toxin (poison) in the workers' system which is injurious to the general health and predisposes to disease. The giant fears of the wage earner, sickness and unemployment, accompany the long day.

Danger to Safety. Accidents increase with fatigue.

Danger to Morals. Bodily exhaustion is unfavorable to the exercise of self-control and leads to restlessness and a craving for excitement. Home pleasures can not give the stimulus craved.

A tired worker is unfitted for reading, study or thought, the antidotes to ignorance and prejudice.

Danger to the Future Generation. The death rate for babies of wage earning mothers is much higher than for those whose mothers do not work. (U. S. Children's Bureau Infant Mortality Reports)

The vitality of the babies who live is lessened.

A tired wage earning mother, with her housework to do and her children to care for after working hours, cannot create wholesome home life for the children or give them the right training.

Danger to the State. Physical deterioration of men in industrial countries has been shown by examinations incident to the war, and wage earning women are more liable to sickness than men. (Reports on British National Health Insurance. See Study Reference No. 3.)

Whatever tends toward instability, ignorance and prejudice on the part of citizens is a menace to a democracy.

Foreign workers cannot be Americanized unless they have spare time and energy.

IV. NIGHT WORK IS LESS HEALTHFUL THAN DAY WORK.

It is "against nature."

Recuperation from fatigue takes place fully only in sleep and best in sleep at night.

Lack of sunlight results in blood impoverishment and favors growth of the germs of tuberculosis, etc.

Sleep by day in a working man's family is disturbed by the children, visitors, the stir of life, noises, light, and in summer, heat and flies.

Mothers are forced to give up necessary sleep in order to care for their children and to do the housework.

V. ONE DAY'S REST IN SEVEN, OR PERIODIC RELAXATION, IS VERY VALUABLE FOR MAINTAINING HEALTH.

VI. THE MAXIMUM LEGAL STANDARD SHOULD BE AN 8 HOUR DAY, 44 HOUR WEEK (HALF HOLIDAY SATURDAY) AND REST ON SUNDAY.

When physiological study proves that eight hours are too long in any given occupation where there is special strain or hazard—for example in telephone operating—the state industrial commission should have power to *lessen* the hours of work.

VII. THE REGULATION OF HOURS OF WORK BY LAW IS CONSTITUTIONAL.

The U. S. Supreme Court upheld the 8 hour day and the N. Y. Court of Appeals the prohibition of night work.

VIII. INDUSTRY DOES NOT SUFFER FROM AN 8 HOUR DAY.

Production under an 8 hour day is often greater than under a longer day. Careful statistical studies to this effect are available. The instances where production has been proved to be less are rare.

The growing tendency of progressive employers to run their factories, voluntarily, less than the legal hours is evidence that it is profitable to do so.

Unfair competition among employers is eliminated by putting them all on the same basis.

XIX. WOMAN NEEDS PROTECTION MORE THAN MAN.

In her power of motherhood she differs from man and the state must protect her to protect itself.

The long day affects the maternal function, particularly in certain types of occupations.

As an industrial worker, she is more liable to sickness than man.

She is less able to protect herself. Men have gained the eight hour day in many industries by trade unions. Women do not unionize readily in the low paid, unskilled occupations in which the great mass of them work.

References for Study

Those starred (*) can be obtained from the National Consumers' League, 44 E. 23rd St., New York City.

1. U. S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau, Washington, D. C. (all free). Bull. 14, "A Physiological Basis for the Shorter Working Day for Women." (Contains a list of references). Bulls. 2, 5, 7, and charts showing the hours of work by states.
2. The Case for the Shorter Work Day,* Josephine Goldmark. Oct. 1915, 1021 pp., \$1.00.
3. The Case Against Night Work for Women,* Josephine Goldmark. Mar. 1918, 452 pp., \$1.00.
4. The Eight Hours Day and Rest at Night by Statute,* 1920, 11 pp., 5c.
5. Night Working Mothers in Textile Mills, Passaic, N. J.,* 20 pp., 10c.
6. Wage Earning Women in War Time.* 24 pp., 10c.
7. Women and Machines,* Mary Van Kleeck. Atlantic Monthly, Feb., 1921, 14 pp., 3c.
8. Equal Opportunity for Women Wage Earners.* Florence Kelley. Feb., 1921, 10 pp., 5c.
9. Hours and Health of Women Workers. Illinois Industrial Survey, Dec., 1918. Ill. Secretary of State, Springfield, Ill. (free)

Editorially Speaking

The Pot and the Kettle

THAT men are more pugnacious than women needs no proof. That they carry that pugnacity into politics and allow it to exclude reason and decency from many a contest, any American who knows the history of our country will admit. An example, if one needs it, is freshly presented.

A few days ago Colonel George Harvey was ratified by the United States Senate as ambassador to Great Britain. Later Senator Harrison, of Mississippi, made a vindictive speech, charging that Colonel Harvey's appointment was a reward for party service.

"He is a remarkable man in that his whole life has been one of inconsistency and vacillation," said Senator Harrison. "He never remained true to any purpose, loyal to any friend, or steadfast to any conviction. He is wedded to no principle and bound to no conscience.

"He is a writer of the most cunning and dangerous species and a past master in fomenting trouble and aggravating delicate situations. As a creator of prejudice and stirrer of strife he has no equal. He is a vindictive, self-anointed, intolerant political accident. . . . There never was such an unsuited and unfit individual in all the history of mankind by training, temperament and environment to take up the important duties of our representative at London, as Colonel Harvey."

Let it be remembered just here that there is such a thing in the world as a League of Nations and that Great Britain is one of the most powerful members of that League.

Defenders of Colonel Harvey arose in the Senate and among them none other than Senator Reed, of Missouri:

"Why shouldn't he be against it [the League of Nations]? Why should any one but an idiot go around hugging a corpse to his bosom? If the forty-six nations, members of the League, cannot stand up unless the United States puts its arms around them and totes them home like a drunk at two o'clock in the morning, then it doesn't deserve to stand up."

Colonel Harvey would tell Great Britain, Senator Reed said, that the United States had no idea of entering the League.

Senator Lodge, majority leader of the Senate, as was his duty, as chief representative of his party, also came to the defense of Mr. Harvey and said:

"When Mr. Harvey goes abroad, he ceases to be a representative of a political party and becomes a representative of the American Government. I think it is very unfortunate that the Senate, which has just confirmed Mr. Harvey, should be forced to listen to this attack upon him, because the attack is leveled at a man who represents America."

This debate, from which the briefest excerpts are here given, is indeed a most undiplomatic introduction for the ambassador to the Court of St. James. Senator Lodge is right, an ambassador stands for the country he represents, even though it is the party which has sent him forth.

What is on the other side of the shield?

COLONEL HARVEY has just issued his last copy of *Harvey's Weekly*, and in its editorial he reviewed the three years' fight against President Wilson and the League of Nations, and closed:

"So: the war is won; the League is dead; autocracy is no more; the nincompoops are out."

Just whom did Colonel Harvey refer to as nincompoops? None other than the ex-President of the United States and the Cabinet. Now, an ambassador and a President equally and always

represent in the eyes of other countries, the nation and not the party which they serve. If they are so small of soul as to represent a section or a group and not all the people in the country, it is cause for tears. Yet here is a Democratic Senator calling a newly made ambassador a conscienceless politician, and that ambassador in almost the same moment is calling the ex-President of the United States a nincompoop. The offenses seem about equal and quite unbecoming the decencies demanded by the occasion. Both the Pot and the Kettle better plead guilty.

Women voters, it remains for you, with your renowned house-cleaning tendencies, to scrub up this phase of politics and eliminate, where and when you can, the rules and permissions of the prize-fight ring at least from the higher circles of American politics.

C. C. C.

Will You Help?

IN *The Woman Citizen* of April 9th, the announcement was made that in the future the magazine would appear every other week.

Every week for fifty years the *Woman's Journal* and its successor, *The Woman Citizen*, has gone out to the most progressive women of the country, carrying messages of cheer and encouragement and helping them in their fight for equality, and opportunity for service.

There are names now on the books of *The Woman Citizen*, of women who were subscribers 'way back in the seventies and who are still our most valued friends. Among the present subscribers of *The Woman Citizen* are to be found most of those who are known as leaders of women all over the country. While the subscription list of *The Woman Citizen* is small, it is a highly selective list.

The Woman Citizen and the *Woman's Journal* have never been published as a commercial enterprise to make money. During the long struggle for woman suffrage, they have been among the most effective weapons that were used.

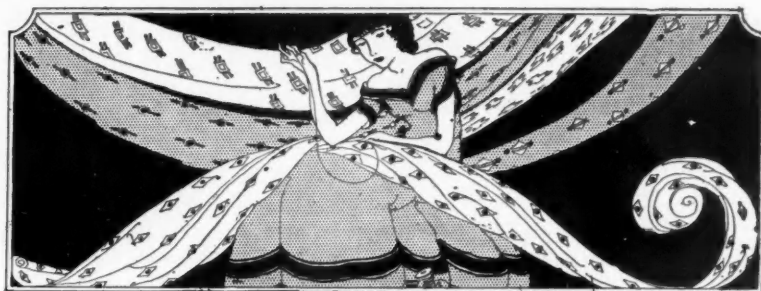
The Leslie Commission for the past three years has stood behind *The Woman Citizen* and made up its deficit. In 1920 the cash receipts of the magazine increased greatly, but the cost of manufacture increased equally. The cost of printing has been steadily going up while the price of paper in 1920 was more than double that of 1919.

Every copy of *The Woman Citizen* which was sent to you in 1920 cost more than three times what you paid for it at the subscription price.

With the winning of suffrage the need of a propaganda sheet was ended, but to many women who had been leaders in the suffrage campaign, the necessity of the right kind of a magazine to help women meet their new responsibilities seemed greater than ever. The Leslie Commission shared this belief and agreed to stand behind the *Woman Citizen* for one more year. If the *Woman Citizen* is to continue it must be made self-supporting.

Most of the weekly magazines have raised their subscription rates to \$5.00 a year. *The Woman Citizen* decided not to increase its subscription price, but, in order to help meet the increased cost of manufacture, to publish fewer magazines. It believes that it can improve the quality of the magazine by so doing. Also, with suffrage won, the magazine hopes to broaden its field and to appeal to an ever wider audience of women.

The magazine is yours for a year, thanks to the Leslie Commis-



Fabrics That Smile on the Newest

SUMMER FROCKS

HERE is a splash of tangerine against a cloud of pearly gray; there is a patch of wren tan on a field of pheasant brown; and everywhere myriad blendings in checks, plaids, stripes, decorative

patterns. This is the impression made by the fabrics now on display. And a wonderfully vivid impression it is, luring one on to plans of many a warm weather costume for the summer months.

SILKS - COTTONS - WOOLENS

All in a bewilderingly lovely range of colors, and in exquisitely fine soft textures.

Lord & Taylor
FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

sion. If in that time we—you and the management of the *Woman Citizen*—can reduce the deficit sufficiently, we have the *Woman Citizen* as a permanent magazine to represent the best of what women are thinking and doing, are hoping and striving for. Every day from one section of the country after another, a letter comes in telling us of the help the *Citizen* has been to some reader. Why not pass that word on to your friends? If each subscriber to the *Woman Citizen* would get one new subscription the work would be half done. If in addition you would send us your criticisms and any suggestions, you would help the magazine meet the needs of women. If you will read our advertising columns you will see that the advertisers who use the columns of the *Woman Citizen* are of the highest character. They, together with many men in the publishing world, believe in the future of the *Woman Citizen* and they believe in the kind of woman who reads the *Citizen*. It is only by all of us working together that we can make the magazine grow to meet our ideals.

G. F. B.

Wadsworth Among the Progressives

AN interesting thing happened last week. There is a group of Senators in Washington who like to be called progressives and without question some of them are. They usually stand together in controversial matters of public moment. This group voted solidly against the Colombian treaty. There was a name in the list, however, which seemed out of place—the last name in the list—Wadsworth. His name was never before seen in any list of men claiming progressive ideas. Why was he there?

His father-in-law was secretary of state under President Roosevelt, when the events took place out of which the Colombian treaty has grown. He was not standing with the progressives, he was standing for his father-in-law.

C. C. C.

More Precious Than Radium

A TINY bit of radium, worth thousands of dollars, was ignorantly thrown away in a catch-basin the other day, by a relative of the patient on whom an operation had been performed. The news of this careless waste of an almost priceless substance brought a pang to the hearts of thousands of readers. Yet it is nothing to the loss the world has suffered for centuries by the careless and ignorant waste of women's abilities, owing to the belief that women had none, or that they were at best of trivial value.

For ages women were left without education; and the same is still true of the majority of women, since the majority of the inhabitants of the globe live in India and China. Even in our own country, where so much progress has been made, there is still a widespread belief that women ought to be chosen to positions of high responsibility only very sparingly, if at all.

Now that women have a vote, they can remedy this state of things when they will. A good example was set the other day in the Kentucky Educational Association. Mrs. Cora Wilson Stewart, originator of the famous "Moonlight Schools," addressed the Kentucky Council of Administrative Women, and pointed out that women were being ignored in the executive department of the Kentucky Educational Association. "They constitute two-thirds of the membership," she said, "but they make up the audience and have no power. We have the vote, and should use it." She recommended them to elect a woman to the presidency.

The women thereupon got together and nominated Mrs. M. L. Hall, Superintendent of Schools for Shelby County. The two men who had been candidates withdrew their names, and Mrs. Hall was elected. She is the first woman to hold the position since Mrs. Stewart was chosen president.

A. S. B.

The Direct Primary Under Fire

(Continued from page 1210)

7. More citizens take part in the direct primary than have ever taken part in the primary for delegates to the convention; nearly eight times as many. There will be primaries just the same, even with the convention plan, but these primaries never have been and never will be well attended. They will be held for the so-called selection of delegates to the convention. The delegates will be named by the party machine and will be those who will do the party bidding. The people attending the primary for delegates will soon realize that they have had no part in naming the delegates and they will not come again. The place of meeting is usually in an obscure part of the district and the time and place are given little publicity.

When the convention system was general, only seven per cent. of the male voters attended the primary. It should be made as easy as possible and not as hard as possible for the people to take part in politics. Since the primary was adopted the participation of the voters has continuously increased.

For the Convention, Mr. Hedges said:

All the great men who have held office in the past—Presidents, Governors, Senators—have been nominated by conventions. When a thing has worked fairly well for seventy years, why give it up?

The primary is an expensive proposition. When a candidate spends a million and a half dollars in a campaign not to get nominated, there is something wrong about it (referring to the preferential presidential primary).

The convention, being a limited group of people, is more apt to pick out well-qualified candidates than is the whole mass of voters with no one to direct their choice.

This is a representative government and the convention belongs in the system since it is a body of representatives.

FROM the report of the Committee of the Bar Association of New York City:

"Speaking practically, no nominations are, or can ever be made without some kind of private or public conferences or conventions. Under the present system of direct primaries, the party leaders deliberate privately and prepare what is familiarly known as a slate. They inform their lieutenants of their conclusions and the latter then proceed to secure the required number of signatures to the prescribed petitions, to the end that the decisions of the party leaders may be confirmed at the primaries and those slated for nomination may be formally designated as nominees. It is a truism that in the vast majority of nominations, the direct primary election merely consists of an adoption and confirmation of the slate prepared by the leaders. The conferences of the party managers are held in secret. No accredited delegates attend it. Only those bidden to the feast are privileged to partake of it. The rank and file of the enrolled voters are blissfully ignorant of the plans of those in control of the party machinery until information as to the proposition is vouchsafed. A single mind usually controls; at the best a mere oligarchy functions. The present primary tends to entrench the party leaders behind barbed-wire entanglements through which no opposition, save such as is armed with a long purse, is apt to penetrate. It is only at rare intervals that the fortifications fail to prove impregnable."

It will be observed that whether nominations take place by way of the primary or by way of the convention, the independent voter is denied all liberty to express himself. That is, the voter must become a Democrat or a Republican if he desires to have anything whatever to say as to the nomination of the candidates who are likely to be elected to office. If he desires to serve the platform of minor parties, which are agitating to secure the

establishment of some special idea or set of ideas, he may join those minority parties. If, however, he wants to effect the election of men who are actually to be chosen at the next election to take care of our governmental problems, he must enroll as a Republican or a Democrat.

Now the truth is that there are hundreds of thousands of men and of women who are not prepared to enroll with either of the dominant parties and who do not endorse any of the minor parties. They are robbed of all opportunity to share in the nomination of officials. They can only go to the polls after the nominations and select the ticket or the individuals which in their judgment are the least undesirable. Until such independent voters, through Proportional Representation or a miscellaneous primary, have the right to join in the selection of nominations, neither convention nor primary is democratic nor thoroughly expressive of all the voters of the nation. The primary is much more democratic than the convention and is leading in the right direction. At present it seems necessary to fight to hold what has been gained, but the believer in democratic government will do well to understand that the primary is not the end—it is only a step onward.

Can We Afford Not to Disarm?

(Continued from page 1213)

bined, or a navy as powerful as that of Great Britain, Japan and France combined? The fact is that we are as likely to have war with all three of these powers as we are to have war with Great Britain. How adequate therefore is the suggestion for a navy as large only as that of the British Empire? If we are to be adequately prepared against every contingency, we must arm against the world. Even for us, with all our wealth, that would involve something akin to bankruptcy.

Are we sure that the types of ships called for in our present building program are adequate? Very serious doubts have been raised by military experts as to the efficacy of the battleship in modern warfare. Many critics have urged that the submarine and hydroplane and other new devices have made the capital ship obsolete. Without presuming to judge as to the merits of this controversy, is it not questionable wisdom for our Government to continue to spend hundreds of millions in the construction of gigantic ships of war which may, before the next international conflict, be utterly obsolete?

A STRIKING lesson in the fallacy of "adequate preparedness" is supplied by the experience of Germany in the recent war. If ever a power had been adequately prepared, it was the German Empire. Yet within three months of the opening of the war German preparedness had shown itself quite inadequate. After the Battle of the Marne, Germany was forced to reconsider in the light of new experiences her whole military problem. Like all the other belligerents, she found that the issues in modern warfare are not determined so much by the military machines, armies and navies, as by the basic economic strength and the moral and physical fiber of the whole people. The moral is plain: The only hope of "adequate preparedness" lies in the full and harmonious development of our economic life and in the strengthening of the quality of citizenship rather than in the enlargement of our army and navy.

International rivalry in naval armament produces suspicion. Suspicion produces jealousy and distrust. From these easily follow serious misunderstandings, which not infrequently result in war. All economic considerations aside, we ought seriously to consider the effect which our increased naval program will have upon the programs of the other naval powers and therefore upon the relations between us and Great Britain.

It is frequently urged by the elder statesmen of both parties

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that the biggest navy is necessary to make the voice of the United States respected in the councils of the nations. Is not this judgment based on a philosophy of international relations very little different from that which we were told dominated the Germany imperialists before 1914? Does not this belief in the necessity for the big stick to support America's international policies ignore our unique industrial, agricultural, commercial and financial strength? Much of Europe and Asia is starving and bankrupt. We alone, as a nation, can be constructively helpful. Who can believe that we must needs have an enormous navy to induce the rest of the world to listen to us?

The world needs peace—real peace, and opportunity to work and to produce and to exchange commodities. In short, to live again as it did before the holocaust which burst upon Europe in August, 1914. We may help to rebuild the shattered structure of the world's economic life. We alone are relatively disinterested; relatively without bias or the spirit of national hatred and revenge. Shall we not lead the world onward toward reconstruction by taking the initiative in the movement for limiting the burdens of naval armament? Or shall we be satisfied to stimulate, through international naval rivalry, the already ruinous cost of preparedness? We are at the cross roads.

QUOTING the statement, "Of every dollar paid in as Federal income tax the Government will be compelled to spend eighty-eight cents to cover the expenses of past wars and to prepare for possible future wars," Mr. Christopher Morley, in his column in the *New York Evening Post*, said: "We would like every citizen to paste that statement inside his right-hand trouser pocket (or, in the case of the ladies, inside those little handbags), and ask himself, every now and then, whether war is seven times as important, enjoyable and satisfactory as all the other business of mankind put together."

WHAT CAN BE DONE TO INSURE PEACE?

A Woman's Point of View

By Harriot Stanton Blatch

A record of facts with constructive conclusion and strong program for progress by one of America's foremost thinking women. The *New York Tribune* has said of it, "A Woman's Point of View is informed with so strong a conviction and so keen an intelligence that it is likely to make its way even against the common weariness."

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What the American Woman Thinks



OUR BIG JOB

By Dorothy
Canfield

Author of "The
Brimming Cup," etc.

THERE is no need to inform American women that there is a widespread disheartened depression on the subject of international disarmament, because we all feel it ourselves. We are all shocked and startled because so few of those in authority ever so much as mention the possibility of world-wide disarmament. This in spite of the fact that during the war everybody in authority told us that if we only pulled together this last time, we would end war forever. Apparently most of them don't think that, any more. Perhaps they never did think it. Perhaps those in authority thought they were fighting the war for purposes which they didn't care to mention to the rest of us.

Well, listen; it doesn't make a bit of difference what they thought, or think now. They are not nearly so important as all the rest of us. Disarmament is coming, if the rest of us continue to work for it and to believe in it.

What makes me so sure of this? History makes me dead sure of it. Cast your eyes back, let us say, to the period of the feudal system; there to stay forever, so thought the rulers of those times. We of today are used to the arguments of "impractical," "against human nature," "utterly impossible" which our rulers use against the idea of international disarmament. The same sort of thing was advanced with the same passion of conviction at the notion that public safety could be secured except by a baron in a castle to whom everybody in the region owed implicit obedience. Nor did the feudal system fall in a day, or a year. Slowly, as it encountered increasing intelligence and cooperation in mankind, it crumbled away to nothingness and oblivion.

IN the same way if we all work hard for general intelligence and wider cooperation everywhere, the hideous idea of huge standing armies will crumble away to nothingness. But we must not be discouraged by the slowness of the process.

Or look back at the custom of duelling and going about armed. Two or three centuries ago every man was armed at all moments of the day. And needed to be. Nobody could conceive the possibility of any police system which would make this unnecessary: "Men are quarrelsome creatures, made so by the Lord." Well, what happened to that idea? It gradually died,

THIS department is devoted to the frank expression of opinion on questions of the day by a staff carefully selected from among the foremost thinking women of the country—women whose opinions are of significance and value in directing and stimulating the thought of other women. In every issue two or more of this distinguished group of special editors will contribute editorials on subjects of their own choosing, and *The Woman Citizen* wishes to express hearty appreciation of their cooperation. The list includes:

DOROTHY CANFIELD—DR. KATHERINE B. DAVIS—THEODOSIA GARRISON—DEAN VIRGINIA GILDER-SLEEVE—ETHEL WATTS GRANT—MARY GARRETT HAY—DR. GRACE RAYMOND HEBARD—FLORENCE KELLEY—MARY M. McDOWELL—MRS. JOHN O. MILLER—MAUD WOOD PARK—MARY GRAY PECK—JESSICA PEIXOTTO—MRS. PERCY V. PENNY-BACKER—DR. CAROLINE SPURGEON—HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON—MAUDE RADFORD WARREN—VERA BOARMAN WHITEHOUSE—HONORÉ WILLIS—MRS. THOMAS G. WINTER—PRESIDENT M. CAREY THOMAS, Bryn Mawr.

because right-minded people steadily, hopefully knew that things could be more sensibly arranged. Such people killed and buried that wrong idea, with their certainty that it was wrong. And we can kill standing armies in the same way.

ONCE or twice history, for a change, shows us our brothers trying to do something of this sort in a hurry. At the time of the French Revolution, people like us, people who believed in the possibilities for good of our race, were as fired with sudden hope and enthusiasm as we were during the war. They struggled and hoped and rejoiced in the success of their right ideas, and told each other thankfully that now the black old notions of the inherent inequality by class were killed, that henceforth the right of every man to share in the government would be recognized, that the absurd, laughable, hypnotic delusion of the divine right of kings was destroyed forever. Just so did we fall on each other's necks on Armistice Day and cry out that those who hated war had conquered.

Well, they were right at the time of the French Revolution, and we were right on our great day. Our cynical rulers, watching us with their tongues in their cheeks, were wrong. Just you wait and see how they fooled themselves, when they laughed at our enthusiasm.

For a generation after the French Revolution, how dark and desperate the world must have looked to those happy and faithful souls who had believed in the triumph of human equality. Never, never had kings seemed more firmly fixed on their thrones. A whole generation passed by in a mocking reaction, the ideas of the Revolution forbidden, laughed at, despised . . . except by such people as we are, who steadily believed in their race. A new attempt

at the promised freedom was made, partially succeeded and failed. The night settled down blacker than ever over Europe, or so it must have seemed to the people who wept over these failures.

They did not see that the axe had been laid to the root of the wrong ideas they were fighting, that the tree was slowly dying, here a branch withering, there another gone; till presently (as we have seen in our own time) the whole tree would come crashing to the ground of its own weight, a dead, rotten log. Our grandchildren will see the idea of huge standing armies lying just such a dead, inert wreck . . . if we do our part now! The friends of human freedom were right when they rejoiced at the end of the eighteenth century. But it took longer than they thought. We were right on Armistice Day, unless we thought our part was finished!

Looking back at history, we know now that we must adjust our short-rhythmed lives and hopes to the longer pulse of the life of humanity, and that we must settle down to a long, long, steady effort. We can do it. We can do it. It will take every ounce of our moral strength and spiritual power. But to what better use could we possibly put our moral strength and spiritual power?

SHALL THE GOVERNMENT CENSOR?

By Anna
Harbottle Whittic



DURING the past winter moving-picture censorship bills have been introduced in twenty-five state legislatures. This must be taken to indicate that need of reform is sensed by more than job-seeking politicians and professional reformers.

State censorship, slowly spreading from five to a possible forty-eight states, will afford relief as far as it goes, but will leave our motion-picture standards for the whole country still unregulated for an indefinite period. Multiple censorship, too, is unfair to the producer and will cause the dumping of rejected films into uncensored states.

Local censorship, given an alert public and willingness on the part of local police to follow up deletions recommended by State Boards or through the weekly bulletins of the National Board of Review (and how many rural communities receive these bulletins?) is our best hope for improved conditions. But local censorship, too, is open to the objection that it will be indefinitely provincial.

Federal censorship provides review in a

single operation and in that regard offers an economy to the producer and to the public alike; but it is open to the popular fear of a "bossed" board and of control by the interests affected.

Apparently, then, all official censorship is weak and may be poor in quality or may fail in execution. Yet a method of improving the moral tone of our theatrical movies *must* be found. How about a national remedy?

But first can we agree on three premises? One, that the National Board of Review, as now organized, constitutes as efficient, representative, responsible and public-spirited a body of motion-picture reviewers as would be likely to be assembled and operated by any governmental censorship agency. Two, that failures attributed to this Board may have been rendered possible by lack of authority in the Board to enforce its recommendations and exercise jurisdiction over titles and advertising. Three, that a large voluntary board may be more confidently trusted to pass upon the desirability of films than a small, salaried board depending more or less upon political party affiliation.

THE National Board was instituted in New York City in 1908, in response to popular outcry against the type of motion picture being shown. At this time the city exhibitors offered to clean up their own wares and proposed the founding of a board of review made up of such citizens as the Mayor should choose, to which they would submit their reels for censorship.

Its personnel is grouped in three committees: an advisory committee of 250 persons residing in all states of the Union and including chiefly educational and public safety officials who visit the New York Hall of Review from time to time; a general committee of twenty-eight persons representing well-known public welfare organizations, which committee appoints the board of actual review called the review committee, and consisting of twenty-one persons. Staff salaries and office overhead are met by fees charged the manufacturers for reviewing their films. Later given over to the supervision of the People's Institute, this board has become national in scope, mailing its classified lists broadcast to organizations and schools upon request. It also sends weekly lists of rejected films and parts of films to the police departments of our cities.

But even if a federal board should preview all films manufactured for use in the United States, that would not cover the national emergency as regards exported films. More than enough celluloid to encircle the globe at the equator—thirty thousand miles, to be exact—is exported annually. None of this film is subject to any form of review.

If reckless producers are circulating abroad such depictions of American life as misrepresent our national character, may not our present failure to examine export films result in a menace to the public safety?

In this connection, note the comment of the

New York Times upon Professor Walter Pitkin's book, "Must We Fight With Japan?"

"Among (the causes) making for war he places the fact that the Government and the people of Japan dislike us. . . . American newspapers and motion pictures have, he says, created a conviction about Americans and their morals among the Japanese that fills them with contempt and loathing for us as an inferior and despicable race. He makes some revelations about the kind of moving-picture films that are sent to Japan and other countries that ought to inspire official attention and set a censor over our film export."

(Japan has already initiated national censorship, we are told, as have Great Britain, Canada, Australia, Germany and the Scandinavian countries.)

There is further evidence in the 1919 report of the Pennsylvania State Board of Censors:

"It is stated by the Cinema Commission of Inquiry in Great Britain that more than nine-tenths of all the films offered for exhibition in that country are of American origin. Upon questioning, the secretary of the British Board of Film Censors, when asked why the number of films accounted to be objectionable in a recent year was more than double what it had been in the previous year, pointed to the fact that the American output was very inferior from a moral standpoint to what it had been. Exception had been taken to only 214 pictures in 1915 but 502 were condemned in 1916."

The startling feature of this inquiry came in Mr. T. P. O'Connor's reply to a question by the President of the British Board as to how the present character of American films could be explained, when he said, "They (the Americans) have a different society from ours!"

It is to be remembered, moreover, that there is film manufactured here for export to Latin American countries still more offensive, which does not find its way to England. And with what persistence the State Department has cultivated friendly relations with our Southern neighbors!

SHALL we allow such depictions to be shipped out unpurged? And what agency other than a federal agency can be looked to as a certain means of safeguarding our national reputation against the evil of this insidious, if unintentional propaganda?

The obvious weaknesses in the present functioning of the National Board, its comparative powerlessness to enforce its orders and to inspect pictures after distribution to the trade, would by its elevation to Federal authority be overcome. At the same time the strongest features of the Board, its voluntary character and its reflection of the opinion of social welfare organizations, would be retained.

Now, while we must depend for the time being upon state and local regulations, shall we not undertake to start a movement for securing official status to the National Board by act of the United States Government as its authorized censorship agency? Shall we not advise its placement in the President's proposed Department of Public Welfare?

PRESERVING THE PRIMARY

By Mary Garrett Hay



THE recent unsuccessful attempt in Indiana and Vermont to repeal the direct primary law, and the fact that the New York Legislature amended the law of this state only after a struggle and because one party held the reins of power, show that there is a strong conviction in the minds of many citizens that the law, with all its alleged imperfections, has many points in its favor. This is my own belief.

The direct primary law came into being as the result of a great wave of revolt against a political dictatorship that expressed itself through the political convention in the control by the bosses both of the election of delegates and of their actions after election. To go back to a convention system that was productive of so many abuses of power would seem to be both a foolish and a dangerous procedure.

In my opinion, the primary is commendable for several reasons. It compels in the long run the selection of better candidates by the parties, because the bosses know that the people will or can support independent candidates if they grow dissatisfied with those presented to them. For this reason, the primary acts as a check on the party machine, is a weapon kept in reserve. It also puts some responsibility for the selection of candidates upon the people, and it is only by the exercise of power that the voters will ever develop properly.

Although the primary draws only 40 to 50 per cent of the voters to the polls to participate in the nomination of candidates, the old convention system permitted only 15 to 20 per cent of the electorate to take part in the selection of office holders, so that there is another gain.

The primary, too, is the only weapon legislators have to fight the boss who refuses to redesignate them because of their independence in voting on propositions in the interest of the people and against the interest of the boss. The direct primary tends to create individualism and the candidates do not always run true to hide-bound organization principles.

There have been certain defects in the practical workings of the primary that needed to be remedied, such as a ballot too much encumbered and lack of provision for the thorough discussion of the merits and platforms of candidates. But these were slight matters compared with the indifference of the voters, a defect not of the primary but of the minds of the electorate. And to many thoughtful citizens, the nomination of state-wide officers and Justices of the Supreme Court by the convention system, which without its worst feature, the Committee on Contested Seats, still gives too much power to bosses, seems a step backward.

World News About Women

England

THE *Manchester Guardian* is studying the types of feminine oratory and their relative values as vote getters. Commenting upon a recent election it records the following:

"Mrs. Lloyd George represented what we used to call the 'Womanly appeal'—'We women cannot go into all these political details, but vote for my husband (or his follower) and he will look after them for us.' Lady Simon represented the emotional appeal, an Irishwoman pleading for Ireland. Lady Bonham-Carter was the gleaming diamond among the women canvassers, the ultra-modern style, the style which best assorts with woman's claim for equality of citizenship. All accounts agree that all three women were effective, but how teasing it is to think that, even with the figures before us, we cannot be sure which carried most votes!"

LADY RHONDDA recently called together in London a gathering of representative women to decide how best to press for six overdue reforms. The gathering organized itself into *The Six Point Group* and will urge immediate passage of the following list of reforms:

1. Equal Guardianship.
2. Status Children of unmarried parents.
3. Provision for widows with dependent children.
4. Assaults upon children (meaning not clear.)
5. Equality of pay for men and women teachers under the Board of Education.
6. Equality of conditions for men and women in the Civil Service.

Switzerland

SUFFRAGISTS have initiated by petition a referendum on woman suffrage in the canton of Geneva. The question is now submitted to the Cantonal Grand Council or Parliament and its opinion carries a great influence but is not decisive, as in any case the matter goes to the "people" (meaning men voters). The suffragists are hard at work doing the things so familiar to American suffrage workers, and in the round of meetings, press work, distribution of pamphlets and flyers, stereopticon views, etc., they are hoping that Swiss voters will indicate by their votes that they wish to catch up with the rest of the world.

China

THE students of Peking University are all engaged in distributing relief in the famine districts of North China. The University closed in early March in order to allow the students to do this work. The women students have opened a refuge at Wang Tu Hsien which they are not only conducting but financing. This refuge stands forth among the many relief agencies as the first and only organization do-

ing work in the famine field without foreign supervision. Bravo!

Greece

THE Greek nation is planning a new Constitution. The Parliamentary Commission has proposed twenty-two amendments to the old Constitution, all extending the liberties of the people, and one demands for women the same political rights as are enjoyed by men.

Belgium

NATIONWIDE municipal elections have just taken place in Belgium. It was the first opportunity the women have had to use their new electoral privilege. It was said there, as elsewhere, that women did not care for the vote, and this was the most urgent opposition argument. The election data record that 700,000 more women than men took part in the election, a fact which forever disposes of that outworn excuse. Among the women was Queen Elizabeth, who voted in Brussels, taking her place in line and awaiting her turn.

Italy

PATIENCE exhausted over the government's delay in meeting unemployment, Italian ex-soldiers within the past few weeks have quietly but firmly turned women clerks out of public offices and established themselves. The latest office to be occupied is that of the Municipal Assessor in Rome. The women were instructed to go home or seek work less well suited to the disabled soldier.

The Better Part

MRS. ANNA WICKSELL offers another example of women's self-sacrificing devotion to high ideals. She was recently appointed a member of the Mandates Commission under the direction of the League of Nations. It now develops that her elderly husband, who has been a university professor all his life, is unable to continue his work, and Mrs. Wicksell was in the way of receiving a well-paid post in the Government which carries with it an old-age pension. All this was very tempting, but instead of taking it she accepted the invitation to serve on the Mandates Commission, for which there is no remuneration. She saw the opportunity for the larger service and took it.

Woman Official in Pittsburgh

PITTSBURGH is now numbered among the moderns. Mrs. Margaret S. Gray has been appointed Superintendent of the Bureau of Recreation—the first woman in that city to hold a city official's position.

Watch Kentucky

MRS. JOHN RENNER is a candidate on the Republican primary ticket in Rock-

castle County, Kentucky. As what? As sheriff! Mrs. Renner reports, in answer to inquiry, that if nominated she is likely to draw votes from both parties and that the prospects are good.

First Vote for Mother

THE world is moving, that's sure. Here's a young man, William Alexander Ropes, of Montclair, New Jersey, casting his first vote for his mother. Mrs. Ropes, well known among New Jersey women's clubs, was running for city commissioner.

A Man at Bedford

FOLLOWING the passage of the Hewitt bill in New York, Dr. Amos J. Baker, formerly psychiatrist at Eastview Penitentiary, has been appointed superintendent of Bedford Reformatory for women. The women's organizations of the state strongly opposed the passage of the Hewitt bill, which made a man's appointment possible, and attention is now called to the fact that Dr. Baker was appointed before the bill was signed.

Concerning Marriage Laws

REPRESENTATIVE CODD, of Michigan, has introduced a resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution giving Congress power to establish uniform laws on marriage and divorce.

Honored in Her Own Country

MRS. SALLY JAMES FARNHAM called April 20, 1921, the happiest day of her life. It was the day on which her colossal statue of Simon Bolivar, "Liberator of Venezuela, New Granada, Ecuador and Peru, and Founder of Bolivia" was unveiled. Flags of twenty republics floated over the statue, five South American republics were represented in person, an airplane brought greetings from Peru, René Viviani, "Ambassador of friendship," carried messages from the French Republic, and President Harding came from Washington to make a speech.

Mrs. Farnham, besides being a distinguished sculptor, is the mother of several children, one a young aviator who flew up from Cuba to be present. She is good-looking, with reddish brown hair and eyes which see what there is to see in life and sparkle with enjoyment of it. By which tokens one gathers that being a sculptor does not put a crimp in a woman's charm nor keep her from being a good mother.

It was ladies' day all around on April 20, for the nine and seven year old daughters of Seumas McManus, who happen to be great-granddaughters of General José Anton Paez, an associate of Simon Bolivar, pulled the strings which unveiled the statue.

Your Business in Washington

(Continued from page 1212)

To this, Senator Kenyon, chairman of the Senate committee hearing the opposition, retorted:

"The Government should protect children born out of wedlock. The United States would have lost many great men if we had proceeded on the theory that all illegitimate children should be allowed to die."

As the bill passed the Senate last session, it is expected by its supporters to find little difficulty there.

THE Administration appears to be using pitiless publicity for the moment as its main club to beat down the high cost of living. President Harding has now made public the Federal Trade recommendations on the subject published for the first time in the Washington letter of the last issue of the WOMAN CITIZEN. Since the President's action, Secretaries Hoover and Mellon, Governor Harding of the Federal Reserve Board and Attorney General Daugherty have repeatedly emphasized in speeches and interviews the vital necessity of retailers reducing prices if economic stability is to be assured.

Attorney General Daugherty appeared to voice the Administration attitude when he declared "three housewives with powers of positive conversation can do more to convince a retailer he must get his prices down to more normal levels than could my whole department with all of its investigators and lawyers."

MEASURES to relieve the farmers in their present difficulties have taken form now for the first time. The emergency tariff bill, already passed by the House and now before the Senate for debate, is intended as the first step. But this bill, while designed to help industrial sections, is held likely to prove of doubtful efficacy. Hearings on packer control legislation, also holding out hope of benefit to the farmers, will continue, but the outlook for enactment of such legislation is uncertain at this time. Perhaps the most positive action promising aid to the farmer is to be found in the personal survey just begun by Governor Harding of the Federal Reserve Board in the Southwest and Middle West to see what the Government can do beyond the help promised by Congress. The President expects to devote four weeks to the sections named, acquainting himself with the situation. He will consult with bankers and farmers, as to credit facilities, the problem of creating a market for farm products and the possibilities in cooperative buying and marketing.



Your Feet were like this

The baby girl is born with perfect feet and hands. She grows to womanhood. Her hands are still perfect.

Her feet? Specialists estimate that 85% of women today have imperfect feet, with some form of foot trouble.

Shoes are to blame. True, the human foot carries a load and is taxed daily. But nature designed it to be equal to all normal demands. Its efficiency has been reduced, its shapeliness destroyed, by artificial footwear.

The foot covering most in accord with nature, yet retaining every desirable feature of style, is the Cantilever Shoe, shaped to the natural outlines of the foot.

The arch is flexible, like the human foot—not rigid as in ordi-

nary shoes. This flexibility allows the foot muscles free action, which keeps them strong, so that they always hold in place the small bones forming the foot arch. When a Cantilever Shoe is laced, its arch hugs the instep, affording gentle support, without restraint.

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Public Housekeeping

For Mothers and Babies

NOT long ago the Federal Children's Bureau put forth the startling statement that more women of child-bearing age die from causes due to childbirth than from any other cause except tuberculosis, and that about 200,000 babies die before birth or before the age of one month.

These facts did not seem very greatly to disturb either statesmen or physicians, with certain rare exceptions. But the women themselves woke up. They determined to learn whether or not this enormous toll of human life was necessary. The Federal Children's Bureau continued its investigations, and a few private and public groups began to investigate what results could be secured with proper maternity care.

Among these organizations was the Women's City Club of New York, which established a thorough-going, cooperative Center for the proper care of mothers during pregnancy and of babies during the early weeks of babyhood. The Center was equipped with nurses and doctors, with educational exhibits showing how to prepare for confinement, what clothes should be worn, what to eat, how to dress and care for the baby, and printed advice was prepared. Then came the agonizing question: Would the mothers come? Did they want our help? We figured that if one thousand came the first year we should consider our experiment justified.

BUT they did come and in ever-increasing numbers. At the end of the first year over two thousand three hundred had appealed to us for advice and help. We had to establish sub-stations. "Working housekeepers" were added to our staff. Demonstration classes were established where expectant mothers watched eagerly the bathing and dressing of the baby. How many baths that baby doll did get! And once its hair came unglued and the nurse kept it on with a little lace cap. The next day when making her rounds she found a baby with a cap faithfully tied to its warm little head, because forsooth, the "nurse at the Center had a cap on the doll."

By the end of the second year over 5,200 patients had been cared for with the aid of the cooperating agencies. Our nurses had made

ALL over the country women have extended their traditional work of housekeeping to the community. Through hundreds of civic organizations they are making their own towns or cities better places to live in—safer, cleaner inside and out, more regardful of human welfare. In this department we will record these activities as you report them to us. If we haven't a correspondent in your civic association, appoint one, or take the job yourself; write us what public housekeeping task your group is doing, and how, and how well.

over 9,000 home visits and mothers had made about 8,000 visits to the Center. Three sub-stations were established. Our record system was planned and later adopted by most of the maternity agencies of the city. All of this was done on a budget of less than \$10,000. Practically every organization dealing with mothers and babies in the district was cooperating with us, including the hospitals, the leading settlements and children's agencies.

LATER the Maternity Center Association, a city-wide agency, was formed, which now has about twenty-five centers and thirty-five nurses, including the center first established by the Women's City Club. This work has shown that two-thirds of the mothers who probably would die under the usual conditions, can be saved; that the baby death rate can be cut in half; and that over half of the still-births can be prevented.

The next important task is to see that these benefits are available to women everywhere. The Children's Bureau has led the way in proposing national legislation which will enable every state to carry on work for the protection of maternity and infancy. The Association for Labor Legislation is urging state legislation to supplement the federal measure. All of this work is endorsed and earnestly advocated by the League of Women Voters, the Consumers' Leagues and other organizations.

Every day women are demonstrating their belief in the worth-whileness of mothers and babies.

Will our statesmen do as much?

IRENE OSGOOD ANDREWS,
Assistant Secretary
American Association for Labor Legislation.

Montpelier Is Too Modest

"WE have a Civics Committee in our Woman's Club. We are not active enough in that line to pay to send you news of what we are doing. Our greater activity lies in other directions at present, though we are maintaining a rest room (this town being a shopping center for many people in rural communities) and a district nurse, as well as furnishing milk each day at the school houses for under-nourished children.

"These three ventures may be an incentive to other clubs."—From Montpelier, Vt.

The Civics Division of Roanoke

THE Association of Commerce of Roanoke, realizing that it could not stand as an efficient community organization with the aim of making Roanoke a better place in which to live unless the women were represented, organized a woman's division, which is known as the Civics Division of the Association of Commerce. The Division, now in its second year, has a membership of six hundred and twenty-five women and is the recognized clearing-house of all women's civic activities of Roanoke. The growth during the year, its accomplishment and the favorable sentiment created in the community toward woman's place in civic life, are evidences of the fact that the organization is meeting the need and is in tune with the situation. The overhead expenses are financed by the Association, which includes salary of executive secretary, stenographic and office expense, while the dues received from the members (\$1.00 per year) are used in the extension work of the Division. The Association has recently moved into a new building and occupies the entire second floor. Here the Civics Division has a splendidly equipped office and has the use of the auditorium for its meetings.

Although the Civics Division functions as a separate organization, with its own officers and executive board, there is close cooperation with the men's division at all times.

For the purpose of subdividing the work, the Division is composed of nine committees: Civic Art, Education, Home Economics, Membership, Music, Rural Affairs, Recreation, Sanitation and Social Service, and every member of the organization is a member of one of these committees. A few of the outstanding results of the year's work include the establishment of a Woman's Exchange, the management of the City Playground, the promotion of a successful



community Christmas Tree, the beautifying of three school grounds, county sanitation work, the good roads movement, a clean-up campaign, classes in citizenship and cooking classes for young housekeepers.

Americanization in Reading

A NUMBER of the members of the Woman's Club of Reading are helping in Americanization work. Classes in English, fancy work and painting are conducted for the foreign women. Work is carried on among the Italians, Greeks, Poles and Slovaks. There are about ten thousand Poles in Reading.

Recently, in order to help the Americanization work "A Homeland Exhibit" was held under the auspices of the International Institute of the Young Women's Christian Association. Different sections of the Auditorium were assigned to the different nationalities and each exhibited beautiful pieces of fancy work, wood-carving and painting. An exhibition was also given of the fancy work and painting done by the foreign women who had been instructed by the American women. An exhibition of folk dancing was given, and this was followed by lancing.

The exhibition was a great success and will do much to encourage the foreigners in the city.

Poppies for France

The Civic Club of Lyons, New York, has undertaken the sale of poppies on Memorial Day for the benefit of the War Orphans of France. These poppies are of red silk, made by the French war widows and orphans and are to be worn as a memorial to the soldiers who died in France. They are to be in ten cent and twenty-five cent sizes, and all the proceeds are to be sent to the war orphans.

The report of a recent meeting covered other worth-while interests in addition to the Memorial Day plan:

Attention of the club was called to the reported violations of the liquor laws in Lyons and it was voted that the club, through a committee, express itself to the Village Board and ask that the laws be enforced.

Miss Swarts of the League of Women Voters gave a short talk on the aims and objects of the League and of the state-wide survey to be undertaken in behalf of child welfare. The club decided to affiliate with the State League of Women Voters and to undertake the survey in Lyons.

With Our Readers

I SHALL be interested to continue with the CITIZEN only if it not only "gives all the space it needs to the National League" but if it becomes an ardent supporter, champion and interpreter of the League to the women all over the country. Good government in America needs constant stimulating. We need inspiration to support one League and know about what our Congress is not doing. Personally I think we need to make the 'CITIZEN's' main object the League's bulletin instead of bothering, except incidentally, about Lloyd George. American women should be taught to keep their eyes on Penrose and Lodge. **LUCIA M. PRICE.**

Cleveland, O.

SUFFRAGE is won—we need work on party lines, and from my viewpoint THE WOMAN CITIZEN is too much of a Democratic paper and so far as it represents the League of Women Voters, I have no use for it. I feel that women must now line up with the political parties. We are now citizens and as such should work side by side with men. I regret the stand of the paper for I have for many years enjoyed it.

MRS. P. J. SCHWARZ.

Dodge Center, Minn.

I AM enclosing my cheque for Two Dollars with the hope that the WOMAN CITIZEN will do everything in its power to help the citizens of the District of Columbia to obtain national representation in Congress and the Electoral College, the same as other citizens of the U. S. A. including Hawaii, Porto Rico, Alaska, and the Philippines. Please help to take us out of the class of the criminal, insane and idiots.

ANNA E. HENDLEY.

Washington, D. C.

PLEASE extend my kindest regards to the former editor and my kindest wishes for her speedy return to excellent health.

MARY A. WILLARD.

Carleton, Fla.

HAVING been a subscriber since 1873 or '74, I'd better not stop now.

IDA V. STAMBACH.

Ojai, California.

I AM not in favor of a Woman's Party; I think we can trust the Republican Party who gave us the franchise.

I am not in favor of war, neither am I in favor of disarmament; as we women cannot fight, we must give up our boys for our protection.

ANNA F. D. COST.

Springfield, Ohio.

P. S.—Enclosed find P. O. M. O. for \$2.00 for THE WOMAN CITIZEN. Renewal.



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It is readable, amusing, entertaining, instructive. It produces smiles, tears and indignation with varying degrees of other emotions to fill the chinks. Read it.—CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

It is impossible for any one to read this account of one girl's suffrage campaign experience without laughter; it is rich and rare, a regular treasurehouse of good laughs.—ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.

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The N. A. W. S. A. Officers at Cleveland

PURSUANT to the call of the President, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the Board of Officers of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and the Executive Council as of February, 1920, or its proxies, met in Convention in Cleveland Wednesday, April 13th. The following are excerpts from the report of the Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Shuler, covering a period of fourteen months. The outstanding political activities of that time, devoted to securing the ratification of the final states; the campaign for the thirty-sixth state; the celebrations of victory, and the opposition to efforts to declare the Federal Suffrage Amendment unconstitutional—these were reported in an inspiring narrative, but are too widely known to need review here. Covering Headquarters activities less well known and some of them looking toward a conclusion of the Association's work, the report includes:

DISPOSITION OF ARCHIVES—The historically most important documents and possessions of the National Association are being put in shape to go to the Smithsonian Institute, where there have already been installed Miss Anthony's picture and her red shawl, her pretty silver teapot and her cup and saucer, the last purse she used, the mahogany table whereon the famous Bill of Rights was signed by our first leaders in 1828, Dr. Shaw's picture, a place for Mrs. Catt's picture, the Testimonial of the Southern states to Dr. Shaw; the official copy of the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment with Secretary Colby's letter of transmittal and the gold pen with which the Federal Amendment was signed by Vice President Marshall and Speaker Gillett and by them presented to the National Association. The cases are labelled, "An Important Epoch in American History" and "Bequest of the National American Woman Suffrage Association." It is quite probable that the files of the Data Department will be accepted by the New York City Library and that in addition bound copies of the Year Books of the N. A. W. S. A., International Woman Suffrage Alliance, the *Woman's Journal* and *Woman Citizen* will be placed in the Smithsonian Institute and also among the archives in the New York Library.

Literature—At the National Headquarters an inventory was made of literature on hand and it was offered to the Philippines, Porto Rico, Hawaii, Jamaica and Newfoundland, and as a result two large cases have been shipped to Newfoundland and one to Porto Rico. A letter received March 17th from a suffrage worker in Porto Rico encloses a copy of the suffrage bill already presented by Mr. Lastra Charriez. The bill provides that women be granted suffrage on the same terms as men. The National Association has been sponsor for the campaign in Porto Rico and has contributed money and literature.

Press Work—Early in 1920 the Department of Field Press Work was discontinued and the method of assisting in state press work changed to meet the new situation. Prior to that time the Bureau had kept up a close connection, by means of a running correspondence and various direct

press services, with the press departments of about forty states. After ratification the Bureau's program was directed toward cooperation, state by state, wherever ratification difficulties developed.

In this change of program the Bureau sent a personal representative, Miss Marjorie Shuler, to handle the publicity at the various seats of war. She spent three months in Delaware and nearly two months in Tennessee.

In May the Research Department, headed by Mrs. Boyd, was transferred to Washington and the League of Women Voters, but a force of four filing clerks and clippers had to be maintained at New York Headquarters to take care of the demands that were still being made on us as a suffrage information center.

Outstanding features of the Press Bureau's 1920 program were the plate services issued to North Carolina, Connecticut and Tennessee, the direction of an advertising campaign in Vermont, cooperation on the big stunt, the Emergency Corps in Connecticut, the Bureau's part being to nationalize it, and regular almost daily news services sent into North Carolina and Tennessee.

As soon as ratification was completed curtailment followed and finally the Press and News service departments were abolished entirely.

Financial Assistance—Since the Chicago Convention of the Association last February, the following financial assistance to states has been given:

Illinois—Dues of \$300 were cancelled; Tennessee was given \$900 to pay legal fees to retain Presidential and Municipal Suffrage; Nebraska, \$200 to assist in the campaign for the adoption of the New Constitution, which included Woman Suffrage.

The National Association also paid for help of various kinds for ratification in ten states—Tennessee, North Carolina, West Virginia, Delaware, Virginia, Oklahoma, Mississippi, Vermont, South Carolina and Connecticut—\$11,960.58. In addition to this the Leslie Commission gave assistance to South Carolina, Delaware, Vermont, Tennessee, Connecticut and North Carolina to the amount of \$14,496.90.

Since the Chicago Convention, February, 1920, the total amount contributed by the National Association and Leslie Commission for Ratification campaigns was \$28,957.48.

Suffrage for the District of Columbia—Early in the year the former suffrage associations of the District of Columbia merged into a new body, the aim of which was to secure the vote for the men and women of the District. Before the Civil War, men voted there. After the war, white voters appealed to Congress to disfranchise all the people of the District in order to save themselves from Negro domination. Of late years, the movement to secure the vote for the people of the District has grown more and more insistent. . . . The workers for enfranchisement propose an amendment to the Federal Constitution (which of course must pass Congress by a two-thirds vote, and then be ratified by thirty-six states) conferring upon Congress the right to extend the vote to the District. On January 11th there was a hearing upon this proposal. A message was read from Mrs. Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. There is opposition to the measure on the part of men and probably women, who like the care-free method of having Congress do the governing of Washington, but hundreds of former National American suffrage workers are interested and active in the campaign. Congress adjourned without action.

IN addition to receiving reports, the Convention voted that the present Board of Directors be elected to serve for an indefinite period. The following directors were elected:

Mrs. Charles H. Brooks, Kansas.
Mrs. J. C. Cantrill, Kentucky.
Mrs. Richard E. Edwards, Indiana.
Mrs. George Gellhorn, Missouri.
Mrs. Ben Hooper, Wisconsin.
Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Ohio.
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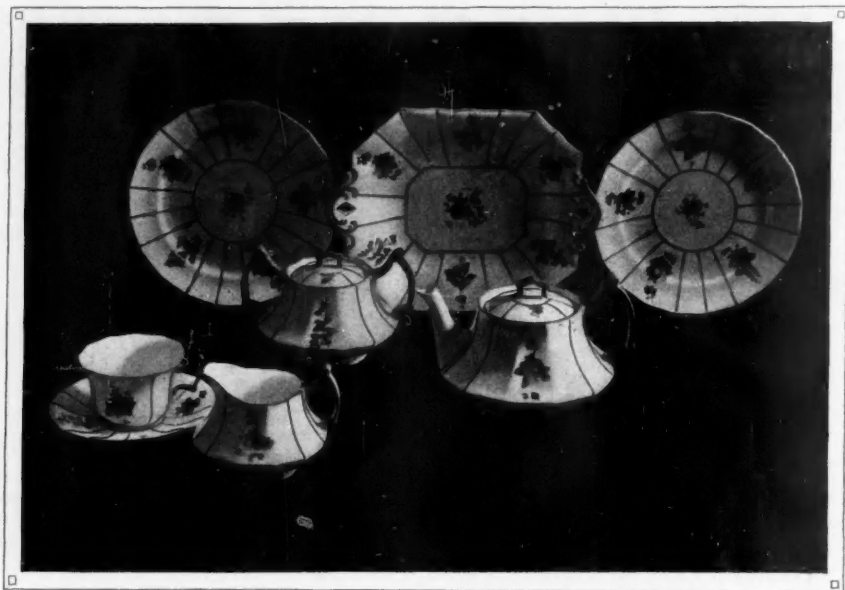
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from 1870 to 1917.

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MRS. TIMME is Legislative Chairman of
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Vol. LI Old Style

Vol. V New Style

No. 48



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The Woman Citizen

VOLUME V

MAY 21, 1921

NUMBER 48

News Notes of the Fortnight

Does the League of Nations Bar Women?

ALL the world is interested in the plebiscite to be taken in Vilna which concerns Poland and Lithuania—a plebiscite under the direction of the League of Nations.

Dr. Tylicka, a member of the Warsaw Town Council and president of more than one woman's organization in Poland, has appealed to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance to say that Colonel Chardigny, who evidently is arranging the details of the plebiscite, has given an order to the effect that women are not to be allowed to vote. The International Alliance has promptly sent its protest to the League of Nations and to all the auxiliaries of the International Alliance, urging that further protest be presented. The Alliance bases its belief that the League of Nations cannot officially have taken such action upon the following facts:

1. In the Treaty of Versailles it is laid down with respect to the plebiscites there provided for that men and women should equally cast their votes.
2. In the new Polish constitution women have the political vote on the same terms as men, and the Lithuanian Constituent Assembly was elected equally by men and women.
3. The League of Nations itself has written into its constitution that all positions under or in connection with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

The women of Poland and of Lithuania are very indignant and much stirred over this discrimination against them. Sir Eric Drummond, General Secretary of the League, is the one to whom to make protests. Although the United States is not a member of the League of Nations, nevertheless it is interested in all the plebiscites to be taken which limit the republics set up in Eastern Europe as a result of the Great War.

Forest Protection Week

THE week beginning May 22 has been proclaimed by the President Forest Protection Week, to call attention to the serious effect of the present unnecessary waste by forest fires. Human agencies were responsible for eighty per cent of the 160,000 forest fires during the past five years, which burned over 56,480,000 acres. Loss of life, huge expense, menace of timber shortage, menace to water supply, are the consequences of carelessness and selfish indifference on the part of citizens. It's a big and generous country, but it won't stand endless abuse.

Bread for the Vienna Congress

THE Women's International League for Peace and Freedom will hold an international congress in Vienna July 10-16, 1921. Miss Jane Addams is president.

The difficulties of holding a congress in Eastern Europe at this time are manifest by a statement as follows, made in connection with the announcement:

"There is now in Vienna no lack of food supplies, but only an

immense lack of money to buy food supplies imported at the high rates of exchange, and for foreigners this does not count. Even the mark stands so high that at present a mark brings ten crowns, so that the German women can live here for one-tenth of their money. But that nobody may be able to say that bread, the most important article of food, has been eaten away from the Viennese by international guests, the local Committee of Arrangements will open a special bakery for members of the congress, with bread baked wholly from American flour procured at the cost of the congress members." Each delegate is sending ten dollars in advance for this purpose.

Meanwhile, the public press announces that in Austria hereafter all foreign tourists will be expected to pay double prices for everything instead of purchasing at the exchange which their money would bring.

How Near Is Peace?

AT least military occupation of the Ruhr Valley is averted, by Germany's last-minute surrender to the terms of the Allied ultimatum on reparations.

But fighting goes briskly on here and there over the world. In Upper Silesia the situation between the German inhabitants and the Poles, who are in rebellion against the plebiscite recently held under Allied direction, has grown so acute that British forces are reported to be joining the French troops in the effort to restore order.

Despite this joint action, there is tension between Great Britain and France over the clash in Upper Silesia:—Lloyd George insists that the authority of the Allies under the Treaty must be upheld, even to the possible extent of admitting German troops to help restore quiet. Premier Briand, supporting Polish claims, threatens "grave consequences" if German troops should enter.

Upper Silesia looks like a very bad danger spot.

At home, in accepting the invitation to take a place for America in the Supreme Council, President Harding has made a move, against the will of the irreconcilables, toward cooperation with Europe in the settlement of the world's troubles.

And meantime the chemical warfare service of the army is experimenting with a "poison-gas attack from the air against one or more warships in an attempt to show that the navy must immediately build up defenses against a new and terrible menace—*asphyxiation*." How near is peace?

Mr. Hoover's Ambition

MR. HOOVER has instituted a regular conference with editors of influential business papers, to enlist their help and get their suggestions. He is asking their backing to aid him in getting for the development of domestic and foreign commerce the amount of money that would "maintain one battalion of the army for one year."



Photo by White Studio

President Woolley of Mt. Holyoke

A member of religious boards, societies to extend propaganda on permanent peace, various social reform organizations, her main work has been for women, their educational, economic and political advancement.

ON May 21 Mount Holyoke College, the oldest institution in America for the higher education of women, will celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the presidency of Mary Emma Woolley. Other college presidents and professors will go to South Hadley, Massachusetts, to take part in the occasion. There will be a pageant in which several hundred students are to appear. The "Electra" of Euripides will be presented, with special music composed for the performance.

When Miss Woolley left the chair of biblical literature at Wellesley to come to Mt. Holyoke, she brought sanity of purpose, breadth of vision and a wealth of inspiration to her new post. Mt. Holyoke is now classed as one of the five leading women's colleges in the country. President Woolley's chief aim, at present, is the raising of a three-million-dollar endowment fund for the institution. Alumnae and friends hope to complete the fund this month as a climax to the anniversary celebration.

Church Bells for France

IN all the two hundred villages under the domain of the American Committee for Devastated France there is just one church bell. Destroyed by shells, ruthlessly carried away, or melted for war purposes, they are gone—the bells that meant the heart of community life. For in France a church bell counts so incalculably more than we here can realize. The earliest memory in the life of a Frenchman is centered about the church bell, which rings over his baptism, his first communion, summons him to worship, proclaims his marriage, and marks the moment for the evening prayer. It is because of this rich associational value, because of the church bell's power to renew normal life in these broken villages, that the American Committee for Devastated France is suggesting to the people of the United States and Canada a Memorial Day gift of bells—a hundred of them, they hope, each costing a hundred dollars.

To the protest that bells are a luxury where food is scarce, they reply in effect, "Is not the life more than food?" Those who agree and who see in this plan a new link between France and America, may send checks to the Angelus Bell Fund, American Committee for Devastated France, 16 East 39th Street, New York City.

Apologies to Delaware

MRS. HENRY RIDGELY, president of the Delaware League of Women Voters, points out that Delaware should not have been included in the list, published in the May 7 issue, of states that never adopted the direct primary. Delaware has a direct primary law, which the legislature of 1921 tried to repeal. Owing to the influence of the League and of the Women's Joint Legislative Committee the law stands. The inclusion of Delaware in our news note was a slip of the typewriter, and a correct reference to the Delaware primary appeared in Mrs. Catt's article in the same number.

Prohibition

THE Province of Ontario has gone "bone dry." A referendum on the question of the importation of liquor from outside the province by individual purchasers has resulted in a dry victory by a majority somewhere between one and two hundred thousand. Norway has concluded to substitute the Swedish rationing system for prohibition, which has been in force for some time. In Great Britain consideration is being given to a licensing measure designed by the brewers, which, if passed, entrenches the trade more strongly than ever in that country. In our own land the struggle for enforcement is meeting a determined opposition.

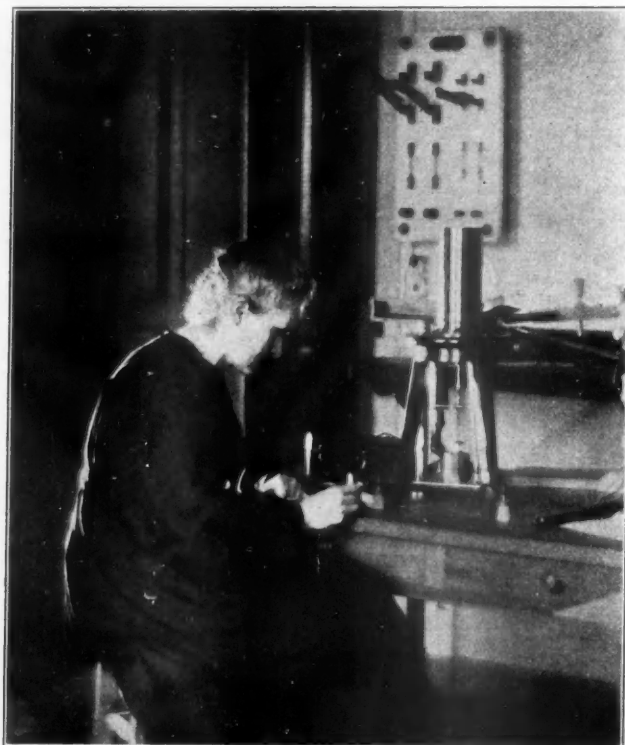
Marie Curie

MADAME CURIE is here in America and the readers of the *Woman Citizen* who helped buy the gramme of radium for which she has come, will like to see this new photograph of her in their own columns.

The greatest woman scientist of her times shrank from crossing the ocean alone, and Mrs. William Brown Meloney, editor of the *Delineator*, to whose initiative and boundless energy we owe the privilege of honoring Madame Curie, went over to bring her and her daughters back.

They arrived on May 12, and since the moment of landing Madame Curie has been eagerly honored by colleges and clubs and scientific associations. On May 20 she is to receive in Washington from President Harding's hands the tiny magical gramme of radium for which American women paid \$100,000 and which will mean salvation from cancer to other women through Marie Curie's experiments. With her husband, she discovered radium; through the use of the precious substance during the war her laboratory was left empty of even the tiniest particle. And the thing she wanted most in all the world was a gramme of radium for purposes of experimentation.

Women have given to women, in that tiny test-tube which Madame Curie will carry back to Paris, a priceless gift. They have given, besides, so much more than the necessary \$100,000 that it is probable the additional funds will build a new laboratory near Paris.



Mme. Curie in Her Laboratory

From Paper Ballot to Machine

By Mrs. Walter Timme

Legislative Chairman New York City League of Women Voters

MORE than one new woman voter, standing dutifully in line with dozens of equally patient and dutiful citizens before her on election day, must have questioned, "Couldn't this long tedious wait be cut out or at least shortened?"

The answer is a most emphatic yes, and the means is the voting-machine, which has been used in various communities for some years.

But to most of us this is a strange notion, and much in need of explanation. So please look at the photograph first, and begin by noting the curtain. On entering the machine the voter swings the handle of this curtain lever from the left-hand side over to the right as far as it will go and leaves it there. This closes the curtain around the voter and unlocks the machine for voting. Along the side of the machine he will see designated the offices of candidates to be voted on, and across its face the name of the candidates, while the party emblems are ranged across the top.

The voter turns down a pointer over the name of the candidate he wishes to vote for and *leaves it down*. The machine is so arranged that he cannot turn down more than the proper number of pointers for each office. In case of mistake he can make a change so long as the curtain remains closed: He can put up a pointer for one name and put it down over another. When he is satisfied that he has all the pointers where he wants them, he leaves them down and swings the handle of the curtain lever to the left as far as it will go. This registers his vote, returns the pointers to their first position and opens the curtain for him. His vote has been correctly registered on the back of the machine.

AT the present time the voting machine is used in various cities in five states: New York, Connecticut, Indiana, Iowa and Michigan. In New York state, Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Niagara Falls, Poughkeepsie, New Rochelle, White Plains and Yonkers have changed from the paper ballot to the machine, and in the state of Connecticut, Hartford, New Haven, Meriden, Bridgeport and Danbury vote by that method. It has been impossible to obtain from the Secretaries of State of Indiana, Iowa and Michigan a list of cities that have adopted machines in those states.

Rochester, New York, has the distinction of being the pioneer in the use of machines for voting purposes. The first one was installed in 1898, and voting by machine has continued in Rochester from that first trial to the present day. Communication with city clerks in New York and Connecticut brought forth the following recommendations in favor of the use of the voting machines:

First. It is economical.

The initial cost of one machine is approximately \$940, and the experience has been that the machine pays for itself out of the savings it makes possible in five or six years. Fewer election districts, fewer canvassing inspectors, fewer election offices and clerks are a result which cuts the expense of an election very considerably. Printing and supplies too—a considerable item—are unnecessary when the machine takes the place of the printed ballot. The machine is entirely metal made and requires practically no repair.

Second. It is accurate.



Quick, Accurate, Simple—the Voting Machine

The machine is unaffected by weariness, lateness of the hour, stuffiness of the atmosphere, or the many other causes entering to lessen the efficiency and accuracy of the human canvasser.

Third. The result of the election can be had one half hour after closing of the polls.

The Commissioners of Elections of Buffalo, New York, in recommendation of the machine, state that it is possible for the newspapers to have practically the complete result of the election published one hour after the closing of the polls. Surely an impossible feat where paper ballots must be canvassed by human agents.

Fourth. The method of registering the individual vote is readily understood by any one able to master the many intricacies of the paper ballot.

With each voting machine there is furnished a small working model of a portion of the face of the machine for the instruction of voters, and the election office stands ready to instruct each voter before he enters. I am told that in cities when voting machines are first installed, instruction in the use of the machine *must* be given during registration week.

Fifth. The machine expedites voting.

In Syracuse in 1920 eight hundred and thirty-five electors in one election district voted on one machine, more than ninety in one hour. The long tedious wait at the polls could not occur under such conditions, and the experience of Syracuse is borne out by the other cities where for more than fifteen years the machine has been successfully used.

Sixth. The machine is compact, when not in use, and therefore easily stored.

It takes approximately the same space as a polling booth when open for use, and when not in use can be compactly packed in wooden packing cases.

Seventh. Ballot marking is an utter impossibility on the machine, and the loss of a ballot cannot occur; thus making for a more honest and clean election by eliminating fraud and fraudulent counting.

In considering the use of voting machines we are not, as is evident, going out into the untried—Buffalo and Rochester with twenty-two years' and Hartford with fifteen years' practical experience write that the machine has given absolute satisfaction.

I quote with pleasure the following statement from the letter received from the town clerk of Bridgeport, Connecticut:—"We have used voting machines in Bridgeport since 1907 and have found them entirely satisfactory. We are using at the present moment fifty-four machines, and we assure you that the women used the machines to better advantage than the men. Over eleven thousand women voted in Bridgeport last fall."

The machines approved by the Secretary of State of New York are:

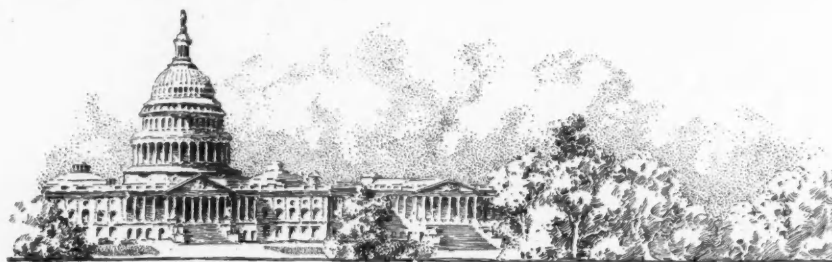
Standard Voting Machine
C. H. Ocumpaugh's Voting Machine
U. S. Voting Machine Company

Voting Machine of A. J. Gillespie
Bardwell Votometer
U. S. Standard Voting Machine Company
Dean Ballot Machine
Triumph Voting Machine
American Voting Machine
Citizen's Voting Machine

In all communications received from cities in New York and Connecticut the machine in use is the United States Standard Voting Machine, which is made by the Automatic Registering Machine Company, of Jamestown, N. Y. The photograph shown is of this type. Of course the individual face varies somewhat.

The Tolbert Bill, which requires the Board of Elections in New York City to equip the polling places with voting machines, has become a law. It requires that one-third of the polling places be so equipped in 1921; two-thirds in 1922 and all in 1923, and in view of the excellent record of the voting machine in cities where paper ballots have long been considered obsolete, New York looks forward with confidence to the installing of machines in the Empire City.

The
Public
Welfare
Department



Peace
and
Political
Jockeying

Your Business in Washington

From the Woman Citizen's Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 12, 1921.

THE nation's capital these days offers the interested voter one of the most striking opportunities he or she may have had in many years to study the science of applied politics in its primary, secondary and advanced or highly professional stages.

In the development of open-door and back-stairs maneuvering on the many measures of vital interest to the nation, Washington at present is tearing many pages from the political books of years ago, when the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill, upon which the Taft administration rode to its ruin, provided some new and interesting political experiments.

One has but to sit and listen in the Senate chamber to hear the old, familiar cry of lobby raised against interests affected particularly by the details of the tariff measures and the welfare bill. In connection with the former it is the dye, wool or manufacturing lobbyist who is working; in connection with the latter, it is the departmental lobbyist, the "bureau demagogues," who fear for their jobs in the proposed reorganization of the administrative departments.

To investigate all the different kinds of lobbyists Senator King, of Utah, has introduced a measure in the Senate which may or many never uncover the entrenchments of those sought. Anti-lobbyist measures have a way of not getting anywhere in particular.

The cry of lobby, as well as some of the shrewdest political pulling and hauling, is getting its work in about the public welfare bill. The last two weeks in Washington have shown this measure as leading the list of important hearings. While many of the technical details, particularly those in the division of different branches of welfare work under the single department, are as yet undetermined, it appears safe to predict that a welfare bill will be

passed by this session of Congress. The country seems to want it.

As the hearings have become more and more crowded and the spiritual temperature has risen commensurately, the real clash on the bill has been that between the leading figures in the government bureaus of Public Health and Education. These men and women are enthusiastically for the bill. But the educational leaders feel it should include health matters and omit education, while the doctors and lay nurses believe the bill should control matters of education but leave health to a bureau by itself. Both the educators and the medical men believe that each profession is of sufficient importance to have a place in the Cabinet, and neither desires to risk absorption in a department of public welfare.

But the reaction of the past two weeks' hearings has been to show that while there is much popular support for a separate department of education, it is admittedly not possible at this time. The real helmsmen of departmental reorganization are convinced that both doctors and teachers must be absorbed into the public welfare department lest the clamor reach the point where it must be "two Cabinet posts or none."

Walter Brown, the personal representative of President Harding on the Smoot-Reavis departmental reorganization committee of the House and Senate—which committee eventually will determine in large part how the various welfare branches are to be assigned under a public welfare department—has taken the position that to create two new Cabinet places at a time when the whole government appears anxious and determined to retrench, would be impracticable. He therefore favors the single department, which, however, it is known that the President does not wish to be called the department of Education and Public Welfare.

The committee has now definitely started to work, but it probably will be many weeks before its report on general departmental reorganization is ready and, pending that report, it would seem unlikely that the welfare bill will get through.

High Spots in the Hearings

Meantime, to show a line on the trend of testimony before the hearings held by the Kenyon committee during the past week on the bill, here are the high spots:

1—Educators urged that the provision of the bill creating a branch of the proposed welfare department to deal with education be eliminated, insisting that education was worthy of a separate department with a Cabinet head.

2—Representatives of labor urged the committee to leave the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor as it is now rather than to move it into the welfare department as proposed in the welfare bill. It was also contended that vocational training should be made a bureau in the Department of Labor whether it dealt with service men or with others.

3—Dr. Charles R. Mann, chairman of the educational division of the war plans committee of the general staff of the army, urged the committee to leave education to an independent department, but further counseled against centralizing educational control in the federal government, declaring that the people in the several states should retain control over educational matters. His attitude was vigorously applauded by educators present in the committee room at the time of his testimony. Dr. Mann also declared his belief that the Smith-Hughes educational act has "worked out badly in the main," and indicated that while he favored a separate department of education he was opposed to features of the Sterling-Towner bill for that purpose, fearing that education would be centralized in Washington.

4—U. S. McGill, secretary of the National Education Association, told the joint committee that educators desired a day for a hearing, and the committee set Wednesday, May 18, as the "educators' day." Mr. McGill supported the statement previously made before the committee by Representative Towner, that the friends of education would not be satisfied with a bureau under the department of public welfare. He suggested that the pending bill be amended by striking out all reference to education.

5—Edgar Wallace, representing the American Federation of Labor, gave as the reason for recommending retention of the Children's Bureau under the Department of Labor that it was better able to consider the needs of children in industry than the new department would be. The children of the working people, he said, are the ones particularly affected.

6—General Sawyer, who has undertaken a survey of the welfare work preliminary to suggesting definite reorganization of these government branches under a welfare department, declared, at one stage of the clash between the doctors and educators before the committee, that if the educators of the country do not care to have the government's activities in connection with educational matters as a part of the public welfare department they could stay outside. He insisted, however, that the Administration was trying to give the educators all the aid it could and expressed the hope that differences might be adjusted.

What Women Want

These views are set down merely as indicating the line of thought developed at the hearings. They do not necessarily mean that anything final will come of them. As a matter of fact, most of the objections to this feature or that in the welfare bill are being voiced in the hearings. Congress itself seems unanimous in believing that such a measure should be adopted, and its detailed arrangements left largely to the departmental reorganization committee.

Since it is probably impossible at this time to obtain a separate department for education, it would seem as if it should be made the first section of the department of public welfare, in charge of the first assistant secretary of the department, rather than that it should stay in its present obscure position as a bureau in the Department of the Interior.

Simultaneously with the hearings on the proposed new department, has come a report of the Kenyon committee on the Sheppard-Towner bill. More American women are interested in this bit of pending legislation than in any other. The opposition to the measure, as was pointed out in the *Woman Citizen* for May 7, comes from the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage and from ultra-reactionaries. The latter are somewhat disinclined to make an open fight on the bill, contenting themselves with efforts to kill it by amending it to death.

The most dangerous thrust that has been made in this direction is that designed to transfer the administration of the law to the Public Health Service. However, if the public welfare measure becomes law, this question of administration will probably be eliminated.

The League of Women Voters is centering its heaviest efforts on this bill and is determined to get it passed before turning much attention to other proposals.

Another welfare measure may result from the effort of Republicans to redeem their platform pledge to regulate the hours and conditions of service of women in industry. It is possible that an eight-hour day for women or at least a forty-eight-hour week may be effected through a rider to the appropriation bill providing that on contracts for government supplies work done by women shall be done in an eight-hour day or a forty-eight-hour week.

The Tariff, Peace and Disarmament

The lessons in applied politics of the more advanced type are to be found very largely in the maneuvers about the tariff, the Knox peace resolution, disarmament and the setting of each against the other. The Knox resolution is held up in the House through a bit of political jockeying going on among House and Senate leaders and the Harding-Hughes-Hoover element at the executive end of the avenue. The latter wish to work out their foreign program in such a manner as to assure settlement of European difficulties and re-establishment of international economic stability. They hold that to inject a new element, such as a separate peace with Germany, into the already confused foreign situation would merely add to the chaos. So by "common consent" between the White House and leaders of the House of Representatives the separate peace plan of the Senate irreconcilables is cooling its heels in the committee room of the lower branch.

The irreconcilables are now looking for some maneuver which may force their resolution into action. One plan has been to delay first and then materially to change the Emergency Tariff bill just passed by the Senate, already passed by the House and now in conference. This is a measure very dear to the hearts of mid-western congressmen whom the irreconcilables hold responsible for the development of a feeling for an "associated peace" rather than a "separate peace." Threatened delay of this tariff measure might influence the House leaders to change their plans on the Knox resolution.

Senator Borah, who always likes to shake up the seats of the mighty, is anticipating some comfort in his demand for a vote on his naval disarmament project. It will serve to assuage feelings somewhat ruffled at the delay in the peace resolution, which he has supported from the outset. But the vote on the Borah disarmament measure will merely prove President Harding's hold on the Senate, for it cannot pass until the President gives the word—and he isn't ready to do that yet.

The Lady Cop

She Fills a Need and Is Here to Stay

By Hannah Mitchell

WOMEN police are looked upon as a necessary part of nearly every metropolitan police force in the country. A few years ago the mere mention of policewomen as a possibility was either considered in the light of a joke or as a "crank notion." That is, it was by most people.

However, a steadily growing group of workers, both in this country and abroad, began to suggest, advocate and finally demand some representation of women on police forces in general more than ten years ago. This group was known under the comprehensive term welfare workers. They spoke upon the idea everywhere; they pointed out the need to officials; they finally demanded that for the public good at least a few women have a place in a scheme of things where women had been barred theretofore except as victims.

Los Angeles was one of the first cities of any size to have a policewoman whose work attracted attention. In 1915, Mrs. Alice Stebbins Wells, the first policewoman of Los Angeles, traveled over the East advocating the appointment of women to positions similar to hers in all cities.

"Girls and women in distress have a right to the sympathetic help of women officers," was Mrs. Wells's way of summing up her belief in the need. She stated later that she had seen more than thirty cities adopt the idea; that these cities were divided into two classes: those that had women police as regular members of the force on an equal footing with the men; and those that had women police paid from private funds, holding their places with the approval of the police.

And yet, there was much opposition to Mrs. Wells's idea. That very year, 1915, the International Association of Police Chiefs, meeting in Cincinnati, refused the proposal to include the report of policewomen in its annual report, thus expressing its disapproval of them.

Plenty of Room for Women

That one incident is typical of the attitude of the men in any certain business and profession as soon as it comes to their attention that women are making a serious effort to enter it. Later when these same men find that the women are not going to affect their jobs; that there is a place for both men and women in every line of work in the world; and that the work the women do does not really interfere with that of the men, only helps it along, they become their staunch supporters.

In New York the belief in a need for women on the police force was advocated at an early date by such women as Lillian Wald, Dr. Katherine B. Davis, Mrs. Mary Simkhovitch and numerous suffrage workers. In Chicago Jane Addams believed in it and was partly responsible for the department of women police established there. In Boston the Women's Municipal League recommended in 1914 that women be placed on the police force. The advocacy in New York resulted in the passage of a bill in 1915 making it possible for women police to be appointed. Today New York has fifty-five policewomen, nineteen patrolwomen, a new women's bureau of the Police Department and a police station managed entirely by women.

This unique police station is very much of a show place at present. Unlike the dingy, smelly places men have kept up these many years, it has a home atmosphere. There are red geraniums

to make it cheery and a vain little canary. The hostess rooms are softly lighted and actually have comfortable chairs.

Mrs. Mary E. Hamilton, director of the women's precinct, described the work to be done in regard to the cells at the back which take away any pleasant and hopeful impression gained in the front. "We are going to pull out the middle cells," she said, "and make a little summer garden with roses and awnings."

Of the station's new work she said: "We are glad to have this building all to ourselves. Our work will be divided into three parts—information, education and detention. The average woman does not know where to get information on police matters. We shall have an office here where women can come for advice on such subjects."

There will also be a school for policewomen, with practical lessons in feeding lost babies and in soothing the feelings of runaway girls. Women candidates for new positions as patrolwomen will attend these classes as well as women already in the department.

The Right Way with Girls

For several years Mrs. Ellen O'Grady held the place of special deputy police commissioner in New York. Six months ago she resigned, saying that she found it impossible to work under the conditions then existing in the department. Her place was filled May 12 by the appointment of Mrs. George W. Loft, wife of the candy manufacturer and former representative in Congress. Mrs. Loft will have charge of the special duty division and the women's precinct.

Whereas Mrs. O'Grady received a salary of \$6,000 a year, Mrs. Loft takes the job as a "dollar-a-year" woman. It was announced when Mrs. Loft took the oath of office that under her direction first offenders would be kept at the women's precinct until positions had been found for them, to save their being sent to houses of correction where they might encounter evil influences. Furthermore Mrs. Loft will continue Mrs. O'Grady's policy of keeping a vigilant watch on picture houses, dance halls and bathing beaches. The new commissioner will have a staff of sixty police sergeants and lieutenants and twenty-eight policewomen for welfare work.

"I have always been keenly interested in children and wayward girls," said Mrs. Loft last week, "and it seems to me there are many onward steps we might take in handling them. I want to give my individual attention as much as possible to the girls. Many girls who are detained for a night or two for some trivial offense come in contact with old-time offenders who plant the seeds of evil in their minds. I hope to be able to keep as many as twenty-five girls in our dormitories at the precinct. They will be prisoners, of course, but will be free from contamination, and we shall see that they are started on the right road upon their release."

There is something of the principle of preventive medicine back of the call for women police. Welfare workers learned that there was little they could do in salvaging women who had been sentenced in police court. In the old days—and this is still true to some extent—after a woman or girl had been sentenced all

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Good Health—Your Job

By Mary Ogden White

WHILE we have come to feel that it is the duty of society to secure sanitary, hygienic, economic and recreational conditions favorable to well being, the attainment of health is a personal responsibility. The will to health means care in exercise, eating, living and thinking. Women must learn to desire health and to work for it by self-discipline. This is what the Health Foundation Center is advocating.

IF the young woman who drapes her slim silhouette across the pages of modern magazines could come to life and totter on high heels to the Health Foundation Center at 43 East Twenty-second Street, New York, she would get what is coming to her. For what is really coming to her is not preachments from the press

and pulpit, but a chance to see herself stripped to her gym tights in the full-length mirror which Dr. Kristine Mann has had set up there like an accusing conscience. And it is amazing to see what tragedies of posture are revealed.

"I am half sick of shadows," said the Lady of Shalott, who saw life through mirrors only, and she would have been wholly sick if her glass had reflected some of the distorted human shapes which are the results of modern dressing.

A pretty girl may continue to be pretty, even against such odds as a posture like a grape-vine, with her hips as far out of focus as a Matisse drawing; yet anatomically she is a caricature that Phidias would have swept into the dust-bin.

Why be a caricature? For when it comes right down to it, the women Phidias carved are easier to look at than are those Matisse invented—or than those of Poiré's creation.

You can't be well if you don't stand right is one of the relentless axioms of the Health Foundation Center.

You can't be well if you don't walk right is another. And you won't walk right in wrong shoes is its corollary.

You can't be well if you are not adjusted to your environment is a third aphorism, not so easily demonstrated and reflected in the tell-tale mirror, and not measurable with a tape; but in the complex which determines everything from headaches to fallen arches, it also plays its part.

MISS E. K. BERTINE, who has charge of the physical exercises of this health center, mourns over the wrong ideas of what is beautiful which have crept into the mind of today's girls. She thinks they need an aesthetic more than a moral awakening, and a new concept of beauty. Or, rather, they need to return to a fundamental, eternal standard of beauty. And this is not to be found in the sunken chests and round shoulders of girls who stand lop-sided.

"Their posture is that of fatigue," she says; "it is the characteristic one into which one falls when one's muscles are weak or dead tired."

Well, then, why be weak and tired? There is the gist of the question the health center exists to accentuate. It wants to thrust it before the feminine public. Being weak and tired is not, it says, a calamity that happens to the just and the unjust. It is not merely an effect of overwork. It is not a matter of worry alone. It may be a combination of all three; but whatever it is, something can usually be done about it, and the Health Center is where it is to find out what.



Its program is at once more elastic and more fundamental.

HERE are some of the things the center believes to be demonstrable:

Health is, to a much larger extent than would be believed, procurable through right exercise, right eating, right living and right thinking. The will to health must be awakened, especially among young women who can be brought to see the beauty and truth of a body which serves the soul. To achieve this woman must pass on to woman the desire for health and the assurance that it can be obtained by effort and discipline.

Ugly protruding shoulder blades may be your misfortune, they may also be your fault, say these apostles of health as-it-ought-to-be. How many girls and women have lazy, self-indulgent muscles? How many sit in movies when, by all that's righteous, they should be on an out-of-door hike?

A part of the health center's job is to make the girls who come there prefer the hike. Another part is finding out when their bodies need hikes and when they cry out for a rest.

This special health center is the only one of its sort in New York City or anywhere at all for that matter. It was begun by the funds of the Y. W. C. A. National Board and used as a laboratory experiment to test out some of the findings of the International Conference of Women Doctors, held in New York in the fall of 1919. It has been a sort of clinical demonstration of the fundamental beliefs held by the Woman's Foundation for Health, a cooperative body composed of fifteen national organizations of women. Some of these fundamental ideas are that "health is normal and realizable;" that it is "that condition which allows an individual the full development and mastery of herself," and that, "while it is the duty of society to secure sanitary, hygienic, economic and recreational conditions favorable to well being, it regards the attainment of health as a matter of individual and personal responsibility."

This center was put under the jurisdiction of Dr. Kristine Mann, who has a long background of specialization in the health of industrial women. She was for four years in charge of a hospital in a large corporation employing hundreds of girls. Her services were taken over by the government during the war, and she was put in charge of the health of women in the United States Ordnance Department.

For its initial months, when Y. W. C. A. funds made the ex-

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Editorially Speaking

The Urge of Oil

ONCE upon a time there was a common proverbial saying that oil smooths troubled waters, but oil bids fair to be a producer instead of a soother of future troubles. It has been repeatedly said that in case of another world war, the victorious side will be that which controls the most oil.

It is well known that Mexican oil concessions to United States capitalists are a fruitful source of the strained relations between Mexico and the United States and that if war ever eventuates the unquestioned cause will be a quarrel over oil.

Gossip is fast spreading the report that the promise of oil concessions to Americans was the motive which brought about the rather sudden ratification of the Colombian Treaty after seventeen years of indecision. Senator Lodge, majority leader in the Senate, spoke the word and the treaty went through. It is not forgotten that this self-same gentleman had been a persistent opponent of every item involved in this agreement with Colombia. He had answered every argument for it and urged every possible reason against it. It seemed impossible that under the circumstances he should have changed his mind. If he did, he owed to the United States and his party a statement of the new evidence which had led him to make a *volte face*. He made no such explanation, and no one accuses him of an interest in the expected oil concessions; but the interesting and appropriate query is raised, nevertheless, Who will get the oil?

IT was whispered a year or so ago that Great Britain would make enough profit on oil in Mesopotamia to pay for her part in the war. This rumor grew to such proportions that on May 12, 1920, Secretary Colby caused a communication to be sent to the British Government containing the following:

"the unfortunate impression in the minds of the American public that the authorities of H. M. Government in the occupied region [Mesopotamia] had given advantages to British oil interests which were not accorded to American companies; and, further, that Great Britain had been preparing quietly for exclusive control of the oil resources in this region."

On August 9, Earl Curzon in a complete denial of this charge said:

"I would like here to make a passing reference to the very mistaken impression which appears to be current in the United States in regard to the oil policy of his Majesty's Government. The output of oil within the British Empire is only about two and one-half per cent of the world's production, and if the production of Persia be included, in virtue of certain oilfields in that country being owned by a British company, the total amounts to about 4½ per cent. Against this small percentage the United States produces some 70 per cent of the world's output, besides which United States companies who own at least three-fourths of the Mexican output are estimated to produce a further 12 per cent of the world's output. This overwhelming proportion, over 80 per cent, of the petroleum production of the world is under American control, and the predominance of the United States in regard to oil production is assured for many years to come. There is in any case no justification for supposing that Great Britain, whose present oil resources are altogether insignificant in comparison, can seriously threaten American supremacy, and any prophecies as to the oil-bearing resources of countries at present unexplored and quite undeveloped must be accepted with reserve."

On November 20, 1920, Secretary Colby replied:

"The statements of your Note to the effect that the British Government has refrained from exploiting the petroleum re-

sources of mandated territories in question, that the operations referred to have been conducted for purely military purposes under the immediate supervision of the Army authorities, and at army expense, and that no private interests whatever are in any way involved are accepted with a full sense of the good faith of the British Government."

The change of government in Washington seems not to have disposed of the sordid suspicion concerning oil, for on April 8, 1921, the *Manchester Guardian* enters the comment:

"But to those on both sides of the Atlantic who had high hopes of the mandatory principle it seems a mean and cynical outcome that questions of the fate and government of peoples should be submerged in jealousies over petroleum."

Meanwhile at Edmonton, the northernmost town in Canada, the adventurers of the world have long been gathering preparatory to a dash to the North as soon as the ice on the Arctic slopes breaks up. The gold fever which drew men like magnets to California in 1849, to Australia a little later and to South Africa a few years ago, is revived with all the old symptoms, but now oil is the magic. A "gusher" or so was found last summer and the field, the basin of the Mackenzie River, is the largest yet opened if present promises make good. The Mackenzie is one of the great rivers of the world, the width varying from one to two miles, and the district, which the oil adventurers hope to see filled with the life and enterprise common to such spots, extends over 300,000 square miles. The river flows into the Arctic Ocean, but neither ice nor snow, nor the fact that at present there is no way to transport the oil to where it may be wanted, will stop men under the urge of "the oil fever."

The race will go forward until every possible oil well has been located. Fortunes will be made and lost. Lives will be broken, families forsaken, crimes committed—for oil. Already nations look with suspicion upon others with oil prospects and tomorrow the oil madness may drive peoples to war. Oil will not be the cause written in the war declarations, nor the admitted cause of those who urge national support for the war, but behind the quarrel, beneath the assault upon "honor" there will rise the reeking smell of petroleum. Watch oil.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

A Lesson from Madame Curie

MADAME CURIE'S visit to the United States is a great event. If she had come before women had secured the ballot, a strong argument for equal suffrage would have been drawn from her life and work. The barrier of political disfranchisement has now been taken out of women's way, but the barriers of custom and prejudice still remain. Among the many lessons that may be drawn from Madame Curie's great achievement, is the importance to the world of giving women's gifts and talents free play.

With all her natural abilities, Madame Curie would probably never have discovered radium if she had been brought up by a father who believed that a woman's thoughts ought to be limited to "kitchen, church and children." Instead, he gave his daughter a scientific training and made her his assistant in his laboratory. How great, again, would have been the loss to humanity if Professor Curie had believed that when a woman marries she ought to give up all other work, and if his wife had submitted to that opinion!

Doubtless she had too much sense to have married a man with

such ideas; but hundreds of gifted women do. It was a fortunate circumstance that this woman of great natural endowments had a father who laid the foundation for her future work, and a husband who encouraged her to complete it. American fathers and husbands may profit by the example.

Honors will be showered upon Madame Curie while she is in the United States. Every effort will be made to show her everything in this country that is beautiful and fine.

It should also be pointed out to her that, by unwritten law, women are excluded from all but a very small fraction of the important and responsible posts in colleges, universities, hospitals, and scientific institutions of every kind; that, by the written law, the heads of all our government departments are empowered to shut out women absolutely from appointments, scientific and otherwise, no matter how brilliantly the women may have passed the civil service examinations, and to give these appointments to men who passed with a lower grade; and that this thing is done continually. In short, she should be shown that in the United States although women have secured equal suffrage, they have not yet secured equal rights.

Her influence and the object lesson of her presence among us ought to give an impetus to the wider opening of the doors of opportunity.

A. S. B.

Speak Out for Disarmament

WORD has quietly come from various dependable sources in Washington that *we* are to blame for the passage in the House of that appalling \$396,000,000 Naval Appropriation bill; that Floor Leader Mondell, supporting the President's position that peace must come before disarmament, could not have held the House in line if we had done our part. If, in short, we had showered letters and telegrams on our congressmen telling them that as women and as citizens we are not willing to wait.

At the Cleveland Convention the League of Women Voters passed a resolution urging that the United States take the initiative in a movement toward international disarmament. Its delegation presented the resolution at Washington. But that is not enough. There rests on the League membership a solemn obligation to make good on that resolution; to let Congress know in words how strongly it feels about this first step toward world peace.

For while there are different shades of opinion about disarmament, a first step is all that most of the women's organizations ask; they want agreement between the United States, Japan and Great Britain not to build more ships—that first of all. There is no real reason to believe the three powers are not ready: Great Britain would welcome the financial relief; Japan says, through her Minister of the Navy, that she is willing to reduce ship-building. Why not, then?

We can make it so if we will. Let the Senate know beyond the shadow of a doubt our will toward disarmament.

THE week of May 22 to 29 offers the opportunity for intensive work. The Woman's Committee for World Disarmament, with which the League of Women Voters is cooperating, as are many other organizations, has issued a call to devote this week to a campaign for a world disarmament conference.

THE May number of the *Searchlight*, to be published next week, will carry a strong summing-up of the situation on disarmament, with statements from several notable groups of women who are urging this cause. Representing the League of Women Voters, Mrs. Catt's Cleveland speech will be printed, together with the resolution passed at the recent convention. To drive home the appeal, Lynn Haines, editor of the *Searchlight*, will line up the influences that are hurrying the world toward war.

"Three Housewives" Protest

ATTORNEY GENERAL DAUGHERTY said recently that "three housewives with powers of positive conversation can do more to convince a retailer he must get his prices down to normal levels than could my whole department with all of its investigators and lawyers." As housewives we respectfully beg to differ. In other words, we don't believe it. We have been talking steadily for several years. Occasionally we have boycotted a profiteering retailer whom we caught red-handed, but that hardly helped even temporarily. We know, and the retailer knows, that he is not the whole answer to this highly complex situation. Attorney General Daugherty's department, we submit, can conceivably reach fundamentals of price fixing, of the middleman's relation to the problem, and all the rest of it. In the long run, as "three housewives" we can only complain.

Criminal or Ill?

WE heard recently that "Al" Smith, former governor of New York, had made public reference to some interesting views about the method of sentencing criminals. So we asked him about it and this is what he said:

"In connection with the question of sentencing criminals, I have on many occasions expressed the opinion that the power of sentencing should be taken from our judges and that upon a verdict of guilty, all prisoners should be turned over to a State Commission and that Commission to deal with them after careful study, so that those requiring hospital treatment may receive it and that the feeble-minded may be cared for in institutions where something can be done to improve their condition. The subject is one upon which a great deal can be said."

Indeed, yes. We are beginning to wake up to the horrors of our penal system. Sometime surely we shall see that it is to be classed among the barbarities of an age somewhat incompletely civilized.

"Nervous Prognostication"

"HOW is your sister nowadays?" somebody asked Aunt Dinah.

"Oh, Miss Emily," answered Aunt Dinah, "she ain't a bit well. She's suffering from what white folks call *nervous prognostication!*"

Reports coming in about the Cleveland convention from various parts of the country show that many of the politicians are in the condition of Aunt Dinah's sister. They are still suffering from "nervous prognostication" as to what women will do with their votes. Some of them fear that women may yet organize en masse to oppose the men. These nervous gentlemen are especially afraid of the League of Women Voters, and long to destroy it.

A slight acquaintance with feminine psychology might show them the unwisdom of such an attempt. Under ordinary circumstances, there are "many women, many minds." The large army of women who stood shoulder to shoulder to get the ballot were of all shades of opinion on every other question. As soon as suffrage was won, they divided up, enrolling themselves in all the different political parties, and being encouraged to do so by the suffrage leaders. If anything could solidify them, it would be an attempt to deny the right to join any organization except the party machines.

Upon almost all subjects, women as well as men are divided. The very few subjects on which they are substantially united are those where they have special knowledge and insight, and where for the general good, their point of view ought to prevail.

A. S. B.

Good Health—Your Job*(Continued from page 1239)*

periment possible, the Health Foundation Center gave its services to women who came for physical and medical examinations and for physical training.

In July, 1920, the center had to stand on its own feet financially and has been largely dependent on gifts, its beneficiaries paying, however, small fees—five dollars for examination and five for a physical training course of ten lessons. The clientele of the center is very generally among girls working for small salaries, stenographers, clerks and sales-girls. More than five dollars could scarcely be charged, and if it were the emphasis of the Health Center would be undesirably changed. As it exists now it reaches a rather small group intensively.

One of its assets is in its personal contacts. Dr. Mann holds it as a central belief that the individual with most to impart should be the one of a given group to touch humanity at as many points as possible. "It is a sort of fetic of efficiency," she explains, "to assume that its highest trained member shall be the administrator of a plan, sending forth currents on insulated wires only and never getting first-hand contacts with those who are ultimately to benefit from her expert skill.

"This is just exactly like standing a pyramid on its apex. A person who is well trained, but not a physician, could administer the affairs of a center like ours for instance, but nothing less than the best medical skill can understand all phases of the patient's needs. We have often been asked why we give an examination to each patient lasting an hour, instead of one lasting twenty minutes. It is manifest that one doctor can see more patients on the latter basis. But I would not get all the factors that go to make up the complicated mechanism of human well-being in twenty minutes; for more than flat feet or lateral curvature or

relaxed muscles or impaired digestion or than the whole sum of them needs remedying if a permanently whole and sound woman is to go out from us to meet the problems of her world."

What the Health Foundation Center needs is a chance. A chance to work out a big vision, the vision of a city full of women fully developed in the mastery of themselves; able to understand their own emotional and mental processes and using their bodies to express themselves through work and love and friendship and maternity. A big program, a big vision.

The Lady Cop*(Continued from page 1238)*

doors were closed to her on her release. There remained nothing but the streets. The welfare worker learned that to have any actual effect she must get at these unfortunate women before they have a record. So with the establishment of women's departments in the police force, as Mrs. Loft says, much attention is given to first offenders.

Another feature of the old police court which was particularly outrageous to women visitors was the fact that the woman brought into court was completely surrounded by men and judged from men's viewpoint. This situation is becoming out of date with the establishment of women police, women probation officers, women lawyers and women judges.

Among other cities which have well-established groups of policewomen, Indianapolis, Washington and Detroit are the outstanding examples. Indianapolis boasts one of the largest in the country with twenty-three members and women in command. Its 1920 report shows conclusively the value of women's work in this line. The Indianapolis Board of Public Safety said after the report was published:

"We consider the department of policewomen one of the most effective and efficient arms of the police organization in Indianapolis. . . . And this department must, by all means, be kept from the influence and dangers of politics, if it is to be a success."

Captain Burnside, Indianapolis

The department in Indianapolis was organized in 1918. Its up-building is credited to Captain Clara Burnside, who was for years an attaché of the juvenile court. At first she had difficulty in obtaining the cooperation of all the law-enforcing agencies. That attitude has been overcome and now every unit of the police department, the courts, the social betterment societies and civic organizations have voiced approval of the new system of handling the intimate affairs of women and girls who have made mistakes. Some idea of what this department has done can be gained from Captain Burnside's report:

"The total number of cases reported to the department from all sources was 4,120. Of this number, 1,857 were minor girls found needing protection and assistance; 219 were taken to the juvenile court. The remainder were dealt with directly in the department."

At one time Indianapolis was called the "Port of Missing Women." That was in the days when notorious dives were in full operation in the city. The number of missing girls found by the department of women police in 1920 was 1,907. Seventy-six of these were girls under eighteen years of age.

The Indianapolis department deals not alone with women. Many of those arrested and convicted in 1920 by the policewomen were men, sixty-three having been charged with most serious offenses.

Shoplifting is one of the offenses with which every department of women police has to deal. Captain Burnside found in this work that women normally of good character sometimes cannot resist the temptation of crowded counters and crowded floors

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in department stores, and pick up articles which do not belong to them. Of the arrests made only eight were tried. The others were taken to the captain's office and there signed statements indicating that they had stolen articles. They were then released from court procedure. In most cases of this kind a good scare is sufficient guarantee of future good conduct.

The women police in Washington, D. C., whose chief is Mina Van Winkle, were appointed by the late Major Pullman. During the war their work was particularly important because of the large number of soldiers and girls away from home centered about the national capital. It is an interesting note that in 1918 Dr. Anna Howard Shaw was sworn in as a member of the Metropolitan Police of Washington. Hardly ten years before she had been pictured wearing a policeman's helmet, by way of putting her in a ludicrous light.

Women police in most cities do not wear uniforms. There have been spectacular examples where they did. Everyone remembers the sensation caused by Mrs. Leona King, who acted as a traffic cop in Washington several years ago. But as a rule such jobs are not those sought by women. Their place is rather an official recognition of the growing idea that we are our brothers' and our sisters' keepers. There is a bright side to the police departments where women are working side by side with the men.

And the slogan of the New York women police should make its way universally: To prevent arrest wherever possible.

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What the American Woman Thinks



Photo by Paul Thompson

DO YOUR OWN THINKING

By Ethel Watts-Mumford Grant

THE women of the United States are, as a rule, woefully lacking both in interest and in knowledge of international relations. The sooner they realize it, the better. The fact is that no nation can ever stand alone again. There can be no hermit kingdoms or isolated republics. What happens in China is important to every other country, however remote.

The conditions of the Argentine are reflected in Norway. The fluctuation of the mark touches the balance of the yen. The world has grown small: rapidity of communication has effected it. The telegraph, the cable, wireless, steam, oil, air—all have given of their energy to compassing the earth. We are in actual contact; all are concerned: America was in the war the day Germany invaded Belgium—inevitably. We are at peace or at war in the future, as peace and war take their turns in Europe or Asia for any protracted time. America more than any other nation has a population of foreigners to adjust and direct, and it is folly to believe that a set of citizenship papers makes them forget the land of their birth.

Not only because of our external policies but because of our internal needs, must the American woman keep herself abreast of the political and social changes in other countries.

The Middle West has been held up as the worst offender in willful ignorance of everything except its own personal affairs. But unfortunately ignorance and indifference are the rule from Maine to California and from Seattle to New Orleans.

We have very definite views on prohibition and daylight saving and farmers' loans and national highways, and an astonishing number of people know something about these subjects. But there are violent parties for and against disarmament and the Monroe Doctrine and arbitration and import duty and Oriental immigration, and not one woman in a hundred has an intelligent understanding of these matters.

Do they realize what the relation of the dye industry is to war? Do they realize that the California-Japanese exclusion act is not only unconstitutional fundamentally but an assertion of state's rights as radical as that which precipitated the war of the rebellion? Does the stand taken by the United States in Panama

THIS department is devoted to the frank expression of opinion on questions of the day by a staff carefully selected from among the foremost thinking women of the country. In every issue two or more will contribute editorials on subjects of their own choosing, and the Woman Citizen wishes to express hearty appreciation of their cooperation. The list includes:

DOROTHY CANFIELD—DR. KATHERINE B. DAVIS—THEODOSIA GARRISON—DEAN VIRGINIA GILDER-SLEEVE—ETHEL WATTS GRANT—MARY GARRETT HAY—DR. GRACE RAYMOND HEBARD—FLORENCE KELLEY—MARY M. McDOWELL—MRS. JOHN O. MILLER—MAUD WOOD PARK—MARY GRAY PECK—JESSICA PEIXOTTO—MRS. PERCY V. PENNY-BACKER—DR. CAROLINE SPURGEON—HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON—MAUDE RADFORD WARREN—VIRA BOARMAN WHITEHOUSE—HONORÉ WILLISIE—MRS. THOMAS G. WINTER—PRESIDENT M. CAREY THOMAS, Bryn Mawr—BEATRICE FORBES-ROBERTSON HALE.

indicate a definite policy of inter-American arbitration?

These are all vital questions, truly. So too—deeply vital—is the Russian situation. More vital than we stop to realize is the presence of Mr. Wallace at the Allied Conference. Who cares who's who in Constantinople? And yet our warp and woof of trade and travel has woven us in one fabric with Turkey and with Thibet. We cannot and must not smugly ignore what we choose to call the outside world. There is no outside world—whether or not we wish to be part of it, does not change the fact that we are part of it. Any great change anywhere will be reflected in our own country.

We are all prone to accept our opinions ready-made when obtained from a source we respect. It saves us the bother of doing our own "finding out," and many propagandists with more or less dangerous axes to grind are aware of that mental laziness and use it. And in the all important outside relations we are more apt to accept a half-baked statement as fact, and a total lie as truth, than in matters that pertain to that which is actually seen. This is no time for ignorance either willful or lazy. At best we are a badly informed people. Our daily press is so policy ridden that news is given out colored like Easter eggs, according to taste. There are publications, however, that do try to give a fair review of the world's news.

There is no excuse for being blind because we won't open our eyes, no use letting ourselves in for future calamities because "It's no business of ours!"

Everybody's business is everybody's business.

Newly enfranchised women must *do their own thinking*. They must not be thought for.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S MANNERS

By Mary Gray Peck



AND now Dr. Eliot, of Harvard, views with alarm the manners and dress of the youth of the land. This and other jeremiads upon the same theme recently sent forth recall to mind the famous motto of a famous school, chosen by its famous founder, William of Wykeham, in the fourteenth century. The motto modernized reads, "Manners make the man."

It is by no means my purpose to laud the manners and dress of American young people. Both are open to criticism. But our disapproval is chastened by memory of our own youth. We have reason to hesitate to cast the next stone.

Every generation as it reaches declining years finds fault with the behavior of the rising generation. Usually, it finds fault, also, with the way girls dress. The clergy of every creed in every age have led the chorus of denunciation, and when one reads their philippics in chronological series, one is appalled at the uninterrupted downhill course of the human race.

Particularly, Catholic ecclesiastics have thundered at young women to clothe themselves more seemly. The ideal of feminine apparel that pervades these moralists seems strongly influenced by the nun's garb. Their views on masculine attire are distinctly more liberal, as witness the splendor of texture and color worn by the Princes of the Church as they mass in religious ceremonies. It would seem somewhat inconsistent for bishops and cardinals to adjure young women to dress soberly, but they don't see it.

It is natural that the manners of the mature should be gentler than those of the young. Social experience and employed energies bring this about. Laments upon the degeneracy of the rising generation relieve the emotions of people who have quieted down about people who have not. Anyone familiar with animals has seen old horses, dogs and cats look with similar exasperation upon the gambols of the young of their species.

Manifestly it cannot be true that the manners and dress of young people have been getting worse for three thousand years, documentary evidence to the contrary notwithstanding. Such a theory would endow prehistoric children with

a weird and incredible perfection. Also, even with a glacial slowness of descent, we should on this theory have much worse manners than we now have. It is true that as we gaze about us from Cambridge to San Francisco the majority of girls chew gum and cackle shrilly, and the majority of boys lounge uncouthly and smoke, as Dr. Eliot says they do, in the presence of the opposite sex. Moreover, "smart" girls in increasing numbers are retaliating by smoking in the faces of the boys.

We cannot blame the war for these crude manners. They were with us before the war. But the war certainly gave a new impulse to every form of let-down. The manners of our youth but reflect the disillusion and pessimism of world-wide ruin.

But granting that American young people have crude manners, that city girls paint and powder with Byzantine lavishness and wander around nights without chaperones—though the chaperone business is a very feeble encouragement to propriety—candor compels us to remark that all is not right with many of those who sorrow so publicly over these things. Why should the sight of a highly colored girl in a short skirt, with her hair in queer knobs, send one into a virtuous brainstorm? Very likely she is the mainstay of a widowed mother and is sending little brothers and sisters to school out of \$15 a week. She has as good a right to wear her hair in knobs and use a lipstick as her critic has to wear a stiff collar and silk hat. Both methods of "fixing up" are equally abhorrent to the angels and arise from precisely the same instinct.

There is a pathological tinge to a good deal of the horror at women's clothes. The mutual calm and content of a youth and maiden parading in wet bathing suits before a crowd of their fellow men in the same predicament on a bathing beach, is healthier. The sooner we get rid of the notion that there is virtue in wearing bales of cloth, the better. Likewise, it were well for some people to learn to bear with resignation the thought that all human beings have arms and legs, and that the only valid reasons for covering them up are the climate, rheumatism or badly-set fractures. These short-skirt moralists might well take more time considering their blessings. What if evolution had decided that women should be centipedes instead of bipeds?

Those who know young people realize that they attach very different values to dress and behavior from those of older persons. They are generally innocent of motives attributed to them by their sophisticated elders. This is not saying that these motives may not be obscurely at work, but it accounts for the fact that young people have been scandalizing their seniors for thousands of years, and that there is an indestructible morality about them, nevertheless.

Not that the young are ignorant, nowadays, on sex subjects. What good did it ever do them to be ignorant? It is possible to take a

course in embryology and preserve one's virtue still. In fact, about the surest way to instill habits of virtue into the young is to send them to a coeducational university and cause them to take laboratory courses in biology and modern drama, with stiff examinations.

The only way to get a really high average of manners in a democracy is to give the young an adequate education. That means a sound higher education, in conduct as well as book knowledge. The home and the Sunday-school are quite incapable, at present, of doing their jobs. The clergy and the average parent are better scolders than teachers. As long as things are as they are and we have children quitting school in the grades, we are going to have raw minds and consequent raw manners. Bishop William of Wykeham may have scolded and sorrowed and preached at the youth of fourteenth-century England, but he did something a good deal more effectual when he founded intermediate schools at Winchester and New College.

This country is niggardly in educational expenditure and extravagant in military expenditure, like every other "civilized" nation. We say that we must pay the war debt and get ready for future war before we can do much to make the world a tolerable place to be born into. Some very expert financiers have advocated universal cancelling of international debts as a necessary prelude to a sane reconstruction of a tottering society. But do we hear any welcome to this suggestion? No! We prefer to totter.

Young people may not have as good manners as their elders, but the monumental follies and catastrophes of history have come about because of the "wisdom" and parsimony of the aged rulers of the world.

SHORT-HANDLED SHOVELS

By Grace Raymond Hebard



SINCE the ending of the war an observable amount of relaxation has overcome the American people; all more or less have been caught in the under-current of reaction resultant from super-war activities.

Chinese coolies, who were refused an increase in wages, cut off the end of the handles of their shovels, declaring, "small pay, small work." In place of going out on a strike and refusing to work, their implements of labor were quietly rendered less efficient by the shortening of the handles.

This spirit of "working slow" has within comparatively recent years been designated as "sabotage," a word of interesting derivation—a term of common usage in connection with labor and labor problems. When men have

been unsuccessful in their strikes for better wages, fewer hours, better sanitary conditions, or, most essential of all, the recognition of their organization, methods have been used by which the employee took every secret advantage to work less, to waste time and produce not so much, thus reducing the amount of marketable commodities. To this method of reduced production there has been applied the term of "soldiering," "laying down on the job," "marking time." The Scotch use the expression for this mode of deception, "ca' canny"—go slow, while the French in imitation of their co-workers call the movement "*travailler à coups de sabots*"—going as one who walks with wooden shoes. The man who wears wooden shoes drags his feet, lags, travels as with a brake in order not to lose his footwear.

We have numerous examples of working with short-handled shovels among the employers as well as the employees. Agents, we are told, of private owners of railroads practised sabotage very generally while the Government operated the railroads, in order to defeat efficiency and economy of the transportation system during Government control, thereby increasing a steadily growing deficit in order to prejudice the public in favor of private ownership.

This slowing up of human energy was often supplemented by the slowing down of machinery through methods of placing dust on the bearings, putting soap in the boilers, or throwing the monkey-wrench among revolving wheels. Killing and marking time are well-known forms of sabotage.

Our United States seems to be suffering from an acute attack of sabotageitis. We have many symptoms of efficient activities, but some one is using a monkey-wrench on the wrong part of the machinery of government, some one walks with wooden shoes. Governmental relief in the way of constructive legislation has been slowed down by emery dust of politics and party measures. With a President who has made his campaign promises good by his recommendation in his first regular message to the Sixty-seventh Congress, with his numerous suggestions for readjustment, reconstruction, rejection, repudiation, reparation, restitution, rehabilitation, renouncement and revenue; with a Congress which at least seems eager to put these recommendations into force and effect, with a comfortable majority in both Houses of his political faith—relief for many of the ills, economic, social and financial should be a matter of immediate legislative action.

Many of the measures now before Congress received at its last session that consideration and delay which seem essential to conservative law-making. Would it be within reason to ask in the cause of humanity and progressive legislation to suggest that wooden shoes be discarded, short-handled shovels thrown aside, brakes released, log chains severed and that those who have sufficiently marked time now execute a forward movement?

Public Housekeeping

All About Clothes

HAVE you a clothing bureau in your town? Or perhaps that way of meeting the war-time stress of economy in clothes as well as in food and fuel was not tried in your community. It is a practical idea and it works; it works in conjunction with plowshares as well as swords.

Boston did not scrap its clothing bureau with its other war ways. The Women's City Club, which maintained the bureau as an experiment on Boston Common during the war, has given it a permanent character and location as the Clothing Information Bureau. The club believes that such bureaus should be established throughout the country; that they are a necessary medium for the guidance of the public interest in textiles and clothing. The three motives are health, thrift, and intelligence—the greatest of these. The consumer is trained to intelligence in her relation to textile factory, clothing workroom and retail trade; in the selection of textiles and ready-to-wear clothing and accessories; in making simple, adequate, attractive garments.

A clothing bureau, the Boston club declares, basing its statement upon experience, is called on by the consumers for assistance in the actual problems of making clothes and keeping them in repair, in budget and other such economic questions, in the selection of fabrics and garments, in securing information on textiles and clothing, in questions relating clothing to health, in obtaining speakers and exhibits. A large and diverse field, and yet the expense of such a bureau need not be great. A pamphlet on the organization and practical operating problems of such a bureau can be obtained from the Clothing Information Bureau, Hamilton Place, Boston.

A New Dress Show

RECENTLY the Boston Clothing Information Bureau exhibited its work in Ford Hall to its sponsor, the Women's City Club. A Boston correspondent described the novel scene as follows:

From the doorway, the scene suggested to eye and ear the liveliest sort of bazaar. All around the sides of the great hall were tables—fifteen altogether—with moving groups of women collecting now here, now there, as one or another of the demonstrators behind the tables proved magnetic. A small force of bureau attachés circulated through the crowd, explaining, answering questions, directing.

One of the tightest knots of observers gathered around the woman having a dress-form modelled upon her person. She had on a high-

ALL over the country women have extended their traditional work of housekeeping to the community. Through hundreds of civic organizations they are making their own towns or cities better places to live in—safer, cleaner inside and out, more regardful of human welfare. In this department we will record these activities as you report them to us. If we haven't a correspondent in your civic association, appoint one, or take the job yourself; write us what public housekeeping task your group is doing, and how, and how well.

necked undervest four sizes too small for her. Three layers of sticky strips of gummed paper, vertical, diagonal, horizontal, and the cast was ready to be cut off and shellacked.

Another table held what looked like gingham rompers, but proved to be cleverly designed rubberized garments called Kiddy Dry-Alls, planned to keep little children dry while playing on lawn or beach.

The next table set forth the same idea of healthful clothing—washable satin sleeves attached to a removable waist lining, a patented garment designed by a New York clubwoman. Nearby was shown a collar designed by the same woman; a collar which fits and, because it hugs close to the neck, cannot be rumpled under a coat.

The famous Home Economics standard petticoat was also shown. The silk for this experiment was thrown under specifications drawn by the American Home Economics Association, and nine hundred yards were made up for the association, which is helping the manufacturer to subject his silk to the only absolute test of serviceableness, wear. The bureau has helped to get these test petticoats into the hands of women who will pledge themselves to return them when outworn, together with a record of the amount of service they have given.

Anne Meridie "undies," designed by a Minneapolis woman, were exhibited. They embody a unique feature which makes it impossible for the most contortionistic young wearer to burst out his belt buttons.

The bureau teacher of millinery presided over a small display of hats and shepherded a flock of ambulatory ladies wearing millinery fashioned by their own hands in the Bureau classes.

In the center of the hall on two tables real and imitation laces were displayed and contrasted, having been loaned by the T. D. Whitney Company.

Signatures were being taken at the next step to a typed form bearing the bureau's standard of sensible dress. This is not an effort to force all women into a stereotyped costume, but

to establish the fact that there really is a point at which good sense should begin.

A little further on, the black coat of a man called attention to the fact that this is not exclusively a woman's bureau. A member of the National Association of Woolen Manufacturers presided over a table of wool, reworked wool and cloth, and discussed the merits of the better grades of shoddy. Simple home tests for fabrics were also shown. The flame of the testing candle was at times almost suffocated by the press of people watching wool writhe, or silk melt and bubble, or weighted samples glow without consuming in the blaze.

A young girl with a perfect normal foot posed to show the natural action of arch and toes never spoiled by bad shoes, while a demonstrator from the Y. W. C. A. spoke on scientifically designed footwear.

Underwear and corsets were exhibited and discussed at a table in charge of a woman physician. Dainty handmade finishes for underwear and wash gowns, simple, well-designed children's dresses, thrifty examples of making serviceable things for little people out of discarded grown-up clothes engaged attention elsewhere.

At the remaining table two interests were centered—remodelling of out-of-date gowns and hat designing. Living models appeared attired in costumes made over at the bureau.

Altogether thirty-five people who have helped at the bureau were present that night, each demonstrating in his own field. After the exhibit there was a program with talks on healthful dress, on the progress made toward efficient dress for the life of today and on the need of good buymanship to offset the uncanny cleverness of modern trained salesmanship.

MARY BRONSON HARTT.

Its Watchword Is Service

THE town of Pulaski, in Oswego County, New York, has a flourishing Women's Club of more than two hundred members, whose object is to promote civic improvement and to bring the women of the community into relations of mutual helpfulness. The village is divided for that work into five districts with a superintendent in charge of each and has ten standing committees. Among these is a committee on decorations which encourages the display of flags and suitable decorations on special occasions, and a committee on cemetery improvement whose members make regular visits to the cemetery to recommend methods of beautifying the grounds. Another committee to illustrate the true women's club method of building

club around the specific needs of a community is the committee on friendly service. Its duty is "to offer neighborly attentions to new residents and to those who are ill or in sorrow."

There is an enterprising committee on clean-up days which has just finished an April town-cleaning with the help of the village officials and merchants. Even the river bank was scoured. It was an instance of real town cooperation. The campaign banner stretched across Main Street was painted by the pastor of a prominent Pulaski church. A feature of clean-up week was the conversion of a vacant lot, occupied heretofore by an unsightly billboard, weeds and brush, into a public recreation plot. The annual dues in this alert organization are only twenty-five cents.

More Dollar-a-Year Work

THE Women's Civic League of Baltimore was founded in 1910 by a group of public-spirited men and women interested in improving municipal conditions. The active membership has been confined to women, but they have benefited by the advice of many leading men of the city. From the beginning the idea was to make the membership as democratic as possible, so the membership fee was placed first at fifty cents and later at one dollar.

Even with a large membership, this small fee would be insufficient to provide the means necessary to carry on the work on the scale designed and the League has been most fortunate in having always a number of public-spirited men and women who contribute larger sums annually. The League has had its own offices from the beginning and trained and paid assistance.

The four lines along which the League began its work were: the improvement of vacant lots and backyards; the physical condition of the public schools; conditions surrounding the production and distribution of pure milk to the community; and the collection and disposal of city refuse. A committee, whose work was suspended during the war, cooperated with the manufacturing interests to mitigate the smoke nuisance for some years. More recently committees on housing, home economics, and American citizenship have been formed.

While the League was primarily organized for work in its own community, the coming of the war compelled a very great broadening of its activities, and in cooperation with the Maryland Council for National Defense, much of our time and energy were given to helping women carry out in a practical way the many duties laid upon them by the Food Administration, Liberty Loan Committee and other national

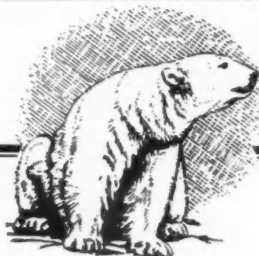
organizations dependent on community work.

With the close of the war, the necessity for definite work among the large foreign population of the city was realized by the citizenship committee. They have done much to make the foreign women of Baltimore understand the language, the customs and the ideals of the country. With the enfranchisement of women, the committee saw the necessity of helping the American woman to realize her new duties and citizenship classes were formed in all the wards of the city.

It may be readily understood that the thoughtful women who have for years directed the activities of our League, have been deeply interested in the great problems confronting the state

and nation, as well as those of immediate interest to their own community, but until very recently it has been unnecessary for the League to take an active part in influencing either congressional or state legislation. Now with the coming of suffrage, the opinion of women's organizations is everywhere constantly sought and the number of bills brought before our executive committee for consideration, is naturally very large. A committee on legislation has now been added to the list. It is composed of the strongest and most thoughtful women of the League and to them is given the duty of examining all bills presented and recommending the action that in their judgment should be taken.

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World News About Women

Japan

Prohibition through the ballot is the way the women of Japan are conducting their dry campaign. At the national conference of the W. C. T. U. recently at Tokio, a committee was appointed to study ways and means and to arrange for affiliation with the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. One of the women prominent in the movement for prohibition is Mrs. Fumiko Nishikawa, president of the New and True Woman's Association. Mrs. Nishikawa has several children but she finds time to edit a woman's magazine and to work for social reform affecting women and children.

In March the House of Peers rejected the bill authorizing women to attend political meetings and to join political associations.

England

Sarah Jane and Mary Ann now have a club of their own. At 25 Ryder Street, St. James's, London, the National Alliance of Employers and Employed has established rooms for domestic workers. A phonograph, piano, games, tea-tables and facilities for cooking suppers

make the rooms attractive. The club is open on Sundays and on all other days except Saturday and Monday from three until ten. The National Alliance hopes to open similar clubs in other residential sections of London and other large towns.

Belgium

Five women are among the American college graduates chosen to study in Belgian universities for a year under the exchange plan arranged by the Commission for Relief in Belgium. The educational foundation of the Commission was established by Herbert Hoover at the request of the Belgian Government, when the relief work was liquidated, as a lasting memorial of the Commission's war service. American students will have the choice of attending the universities of Ghent, Brussels, Liège, Louvain, the School of Mines and Metallurgy at Mons, the Higher Colonial School at Antwerp.

Pioneers on State Boards

Dorothy Canfield, the novelist, who is Mrs. J. R. Fisher, has been appointed one of the five members of the Vermont State Board of Education—the first woman to serve in that capacity in the state. Mrs. Fisher has been interested in secondary education for years.

Mrs. Seymour L. Cromwell has been appointed to the State Board of Education of New Jersey. Both the State Board of Health and the Board of Education in that state must now have women members, but thus far Mrs. Cromwell is the only one chosen. Mrs. Raymond R. Donges, appointed by Governor Edwards to represent Camden County, was not affirmed by the state legislature.

Recruiting for Citizenry

In an organization numbers win respect. So the New York City League of Women Voters has just completed a ten-day membership drive in which it enrolled 2,638 new members. Speakers were welcomed in schools, churches, hospitals, societies, business houses and before political clubs. Teachers and nurses joined in large bodies. The League believes that its aims would appeal to all independent and public-spirited women, were they but aware of them.

Hon. Mrs. Smith

The first woman in Canada to have cabinet rank is Mrs. Ralph Smith, widow of a former Minister of Labor in the Canadian Government. She has been sworn in as a member of the cabinet of British Columbia—"a minister without portfolio." On the opening day of the session she was offered the speakership of the legislature, which she refused. Now she has been made president of the council. Mrs.

Smith contributes this bit of advice to the woman in politics, including herself: "One thing we all have to remember—and that is to stay sane and keep our balance."

Major Mrs. or Mrs. Major?

The New Mexico National Guard has a woman officer. Mrs. T. H. Baca has received the commission of assistant adjutant general with the rank of major. Mrs. Baca, who was the stenographer of her husband when he was adjutant general, was retained in that position by his successor. She has now been promoted for her efficiency to a position hitherto held by a man.

Another Nation-Wide Club

In the *Woman Citizen* for April 23 a new women's national club house, to be located in New York City, was announced. Another national club for women is being planned in Washington, and is to be called the Women's National Foundation. It will have restaurants, social rooms, rooms for transients, a theatre, gymnasium and committee rooms. The initial expense will be met by a hundred women, who are lending \$1,000 each. Membership at \$1 a year is open to all women and the large women's organizations are expected to join in the project. Mrs. C. C. Calhoun, of Washington, is president of the foundation.

Police Commissioner

The first woman police commissioner in the United States, Mrs. Kate Wilder of Fargo, is also chairman of the North Dakota League of Women Voters. Mrs. Wilder, who has a record for activities with the W. C. T. U., the Eastern Star, the D. A. R., and the Federation of Clubs, was the first secretary of the state Votes for Women League and in the campaign for suffrage in 1913 was in the field from the first of February until election day. In 1919 she was elected to the city commission of Fargo, where she still holds her position with the police department.

Politics in the Home

Politics has divided one home by exactly four votes. For it was by that small majority that Mrs. Bibbs Bullock, of Red Springs, North Carolina, who was candidate for alderman in the town election, May 3, defeated her husband who ran on the opposition ticket.

Mental Children

Dr. Augusta Scott, a psychiatrist connected with the New York Probation and Protective Association, who has been making mental examinations of the prisoners at the women's court for the past six months, has found that 61 of the 166 women examined have a mental



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age of less than twelve years. This shows how indispensable the mental test is in handling offenders. The mentally irresponsible person can not be disciplined as a criminal.

Heroines of Peace

Five out of the twenty-three Carnegie medals given this year for acts of heroism were given posthumously to those who had died to save others. Of the five who met death, two were women, Mrs. Mamie B. Crocker, Ponce City, Oklahoma, who was drowned on July 2, 1920, in a futile effort to rescue a child from deep water in a gravel pit at Dilton, Montana, and Miss Elizabeth Ball, a girl of Buckeystown, Maryland, who died on July 13, 1920, attempting to save a girl comrade from drowning. Miss Ball's silver medal was sent to her father, and Mrs. Crocker's to her husband.

The Citizen's Duty

Governor Sproul, of Pennsylvania, urges women to accept the duties as well as the privileges of citizenship. He says:

"I would urge the women to join actively in governing, and especially in the government of their communities. I advise them to be watchful and to follow the activities of those in office carefully and then to work for the election and retention of capable officials. Use more interested observation of their work—see where it is good and where it is bad."

The Governor thinks that the women of the state have been of constructive help in the session which has just ended and which achieved creditable educational and welfare legislation.

A "Co-Ed" at Ninety

Stating that she had "become a bit slack on her psychology and sociology," Mrs. Amy Davis Winship, of Racine, who reached the age of ninety in the last days of April, has just matriculated for the summer session of the University of Wisconsin at Madison.

Mrs. Winship began an active college course at seventy-nine and has been a "campus co-ed" at five universities in Ohio, Florida, Wisconsin, Kansas and Southern California, winning the highest grade in her studies. She had always a hunger for knowledge, but her early years were so bound by domestic cares that she had to wait for a higher education until her children were grown.

"A body may grow sick and tired of crocheting and fox-trotting, and afternoon teas," she says, "but who ever became satiated with knowledge?"

An Experiment at Bryn Mawr

A new sort of summer school is to be held at Bryn Mawr this year. Women from stores, factories, and other lines of industry, are to have a two months' course of study, under a Joint Administrative Committee, representing both the college and women workers in industry. They may choose from a fairly wide range of subjects, including the history of labor movements and industrial organization, as well



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as English, history, physiology, etc. The object is to train and develop girls who have shown an aptitude for leadership. M. Carey Thomas, the president of the college, has promised the *Woman Citizen* an article upon this interesting educational venture.

All-Women Administration

Jackson, Wyoming, likes women in office. A year ago the city elected only women to the town council and mayoralty. The dire predictions did not come to pass and the town had an efficient, progressive administration. Naturally enough, in the election last week the mayor and two council members, whose terms had expired, were returned to office by a vote of almost three to one against their men opponents.

First Michigan Alderwoman

The first woman to hold the office of alderman in a Michigan city is Estelle Downing, associate professor of rhetoric in the State Normal College, who was recently elected a member of the Common Council of Ypsilanti, a city of over seven thousand. Miss Downing was of the greatest service during Michigan's campaigns for equal suffrage in 1912 and 1918, and since the ballot was won she has continued to answer calls in many parts of the state for addresses on various topics of educational and civic interest. Running on the Democratic ticket in a ward overwhelmingly Republican, she was chosen by the largest majority ever vouchsafed an alderman in Ypsilanti.

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A Woman and the Church

A Letter of Protest

I WAS born an Episcopalian. Many years ago, I lived in a small town in Nebraska, in which I found two women of my church, but no men. We said: "Let's start a Woman's Guild! We can raise some money by getting up entertainments, and perhaps, after a while, we can have a church."

Our concerts and plays became very popular, our fund grew, and to our surprise our guild soon numbered forty members. We sent for some hymnals and prayer books and talked informally of the service, at guild meetings.

The Bishop heard of us, and wrote saying that he would be in our part of the state, and if it could be arranged, would hold a service on a certain date. We arranged it by sweeping out the large room of the courthouse after court had adjourned on Saturday night. We had previously notified the townspeople and ranchmen, and the Bishop found a large audience awaiting him. The service went well.

On Monday morning when the Bishop was leaving the house for his train, he said: "Isn't it too bad! If you only had some men, you could have a church here."

I realized then, that if we had a million women and no men we couldn't have a church. There must be men for a vestry.

In six months we called the Bishop back. The husbands of the officers of the guild were confirmed. Our parish was organized and a vestry appointed by the Bishop. We were off at last.

At the end of the first year we had an annual meeting. When the treasurer made his report, he announced a deficit. The president of the guild whispered to a man who sat near her, and he arose, saying that the Woman's Guild would make up the deficit.

Really, my husband has never represented me in the church, because he has always been on the vestry making deficits, and I in the guild, paying them off!

Five years later when we went to Omaha to live, we left behind us a church which had been erected with the help of a mission fund. On our way to church that first Sunday morning, I said to my husband with a sigh of relief: "How lovely to be a humble member of a wealthy congregation." He agreed.

It was the beginning of Lent, and after the morning service, just before the sermon, the Senior Warden arose and with deprecating words announced a deficit that should be made up before Easter. Later, a request was read from the president of the Woman's Guild asking for a meeting at the close of the service. I followed the members in, and became one of a group of ten to raise one hundred dollars.

Later we moved to a larger city. Our church history varied only in the amount the women attempted to raise. As I remember, we never

questioned the acts of the vestry and we were never consulted about the budget of the parish. The lack of efficiency caused by the exclusion of women did not seem to strike anyone.

"Ours not to reason why, ours but to do or die," and some of us *did* die from our work.

In these later years, I became submerged in country life. While I was on the farm, I saw two items in a St. Louis paper, one immediately following the other.

The first statement was of a very large sum that had been contributed to the funds of the church at the national convention of the Woman's Auxiliary. The second item was that the resolution to admit women as delegates to the convention was "laid upon the table."

At each convention this program is repeated.

Recently there has been a national drive in the Episcopal Church for funds. A certain quota has been given to each parish to raise. Preliminary to the drive, a day was set apart for prayer.

I went to church upon that day and asked the Lord to show me a sign if he really thought I ought to contribute to that fund, taking into consideration all of the circumstances.

Recently I found the following quoted in the New York Evening Post:

"The diocese of Massachusetts has taken the interesting step of proceeding to amend its constitution in such wise as to admit women as delegates to the convention. . . . The question is not one of academic 'rights,' for the diocesan convention is purely a man-made device for administering the temporalities of a diocese; rather does it affect simply the question of efficiency in such administration. 'And here, in our judgment,' says the *Living Church* (P. E.) of Milwaukee, Wis., 'the new plan is bound to fail. That men will gradually drop out and be superseded by women in the convention seems inevitable. We do not say they ought to drop out; we only assert that they will. . . . So we believe that the diocese of Massachusetts has taken a false step that will almost certainly embarrass its own councils, and that will fail to give the women of the diocese that dignified opportunity of giving expression to their views and convictions that they ought to have.'"

The editor of the *Living Church* is too timid. If a thing is right in itself, the sooner it is put into action the better.

I attended the annual meeting of a parish in Wisconsin not long ago: the proportion of women to men at that meeting was ten to one.

The clerk read the rules pertaining to the election and one was that no woman shall hold office.

Again, a diocesan convention just held in New York has voted down a proposal to give women membership in the vestries.

I ask the editor of the *Living Church* what would be the consequences if women should leave the church—"We do not say that they ought to drop out," and we are willing to assert that they will not in spite of the injustice of the situation, but what if they did!

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